

Sanjay Gandhi MP, died in a plane crash in Deihi on Moriday, 23 June, leaving behind an oblivious three-month-old son, a stunned 23-year-old widow, and a grievously sad mother to mourn his untimely death — he was only 33. Son of a Prime Minister and grandson of another, Sanjay strode into the political arena during the heady days of the Emergency. His initial behaviour and his plans to start a car manufacturing unit made him the most controversial person in the country. But he soon assumed leadership of the Youth Congress and gradually became the second most important person in the Congress.— next to Mrs Gandhi herself. After the debaclo of 1977, he figured premiently in the proceedings of the Shah Congression which was set up to investigate the excesses committed during the Emergency. In 1979, he was sent to juil for refusing to appear in court. His role in the family planning, compulsory sterilisation and slum clearance programme was questioned in the Press and Parliament However, during Mrs Gandhi's political exile, Sanjay became her most trusted adviser and almost every move made by the Congress (I) was according to Sanjay's scheme of things. The Congress (I)'s triumph in the 1980 Lok Sabha and Assembly elections strengthened Sanjay's position in the Party. After the Assembly polis at the end of May, Mrs Gandhi turned down requests to make Sanjay Gandhi the Chief Minister of UP. Instead on 14 June, he was made the AlCC(I) general secretary. Inchically, he died in his hour of giory, when he had finally achieved political legitimacy. SUNDAY reviews Sanjay Gandhi's short but momentous political career.

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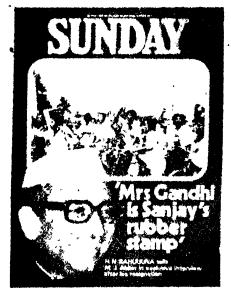
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Fears unfounded

THIS refers to the cover story may Assam's agriation must now stop" (May 25) by Tooshar Pandit None will disagree that Assam has been neglected since Independence. But do the Assamese know that the condition of Bihar and UP is equally miserable? The apprehension that the Assamese will be swamped by the minorities is unfounded History shows that races and cultures, like clouds, mingle and separate. After all, India is a multipacial and multicultu ral nation, a vibrant and confident culture has nothing to lear Depayan Ghosh, 24 Parganas

MR PANDIT has simplified rather well the complicated situation in Assam. The leaders of the GSP who have political ambitions, and the students cannot now be identified with each other. The student leaders are atraid of being portrayed as Mrs Gandhi's agents, although they sincerely wish to negotiate for a settlement with the Centre. The public, on the other hand is slowly growing wise to the repercussions of such a prolonged movement. The situation now demands that the government withdraw the police

and the Army and hold out the olive branch Debasish Ray, Puri

IN HIS very first paragraph in the report 'Manipur attacks outsiders" (May 11) Subir Roy writes that "A CRP jawan accidentally put his finger on the trigger of his rifle and killed an old woman selling silver jewellery in the bazar. The bullet also grazed and injured two other shoppers. The mood of the city becomes furious. " In other paragraph Mr Roy asserts that the present mass agitation is directed against foreign nationals from June 1978 How on earth did you conceive of the obnoxious sub-heading "Students take the cue from Assam and go on the rampage", when the present movement in Assam was not even born? Shanti Chelleng, Deepling, Sibsagai

WITH reference to the letter entitled "Agitators, judges, executioners"(Opinion, May 25) by Saswathi Ghose I would like to ask how the Ahoms can be consideted foreigners under the provisions of the Indian Constitution No doubt they came from Burma in the 12th century, but that was when Assam was not yet an integral part of India Assam was added to the map of India only in 1926, when it came under British rule. It is also unfair to say that the Ahoms are foreigners because they are part of Assamese culture now

Umesh Sarker, Tinsukia

SUNIL BHAITACHARJEE ("Disputed facts", Opinion, May 11) quotes statistics put out by the Golap Borbora government to make his point that the Assamese have not been reduced to a minority in their state. But is not the present agitation directed as much against the Centre as the previous administrations in the state which have neglected the problem of illegal immigration? What is the standing of professional politicians of recognised political Parties! in Assam today? Of what worth are their statistics? Doesn't Mr Bhattacharjee know that over successive censuses Bengali Muslims en masse declared themselves to be Assamese-speaking? For obvious reasons the AASU cannot admit that the Assamese-speaking people are already in a minority in Assam That

would amount to admitting that the have started their counteroffensive aft the war has been lost. Subir Roy, Calcutta

I WAS surprised to read the contents of the last three letters under the heading "Backward states' woes" (May 18). There is no government in the world which can destroy a mass movement on a legitimate issue Are not the mass movements in Cuba and Vietnam, not to speak of our own Independence struggle, proof enough? The AASU and AAGSP have been repeatedly demanding the deportation of foreign nationals and not Indians. Does the Constitution say that a foreign national can reside in the country and take part in the elections? Can one deny that a foreigner may attempt espionage during a war? Besides, the social, political and economic future of the country is also at stake It is true that the leftists had gained popularity among the people of Assam, but they are losing it now for their own fault. When they should have spearheaded the movement, they are trying to give it a communal colour Will the people ever forgive them? Parijat Sarmah, Margherita

THE Assamese grievance about the "foreigners" cannot be wished away or, branded as chauvinistic although we may not agree to the manner and style of the agitation The accumulated problem is largely due to the Centre's tentative and discriminatory approach to the question of refugees, applying one standard in the western wing and another in the eastern wing One should not close one's eyes to reality, although one may find it politically convenient to blame a person or a Party or a foreign power for the agitation

India should demand from the Bang-ladesh Government their population figures as in 1948 and also in 1980 to determine the scale of exodus of the Hindus as well as the Muslims, making suitable allowance for population growth, and demand proportionate land and property for the rehabilitation of the "foreigners". Deportation of the foreigners will pose other constraints and practical difficulties. J.C.Aich, General Secretary, Jamshed

pur Citizens Council

The last ditch

WITH reference to the interview with H.N Bahuguna (May 2% by M J Akbar, it is a well-known fact that Mr Bahuguna cheated his colleagues several times in his political career. At last Mrs Gandhi has taken revenge on hira, and mercilessly at that

Chowdhry Nisar Ahmed, Ambur

READING your interview with Mr Bahuguna I could not escape the impression that the "basic values" in politics he talks about apply only to others I cannot understand a man changing Parties as he likes, saying he does it in good faith, to

create awareness of a "Congress culture" which, implicitly, with Mrs Gandhi's emergence, has been lost Mr Bahuguna's political fickleness has the mark of expediency after the General Elections he was only too willing to accept Mrs Gandhi's leadership provided he had his 'fair share' of the loaves and fishes. Therein lay the rub, and in his frustration he had no choice but to quit The reasons he gave for his move were the same old cliches he was obsessed with as a Janata Minister Worse still, Mr Bahuguna still sees Mrs Gandhi as an autocrat and the Ministers as 'dumb, driven cattle' - and himself as the only true defender of democratic taith. Radhika, Madras

Death to rapists

COMEN against rape" (March 30) refers to the daily incidents of rape in cities like Bombay and Delhi. Bidyut Kumar Chatterjee had suggested an amendment of the Indian Penal Code to make rape punishable by death (Opirion, April 27). In the USSR rapists at put to death. Before the war, rapists Germany were operated upon to mal them sexually crippled. Ramanar Chatterjee, the late editor of Moc Review urged on several occasions. introduction of capital punishment the crime in pre-independent Ber N. K. Bhattacharya, Calcutta

os and don'ts

wills refers to A. G. Noorani's article if you are arrested" (April 6). The ce departments should enunciate deguidelines for the police personnel. The dealing with a demonstration, for stance, the police are very often contised because they cannot decide hether to protect the demonstrators or uppress them brutally.

THE behaviour of the police, in recent years, has created a stir in all sections of society. Anything a policeman does is considered wrong-they are either seen to have overreacted or underreacted. The people expect the police to keep their cool even in the face of provocation and solve all social problems. They are also expected to be good-humoured, helpful and sympathetic. People forget that they have to work under constant pressure from their authoritarian super-iors. The general behaviour of the police can only be explained by understanding the socio-economic factors. Citizens are generally reluctant to heed the police who are entrusted with the job of enforcing the law. Naturally the policemen themselves have lost all faith in society and people and turned into a frustrated lot So far nobody has cared to judge police from the psycho-socio-economic angle Instead of just criticising them we must extend our sympathy and cooperation if we want the same from them. Only then would so many Pipras, Narainpurs and Islampurs be avoided Manik Singh New Delhi

Wrong name

THE item captioned "Figuring out history" in Living (May 18) contains a factual error. The director of the West Bengal Directorate of Archaeology is Mr Paresh Dasgupta, not Mr Prakash Dasgupta, as mentioned.

Gour Ghosh. Sindri

A mockery

THE "Sham shaadı" (mock marriage) of two foreigners in the Indian style in Jaipur, as reported in Living (May 25) was an insult to Indian customs, traditions and religious beliefs

A.K.Das Gupta, New Delhi



Ad another

THE article "The Congress(I) campaign" (January 20) recognises Srikant Varma, the man who carried on the Congress(I)'s ad campaign in the last Lok Sabha election, as one of the men who contributed immensely to Mrs Gandhi's victory During the last Assembly elections MGR followed Mrs Gandhi's style of advertising It must have clicked, for MGR bagged 120 out of 234 seats Dhivya, Lakshmipuram, Mysore

Correction

IN THE article "Can anyone stop the Congress(I)?" by M J Akbar the Hindi slogan "Maar gaya mahangai, bahena" was translated as "Rising prices have killed my sister" which is wrong The correct translation should read "Sister, rising prices have killed (us)." Srimbas Pathi, Puri

You said it

THIS refers to the item "New AICC Chief" in Delhi Diary (April 15) by D.E. Nizamuddin which states "It is rumoured that Antulay is being tipped as the next Chief Minister of Maharashtra. "Congratulations Since your intention was to place the truth before the readers, you predicted Antulay's appointment long before it took place K. C. Tandon, Jabalpur

Mad Ministers

THE madness of P. C Sethi" (May 18) was revealing. Mrs Gandhi should not have included this man in her Cabinet since she knew of his past. In fact, there are several others like Mr Sethi in the Madhya Pradesh Ministry isself. The CM's son-in-law, for instance, who is also a Cabinet Minister, seeing that his father-in-law, is escorted by a let jeep, wanted one for himself, though none of his senior Cabinet meagues had any. The same Minister, whe travelling with his escort jeep in a latote area, once overtook a loaded ik and beat up the truckdriver for

getting in his way. The truckdriver had no option but to continue driving till the road broadened, where the Minister's convoy overtook him. The Minister was furious. He stopped the truck and beat the driver as mercilessly as an "authoritarian democrat". Another Deputy Minister of the state, while speaking to spectators and players at the end of a hockey match, said. "After seeing the hockey match, said. "After seeing the condition of our players as 22 of them had to chase only one ball. But all this is due to the fact that our country was poor. However, that day will not be far off when 22 players will have 22 balls."

Mushtaq Ahamad Siddiqui, Srinagar

A cruel sport

PEOPLE in these parts are not impressed by stories like "Bride beheaded" and "Children missing for 27 months" (May 25) No tears are shed for poor Jagdamba, who was butchered by her father Most parents of girls of Jag-damba's age are convinced that the natural instinct of love and independence should be crushed mercilessly in their daughters, and, for that matter, in women of all ages. The only activities becoming of women in eastern UP in general, and Gorakhpur division in particular, are those within the household; and the manner in which Jagdamba was disposed of by her father is seen as the only sensible way a father in these parts should deal with his 'corrupted' daughter Local newspaper reports will testify that the burning and beheading of young wives is the most popular local sport. Members of the low castes, however, are in a sense more 'westernised'. Their women break off with their husbands and live with others and the widows remarry Extra-marital sex is not considered taboo

Stories of children being kidnapped do not raise any eyebrows Children are considered an expendable commodity; if male, they are sent out to Bombay, Calcutta and Punjab for earning their livelihood as labourers and remitting money to their parents; if female, they are sold off as wives for people in northern and western India, or to replenish brothels in various parts of the

P. S. Rathaur, Basti

Other doubles

WITH reference to Ashok Kamath's article "Mister Grand Slam" (May 25) there are a considerable number of sportsmen who have been able to match their prowess in courts and playfields with their performance in classrooms. In tennis alone I can think of the Amritraj brothers (Anand received his Master's degree at the age of 20), Arthur Ashe, Victor Amaya, Wojtek Fibak (who speaks Polish, English, Russian, French, German and Czech), Sherwood Stewart, Iracy Austin, Pam Shriver and Chris Evert Lloyd Ms Lloyd was a genius in academics. She managed an aggregate of over 90 per cent."

The Test-ban

TEST matches which are so popular in India are not played in China, the USSR, USA and a number of European countries. It is only the Commonwealth countries that indulge in such an expensive pastime When the rich countries are keeping away from it, why must a poor country like India spend huge amounts on it? Besides, being a colossal waste of time, Tests also mean an incredible national loss. Again the corruption Test matches breed is hard to imagine. The government should look into the matter and ban Test matches once and for all Dewan Dina Nath, Calcutta.

DESTINY'S CRUELTY

Why the bloody hell did he have to go at the hour of his triumph?

By KHUSHWANT SINGH

HEARD of the plane crash at 9 A M I was chilled to the bone A flood of tears welled up in my eyes be cause I was very fond of the bone at was very fond of the bone at was of anger more than of grief I slapped my table and exploded "Bloody fool Why the hell did he have to do it?"

A fortnight after the event I knew he did not "do it" He was a first rate pilot, experienced, daring, skilful - and all else that goes to make an ace flier But why the bloody hell did he have to go at the hour of his triumph? The years of abuse and vilification were behind him, he had more than avenged his defeat at Ameths, he had nearly a hundred hand picked Members of Parliament and most of the major states of India in his pocket, all the cases instituted against him had either been quashed or withdrawn, the country had reconciled itself to the idea that after Indira it would be Sanjay India and the world was his oyster Why did he have to go about courting danger when he should have been preparing himself for a royal announting? Why? Why? Why?

It did not come to me as a great surprise that most people's reactions were the same as mine a combination of intense grief with intense anger Grief was easy to understand Gone at 33, depriving his mother, already grossly overworked with burdens of state, of the only real prop she had, leaving a young (23), lovely, lively, boisterous girl a widow and a three-month old baby without a father But reasons for anger were more complicated When Sanjay made his debut in politics, there was a howl of protest from the educated elife and a groan of general disapproval by most others Sanjay was like a bull in a China shop, smashing up everything that was antique and, to him, useless He became all powerful during the Emergency, then his image touched an all-time low after the ignominious defeat

After the 1980 Congress (I) victory Sanjay with mother Indira Gandhi df Congress (I) in the 1977 elections, when he himself suffered humiliation at the hands of a gangster-looking non-entity at Amethi. The Press played havoc with his reputation in reporting the Kissa Kursi Ka case, his appearances before the Shah Commission and highlighting the findings of the Gupta Commission over Maruti affairs. The strange phenomenon was that the more the Press maligned Sanjay, the greater the sympathy and admiration he won from the masses. Here was a spirited young David taking on, singlehanded, the Goliath of the Janata administration and knocking it cold. And so the Sanjay cult began to take birth. It was the revolt of the youth against the deadwood of gerontocracy. The lad that the Press had painted as ne'er-do-well, fast-living wastrel emerged as the prince charming: son of a handsome never-aging mother, husband of a bouncy, attractive wife, a modern Saint George riding flying machines to slay dragons of iniquity. It was India's indigenous Camelot. Thus unnoticed by the so called intellectual and the media, a Sanjay mystique spread like a gentle mist over the entire land As a wellknown politician put it "Sanjay desh pey chha gaya" Whether people liked him or not, they came to look upon Sanjay as the man of a thousand tomorrows He came to represent a sense of continuity, continuing stability, security and a foreseeable future

Sanjay believed that a leader who was feared inspired more respect and could get things done more than a leader who was only loved. He was often amazed and amused at the awe with which many seasoned politicians and bureaucrats regarded him. He could scare the daylight out of minions of the civil service and the police. And he knew it "When I tell them to do something, they damn well do it at

the double quick"

I never understood how Sanjay managed to inspire awe in people I found him anything but awesome Polite to the extent of being deferential, though not the soul of wit, he was brevity personified His replies were, "Yes, No" and sometimes only a grunt. Many times when I disagreed with him, he yielded gracefully "Jaisa aap theek samihen-".The only time he said "no" to me was when I went with some sifarish. And even there with sufficient reason to turn it down A fortnight before his death I recommended someone for a ministerial post in a state cabinet Sanjay knew the man's curriculum vitae : "Good man, able man, loyal and all that. But the last time he was minister of health he wanted a new lady doctor to sleep with him at every place he toured. One we may have overlooked But a new one at every place was a bit much for the image of the

"Why don't you tell him to stick to one hady doctor?" I suggested. "You tell him. You are an older person. He might listen to you."

On another occasion I had to recommend a candidate for Parliament. Sanjay knew all about him too-down to his mckname, his political antecedents and what he said at what place. His mind was like a computer.



'From ashes to ashes': Rajiv leaves Sanjay behind

Sanjay's voice and manner of speaking was very much like Jawaharlal Nehru's. But unlike his grandfather, Sanjay never rambled. He was a man of very few words, but always terse and to the point

A very lovable aspect of San'ay's character was his love for animals. This love was passionately shared by his wife Maneka. The Nehrus always had dogs in the house — and occasionally tiger cubs presented to them Maneka brought a menagerie with her as her dowry. There were talking mynahs and parrakeets hooting and whistling amongst the greenery of bonzaı which she grows There were two monstrous-sized Irish wolfhounds who followed Sanjay from room to room. When one of them died of cancer, a few months ago, they acquired a bull terrier pup who threatens to grow to the size of a donkey. He guarded his master, mistress and their little baby like the Cerberus. I made his acquaintance and after being inveigled by a friendly lick on the hand suddenly I found my wrist in the vicious grip of his fangs. He took no notice of Maneka's scolding but a sharp order from Sanjay sent him sulking into the corner. One of Sanjay-Maneka's pet projects was to organise the welfare of domestic animals.

Most posthumous compliments pair to departed leaders talk of their untime ly death and the voids that may never be filled The one person about whom botl these are true is Sanjay Gandhi Hi death was untimely because he had only seen 32 summers and died at the momen of his triumph. The void he leaves behind will certainly take a long time to fil because he was fulfilling a variety o functions. Mrs Gandhi will, in du course, turn to other people as keepers o her confidence and for advice. It i possible that Rajiv may take over thi function. There will be many contender for the leadership of the youth move ment - Kamal Nath, Jagdish Tytler Scindia. But they were creatures of San jay Gandhi and their ambitions are likely to clash. Not one of them has the demonizeal, energy or the foresight that Sanja had, and being utterly unlike Sanjay they will not be able to fit into hi clothes. We may see the emergence of a new youth leader in the person of Man eka Gandhi. She is very much like he late husband - impetuous, fearless, im patient, eager to get things done and with the same kind of mental and physic al vitality. All she will need is he mother-in-law's blessing to go forth-and she may go forth and conquer

own as an author, the Georgia family to the se adits one of the to be the Hindustan

Sanjay, as I knew him

By BARUN SENGUPTA

ANJAY Gandhi's was a unique personality and, contrary to popular belief, he was an extremely polite, cool-headed, gentle, intelligent and truthful young man. But his 'public' relations' was very poor - a serious shortcoming in any politician. Sometime in 1975, Kamal Nath (now an MP) told me "When you go to Delhi next, you must see Sanjay. Very soon he (Sanjay Gandhi) will be the most important man for you journalists." I did not know much about Sanjay until then. I had only a general idea which was largely negative. But some West Bengal Congress leaders had hinted that Mrs Gandhi's younger son would soon enter active politics. So I laughed and told Kamal Nath :"It's all right (with you as) Sanjay is your friend. But I do not think that every VIP's son can so easily become politically the most important person in such a vast country Apart from that I am told he is a hot-headed young man. I think it is better to avoid such persons." Kamal Nath still insisted.

So the next time I visited Delhi, I went to see Sanjay at Mrs Gandhi's residence. I reached 1,Safdarjang Road five minutes before the appointed time and was asked to wait in the right-hand sitting foom of the bungalow. I had to wait for about ten minutes I had never met him in person before, only seen some small photographs So, in spite of all the good things Kamal Nath had told me about him, I was really waiting to meet the hot-headed, crude son of Mrs Gandhi But as he entered the room through a side-door with a smiling face and a very gentle namaste, I was a bit surprised. It was not the Saniav Gandhi of my imagination, it was a different type of young man We discussed politics for about ten minutes. He was not expansive His answers were straight forward, he was unwilling to elaborate or reply to my supplementaries But, on the whole, I was impressed. He was trank and precise in his replies, hardly the pig-headed spoilt child of a VIP On the contrary he appeared to me to be a truthful and polite young man -with a distinct personality

During the Emergency, my meetings with him were brief. They never

lasted more than three or four minutes So I asked Kamal Nath one day: "Can't your friend spare some more time and talk more freely?" Kamal Nath laughed and said: "That's his style, that's his peculiarity Even when Debi or Siddhartha speaks to him, he is through within three to four minutes Sanjay always says, 'If you can finish (the conversation) within three or four minutes why should more time be wasted "

However, after the 1977 elections I could talk with him at greater length and more freely Sometimes we talked for over an hour. These conversations were off the record. The arrangement was he would tell me about the developments, but I would neither quote him nor attribute anything to him. This arrangement continued for a long time. After Mrs. Gandhi came back to power this year I had only one such off the record session with Sanjay I tried for more but alas, he couldn't spare the time.

During my association with Sanjay Gandhi, which lasted for about five years, I realised that most people had a wrong impression of him Foi instance, people painted him as a hothead it was not at all so I found him

Sanjay in Amethi constituency which elected him in power in 1980

Rag**hu Ra**i



cool and intelligent and he was not a hypocrite. He lacked this hallmark of Indian politicians. He could not greet his enemies with a smile. If he displiked a man it was quite apparent. Sometimes his blunt comments or frank replies created the impression that he was rough.

One day, some time in 1978, I was sitting with Sanjay in R. K. Dhawan's small office at 12, Willingdon Crescent. Soon, Maneka, his wife and editor of Surya, joined us. Seeing Maneka, a former Union Minister (he is a Union Minister in the present Cabinet too) entered the room. He requested Maneka to publish something in Surya. As soon as Sanjay saw the former Minister entering the room, his face reddened. He did not say a word when the former Minister was pleading with Maneka. But I could see that he was tense. But Maneka kept on talking. Suddenly Sanjay stopped her and remarked: "All right". After the Minister left the room, Sanjay added: "Don't publish any of his rejoinders. Bad man." This was Sanjay.

Another instance, A former great champion of Sanjay and an ex-Minister of West Bengal went to see Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay just before the 1980 elections. He was with the Congress (U) and wanted to join the Congress (I). Both Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay were sore because he had changed sides after the 1977 debacle. Now, when this gentleman went to see Mrs Gandhi she received him with smiles and the ex-Minister told her that he simply wanted to be a soldier of Mrs Gandhi and the Sanjaybahini. Mrs Gandhi replied that she welcomed selfless men to the Party. After being overwhelmed by Mrs Gandhi's welcome, the gentleman went to see Sanjay who told him: "I knew you would come one day. Once you stabbed us in the back You will do the same thing again if you get a chance I know that. But my mother has agreed to take you in the Party, so I will not oppose it. All right." Sanjay's 'all right' always meant 'you can now go'.

Some of his public activities also created the impression that he was hot-headed. But I think these were calculated political acts which did not reflect his real self. One day I asked Sanjay: "The way you conducted your negotiations with Raj Narain, the way you worked for the fall of the Janata government, the way you handled Charan Singh and his friends, you didn't at all appear to be a hot-headed man. Then why those scenes in the courts?" Sanjay only smiled in reply.

Most of us do not know that the major moves of Mrs Gandhi's camp since the debacle of 1977 were initiated by Sanjay. Can any hot-headed, spoilt child plan such political moves? True, his mother's popularity was the foundation on which everything rested.

But the planning was mainly his and where most of the senior leaders of the camp feared or faltered, he would firmly say, Let us go ahead; He was daring, of course, but neither.



A shared grief: two widows, Begum Abids (left) and Maneka (right)

hot-headed nor pig-headed. Sanjay's self-confidence was without parallel. Two days after the fall of Mrs Gandhi's government in 1977, I found Sanjay confident of a comeback before 1980. I told him that was impossible He asserted: "Yes, this will happen." By June 1979 I also started believing in this theory. But most of my journalist friends thought otherwise and their writings reflected this. After the 1980 elections when I met Sanjay he asked me with a big smile: "Now what do your friends say? Are we not back?"

This was virtually our last long off the record session. I wanted to know the inside story of how the Cabinet was formed. He said, "No, not now." I asked: "Why not?" He smiled and said: "Because only two or three people know the whole story. And, if you write it, everyone would know that I have given it to you." In off the record talks Sanjay never told me a lie. When he did not want to say something, he would just say: I won't tell you."

In the ultimate analysis, one must acknowledge that Sanjay's main source of strength was his mother, as Mrs Gandhi's main source of strength was her father. But Sanjay possessed strength of character and individual qualities too. In many aspects he was unique and unparalleled. Mrs Gandhi got the opportunity to prove her own strength to the whole world. Alanguid in the strength to the cause whole world. Sanjay did not get that chance because his political career ended almost as abruptly as it had begun.

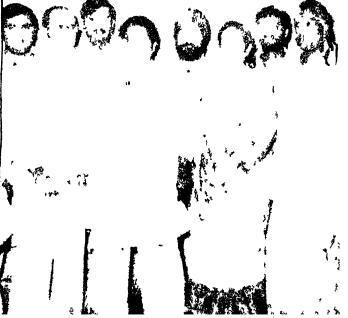
Life in pictures

Photographs by Gopal Chitra Kuteer

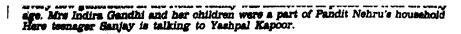












- Sanjay entered public life with a clear idea of what he thought needed doing People found him to be a serious, if somewhat humourless and strait-laced young man He is seen having tea during a holiday in Kashmir.
- From the planting of saplings to the clearing of slums to supervising family planning operations, Sanjay's activities covered a wide area. Although he did not hold any office then (1976) he was the star guest anyone could have on any occasion. The producers of the film Mehbooba invited Sanjay to the premiere (at Delhi's Vigyan Bhavan in 1976); sharing the limelight is Rajesh Khanna.
- Sanjay finally held an official position only when time for him had virtually run out.

 When he took over as general secretary of the Congress(I) and posed with his fellow office-bearers, little did he realise that this would be the last picture taken of him in public.
- Mrs Gandhi was to break down in public later, only when they brought the ashes home. But for Nargis Dutt, who had only recently become a Rajyz Sabha MP, there was no holding back the tears. An old friend of the family, she had carried and played with Sanjay when he was a baby
- The death was gruesome and left him mutilated and scarcely recognisable. Mrs Gandhi, to whom he meant so much, was a picture of stoicism, while wife Maneka reeled under the shock. They kept vigil with his mortal remains as an endless stream of mourners saw their last of Sanjay.









Analysis



Politics after Sanjay

By BARUN SENGUPTA

URING his lifetime, only a few observers admitted that Sanjay Gandhi was an important factor in Indian politics. But after his tragic death, all of them are pointing out that the young man's sudden departure will have a tremendous impact on the shape and content of our politics. In fact, most of the pundits are agreed that Sanjay's abrupt departure will not only affect the rulers, but will also have its impact on some of the opposition Parties, who will start reassessing the entire situation now. Some of them may now even change their entire line and course of action If Sanjay was not an important factor in Indian politics, all these reactions would have been unnecessary

The most important thing to be watched now is how his mother, the most powerful PM India has known, takes this tragedy Reports say that she was supremely composed initially, that she did not at all look a shattered mother. If it is so, it is good for the country and the ruling Party But all these may be an exercise in will power, perhaps she is shattered inside And, maybe she does not realise yet how this tragic incident has affected her or is going to affect her in the near future Mrs Gandhi is definitely not an ordinary mother, but after all she is a mother and Sanjay was much more than just a son to her Sanjay was her son, her main political adviser, her chief commanding officer and her political heir-apparent. As a close family friend

Witnessing the last rites. Begum Abida, Maneka and Mrs Gandhi



of the Gandhis remarked after Sanjay's death, her entire political planning during the last three years had centred around Sanjay. Can Mrs Gandhi remain the person she was? She will change—if not apparently, then definitely inwardly.

The question is, in which direction will she change and to what extent will this affect the working of the government. Her burden, commitment and responsibility today is much more than borne by any previous PM Today, Mrs Gandhi is both the Party and the government Almost every decision made by either the ruling Party or the ministry depends on her If she loses the firmness, the initiative, the determination, the Party, the government and the country will suffer tremendously There is no other person today who can really share her burden and discharge some of her responsibilities independently. It is true that she is partly responsible for the creation of such a situation. But the fact is that this is what the situation is like

Had her Party leaders and workers been of a different type she could have expected some help from them at this moment of crisis But, alas, most of the Congressmen, particularly the leaders, are made of such inferior material that one cannot even expect unity from them-and that is asking for the very least. Within six months the most ugly faces of the Congress leaders will become visible, just as no one had to wait for more than six weeks to see their true characters after the 1977 election debacle Of course, this time none of them would dare attack Mrs Gandhi But this time they will make her life miserable by their mad jostling for more power within the Party and the government. In this process, they will start the bitterest infighting in the history of the Congress (1), and Mrs Gandhi will end up worrying more about her own colleagues than about the opposition Parties. This in fighting will start in the states, and eventually reach the centre And the men who got important jobs solely due to Sanjay's backing will be in great trouble now

THE younger generation which are not a was bringing up very rapidly are not a HE younger generation whom Sanjay settled and cohesive political force as yet Moreover, none of them has much political maturity or experience True, some of them played important roles during the last three years. But that was solely and wholly under Sanjay's leadership they acted upon Sanjay's instructions. Whether anyone of them has qualities of leadership or not is to be seen And, to what extent Mrs Gandhi gives them scope now is also to be seen. They were expected to play a role in Sanjay's installation as the successor. There is no question of such succession any more, so what role will Mrs Gandhi allot for these **me**n now^o

The people to be really watched are the sentor leaders. All of them have experience, some have even intelligence. And they know Mrs Gandhi and her style of functioning much better than the newcomers. Under Sanjay's dominance, most of them had been feeling neglected and sidetracked, even those who got important governmental posts were not fully satisfied. In addition they were



The pyre lit, Rajiv walks away

always afraid of Sanjay They were jealous of him and his men They did not like their quick rise to power But they could not do anything Experience told them not to oppose Sanjay or go against his wishes in any way But now that Sanjay is not there they will try ind take their revenge against Sanjay's young

lisciples

To what extent these so called enior leaders are able to curb the importance of the vounger people will of a irse depend on Mrs Gindhis attitude. Per sonally, I do not think she will allow the younger generation to be crushed coinpletely. But it is equally certain that the seniors cannot be brushed iside now It Rajiv Gandhi is not inducted into politics immediately, then Kamalapati Tripathi Narasimha Rao Pranab Mukheijee and C M Stephen can be expected to become the most important Congressmen during the next few months It Mrs Gandhi brings in Rajiv to fill in the vacuum caused by Sanjay's sudden death then of course it would be an entirely different story no one but Rajiv can get the absolute authority which Sanjay had But if Rajiv Gandhi does not join politics then the so called kitchen cabinets of the pre Sanjay days will return and their composition will go on changing as it used to in the old days. However even if Rapiv comes, he will still have to prove his political abilities. Apart from being Mrs Gandhi's son Sanjay had leadership qualities in his own right

Some, if not all, of the Congress (U) people will now try to join the Congress (I) and wangle important positions in the government and the Party Sanjay was bitter about a large number of them, and they did not fit in to the political structure of Mrs Gandhi and Sanjhay Gandhi's dreams. She knew that they would create trouble for Sanjay the moment they got an opportunity. So they were kept out Now they will try to get in and if allowed inside concentrate their entire energy to

come closer to the Prime Minister Only a joint effort by the juniors and the seniors in the Congress (I) can prevent the opportunist reentry of the Congress (U) people

But many are masters in manipulation and some of them have the strong backing of high business houses. They will try to divide the Congres (1) leaders and take idvantage. In any case, they are likely to give up their inti Mrs Gandhi postures now. The slog in will be raised that the pre 1969. Congress should be revived, and that Congressinen, where yet they are should now come closer to the Prime Mainster in her hour of crisis. (As it they were by her side during her

Crisis of 19771) THE attitude of the pro-Moscow politicities will be ineither important thing to watch. What will they do now? Would they still continue their slogan of a left and democratic allrance against author itarianism or would they say that now when the extra constitutional forces have lost their strength, the left and democratic Parties should rally around Mrs Gandhie Some of them would definitely like to wait for a while and watch Mis Gandhi betore taking any final stand Others are likely to try to get into Mis Gandhi's camp immediately Sanjay was the big stumbling block for them. He considered the leftists in general and communists in particular as frauds. Io him, most of them were just Russian igents. He did not hate Russia, but he hated those he thought to be Russian agents. He was not pro American, as the communists tried to paint him, he was rather for a "genuine neutral foreign policy" He wanted India to be a strong wild power as quickly as possible So far I knew, Mrs Gandhi was not opposed to these ideas personally, and Sanjay did not really have to push her to follow this tourse On economic questions experience had taught her to be a critic of nationalisation. And she had started

warning the world about both the super powers much before Sanjay's emergence She had started the process of normalisa tion of relations with China when Sanjay was not an important factor. Some of the pro Moscow elements think she changed her pro left and pro Moscow line because of Santay They feel that most of them were rejected by her mainly due to Sanjay's pressure And some of them are positive that with Sanjay's departure they can now get closer to her and can influence her policies On the whole, the lett would like to watch her at least for the next few months before coming to a definite conclusion and pronouncing their future course of action Till then they will follow a soft line towards Mrs Gandhi And this will obviously affect opposition politics in the country

With a vast majority of the Congress(U) leaders trying to join her Party and with the left and the pro Moscow elements being in a dilemma, the opposition is bound to lose much of its already reduced potency at least for the present. Even if Rajiv Gandhi is inducted, the left and pro Moscow elements would like to watch him first and some of them would even try to cultivate him in the hope of influencing his ideas. The left and the pro Moscow elements will not give up Mrs Gandhi easily, especially when they have got an unexpected opportunity af

ter such a long time

In the short run, the Indian political scene after Sanjay's death will depend largely on how Mrs Gandhi reacts to this tragedy, to what extent she has changed, and what steps she consequently takes If Rajiv Gandhi is inducted then it will take one course, if he does not come, a completely different situation could arise No clear picture can be expected to emerge at least before the next six months Thanks to the old Janata Party and its leaders, the entire country's politics now mostly depends on one person's actions and reactions

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Memories



The Emergence of Sanjay

By DOM MORAES



Sanjay and Maneka the couple Chief Ministers welcomed

HE NEWSPAPERS STARTED to print once more under heavy censor. ship a few days after the' Emergency was declared Some of them, like The Motherland, a Jan Sangh orientated publication, was not allowed to restart at all A handful of newspapermen had been arrested, and the rest submitted without any show of resistance Not only were the editorials dead but the news, never wildly exciting at the best of times, was now heavily devoted to reporting the activities of the Prime Minister, and quoting her speeches and comments An announce ment displayed on front pages all over the country, said that Sanjay Gandhi had been asked to reorganise the Youth Congress, the youth branch of the Party composed mainly of volunteers This announcement brought forth excessive plaudity from the Press. The national

editors had been forced to submit to censorship, but nobody had asked them to drop on all fours in front of the government Nevertheless, the editors, urged on by proprietors with bad consciences who wished to placate Mrs Gandhi, had assumed this traditionally Indian posture of respectful subservience, and they remained in it, not looking particularly dignified, until the Emergency was over, when many were praised by foreign Press associations for their courage and independence in the face of dictatorship, and their incessant battle for the freedom of the Press

The inordinate publicity which Sanjay's entry into what could very loosely be called politics (for the Youth Congress is not strictly speaking a political entity but an organisation of young volun-eers who help the seniors of the Party by working in the field, distributing nam phlets and cheering at rallies) had no

tremendous news value except in so far as Sanjay was Mrs Gandhi's son, Considering that prior to this there had been considerable protest about the Maruti cars he was supposed to produce, it was perhaps unwise of her to expose him to publicity, even as having been offered a minor function in the Party at this time. What exactly he was supposed to do was left rather vague, but he issued a fourpoint programme, possibly to explain his own function to himself. Two of these points were that people should have planned families, something that had been amoebic in government statements since 1949, and that slums should be cleared and the people in these slums rehoused

These were admirable ideas but it is widely conceded that Sanjay's implementation of them was an extremely powerful element in the eventual fall of his mother. He had no experience of this kind of thing, and going ahead without experience he was to make himself the target, not only of the entire Indian Press, but also of certain sections of the foreign Press in any event the villain of the piece His initial ascent was too high for him, but it was not fair that he should have had to fall so far, for he was launched by forces beyond his own control, not least by the Indian Press during the Emergency They provided him with no ballast for his ride up, and overweighted him as he came down

The amount of publicity which Sanjay received was not only fantastic, but out of all proportion to what he did, whether, during the Emergency, it was favourable publicity, or, after the Congress fall in 1977, unfavourable in the extreme The latter kind of publicity sprang from the former newspapermen who had played him up for the nineteen months of Emergency, for no reason except that they wished to appear subservient to his mother, so inflated the role he played that it became excellent story material for them after the Emergency to prick the balloon they had themselves created. Sanjay seems to have blundered onward into a disaster which someone who thought further shead than the immediate moment could probably have foreseen and avoided.

"You see," Mrs Gandhi said to me, "he isn't a thinker. He's a doer. I mean, cent per cent a doer When he wants something done, he gets it done " It was more than a year since the 1977 election but the furniture in the room where she meets people was the same, except that the green upholstery of the sofa had been so frayed by the behinds of so many politicians in the intervening period Her slippers dropped neatly to the floor in front of her armchair, her small feet tucked themselves up on it A Peter Pan-like child blew a flute from a painting on the wall: Nehru showed his profile in a shadowed alcove: a huge Irish wolfhound shambled in, sniffed about, went away She said, "He's very austere in his habits, you know He doesn't drink, he doesn't smoke. He wears very simple clothes, he eats very simply. Now they say he was very interested in girls: until

he married Maneka I was very worried about the fact that he did not seem to be interested in girls "

Apart from these maternal views, I wanted to know why Sanjay had come into politics after the Emergency had been declared "He didn't come into politics." Mrs Gandhi said, a little annoyed with my lack of knowledge "He isn't interested in politics In fact, I think he disapproves of politics But when I was in difficulties at Allahabad, he was one of the few people who stood by me He told me that he wanted to do some thing to help me, to help the Party and the country If somebody who has shown he is loyal says that he wants to do something to help, can you turn him

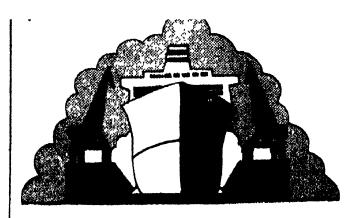
away?" Never having been in this situation, I shook my head "Since he said he wanted to help," Mrs Gandhi said, "I asked D K Barooah then Congress President after Emergency, what he could do Barooah said there was somebody needed to run the Youth Congress San jay said he would do it As you know, he did"

IN 1970, Mrs Gandhi had told me that family planning was now the most important of all the government programmes. She herself, as regards the multitudes of her country, had not really said much about it, except that in 1968 she addressed a meeting of women in North India about the necessity for it. This was curious against a background of

attempts at population control which had started on a governmental basis as early as 1949 The difficulty had always been, for government spokesmen, that the idea of family planning was alien to Indians, especially in the rural areas. This is common through most peasant societies, those societies spoken of as the Third World The reason is obvious if a couple works in their own fields, sowing, fertilising, ploughing and harvesting the plants they need for survival, they must plough the harvest even harder in their own bed, to provide themselves with free labour whose main incentive is survival Moreover, according to Indian tradition, the children are supposed to look after the parents, but a daughter, married to someone sprung of other stock, cannot

Funaral procession at Rainath





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invite her parents to come and inhabit her husband's house, fortunately for the husband, whereas a son can and is in duty bound to invite his parents to come and stay with him, unfortunately for his wife. Therefore, if a couple had daughters to start with, they would persevere in having children until a son was produced: mindful, in their own way, of the high rate of infant mortality in India, they would probably persevere until they had two sons: hence the unacceptability of family planning to rural couples of whatever religion: and the rural people were basically Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. Of the people basically urban, a large number were Christians, and the bulk of these Roman Catholics who would not accept the idea of planned families, at least not by humanly understandable methods of control. It was thus anything but easy for a political Party to urge family planning upon people since it would instantly lose popularity and

votes. The government of India, in the 1950s, launched a reasonably large campaign of what might be called persuasion to induce people to limit their families to two or three children since, due to the fall in the death rate through improved medicinal methods, the population growth rate had shown an alarming increase. The government used propaganda posters, and the family planning symbol of an inverted red triangle appeared in the most unlikely places all over India. "If the villagers are devout Hindus of a certain type," Pupul Jayakar told me once, "they would recognise the inverted red triangle as a symbol of fertility, which it is according to the Tantric cult. Certainly the red triangle did not work very well. By the early 1970s the Indian population was estimated at around 550 million, which meant every seventh person alive in the world had been born in India, though in the absence of proper census figures, since the statistics in remote villages are not reliable, the population figure may have been more. In any event, the estimated increase in population every year came to between 12-13 million, which meant that a number roughly equivalent to the entire population of the continent of Australia was being added, every year, to the population of the country of India. So far the Indian officials had relied on the condom, manufactured in India, the loop, and the pill to try and keep the popula-tion level down. None of these was a terminal method, and largely owing to the anger of the husband at a loop being inserted into his wife, since it might lead her into infidelity without risk of discovery, the annoyance of the husband at the ultimum of pleasure in his not particularly pleasurable life being interrupted by the condom, and the inability of the wife to count, thus rendering the pill useless, family planning in the villages which comprise most of India was not a success.

Then came the idea of sterilisation, both male and female. Incentives in cash were offered to those who agreed to be sterilised. Some enlightened companies came forward to say that those of their employees who took a week off to be sterilised would not only be paid for the week, but be offered a company incentive equal to, and sometimes exceeding, the government incentives. This programme was fairly successful in the urban areas, where there were no extra hands

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necessary for land cultivation, and where accommodation was limited, but it was not a success in the villages for the same reason as had applied to every other

method of contracertion.

Broadly speaking, the political hesitancy which had prevented the government from pushing family planning to any real extent disappeared with the declaration of Emergency. Sometime in 1975, shortly before the Emergency, I saw Mrs Gandhi in my capacity as a UNFPA observer, to ask her about the comparative failure of the extant programme. I also asked her about com-plaints from the sterilisation camps that operations were performed in such haste that the patient frequently became infected, and that incentives were being misapplied in that they were not only offered to the prospective patient but to the man who urged him to be sterilised. These motivators, therefore, hauled in as many people as they could, a number which allegedly included very young people as yet unmarried and very old people unlikely to be blessed with offspring. Mrs Gandhi, having pondered upon this question (the interview was in her office and she was being formal) replied, "Of course, the success of the whole programme depends on the ability and dedication of the officers in each

ONE of the other salient points of Sanjay's four-pronged programme was the beautification of Delhi by the planting of trees and the destruction of slums. There are in Delhi a large number of people who are poor, but do not starve, who live in slum areas which have sprouted up near their work. The Harijans about whom Leela (my wife) had written to Mrs Gandhi lived in one such slum area. Their colony was on the banks of the Jamuna river, in small, patchily whitewashed mud edifices. There was a tap for water, but no sanitation, though the banks and the waters of the river provided a communal latrine. The people kept goats and pigs, so the sanitary facilities were to some degree shared between the animals and their owners. They were not healthy conditions to live in, but a continual exposure to deadly bacteria had to some extent hardened the population, and they were not by Indian standards badly off, though they suffered from various endemic diseases transferred to their children. These were among the sort of slums that the government, after the Emergency, scheduled for demolition and their inhabitants for resettlement.

At the time of the Kauls from Kashmir, the first Nehrus in the early eight-eenth century, what is now called Old Delhi was the city proper: around it there was arid scrub and expanses of dust and rock where the ruins of the earlier Delhis were populated by rats, hyenas, owls, bats, and a very few, very poor people When New Delhi was built by the British, the population of the old and the new cities was still sited within areas clearly defined by the scrubland around. But after 1947, with the flood of Hindu and Sikh refugees spilling over the new border with Pakistan, the face of Delhi became much more complex and more crowded. Some of the refugees from the city of Lahore, which had become part of Pakistan, and from other parts of the sprawling and populous Punjab, brought money with them: some fled penniless

from the clubs and knives of the newly Pakistani Muslims, but had lands, money, or relatives across the border; but the bulk came without resources or support, having lost their relatives and assets in the holocaust of August. To these the government of India offered compensation assessed in relation to the losses they had suffered due to the Partition. The refugees were homeless and they needed homes: they began, with the incomp money or with the assistance of their own money or with the assistance of official compensation, to build, and houses sprawled over what had been scrubland, small white uniformly ugly houses, surrounded still by dusty shrubs and trees. Roads were built, services, all rather shaky, installed: now the twin cities sprawl out across the plain over a total area of 134 square miles. What this meant in 1975 was that there was no open space available near the city in which to put the resettled slum dwellers. They had to be moved to areas far from their work, where they were offered small plots of land, free of charge, on which to build.

The point was that the government was not offering these people materials with which to build, or assistance whereby they could procure materials or labour. Neither had the government as yet provided any service facilities to any of these areas: the resettled population had to live in hastily constructed and very temporary hovels, their kerosene lamps and smudge fires flickering un-easily amidst the fields, often without an immediately accessible supply of water. The people and their chattels were taken in government lorries to their new homes, dumped there, and left. They had therefore, if they wished to continue in their former employment, to arise in the small hours to catch buses or to bicycle to their work: and return at night in the same way. This meant that in some cases they could only spend around six hours a day at home, in which time they had to cook, eat, and sleep. The resettlement areas being a long way from anywhere, there was no question of the people being able to find other employment within a workable radius of their homes... The energy wasted in travel by bicycle to and from the city devoured their efficiency. The money spent on bus fares ate away at the heart of their incomes, which were not increased by their employees in a way commensurate with their new expenses. Most of the resettled people had no desire whatever to go where they were sent: however, go they had to, as their houses shattered under crowbars behind them sending up clouds of dust like signals of distress.

The largest slum area in Old Delhi was around the gigantic old mosque, the Jama Masjid, its geometry of red sand-stone bulking over the little houses and alleys beneath, a landmark for centuries. Several generations of Nehrus had seen the Jama Masjid and its environs, had watched the environs of the mosque turn from more or less open spaces dotted with poorhouses and hospitals in the Mogul times, to a clutter of shops and hovels when, after the Mutiny, the British closed the former fleamarket down. The clutter still spread around at the foot of the mosque, dirty, noisy and pictures-que to tourists, to the inhabitants a way of life. The little stalls where Kebab makers crouched over their ovens, the areas where meat, fish, and live birds were

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sold, still existed, and people still came from all over the city to buy cooked food and supplies there. It was a very fashionable habit, for New Delhi socialites to send their servants into the area to purchase kebabs of meat and fish for the guests at a cocktail party. One of the great gates of the old city, the Turkman Gate, brooded over the congeries of shops and houses: once, from the Turkman Gate, there had been a clear view of the mosque, now obscured by the clamorous constructions between. Sanjay is alleged to have said to some of the Youth Congress workers, on having had a look at the place: "I want the day to come when I can see the Jama Masjid from the Turkman Gate."

THE curiousness of the Emergency and not so much in any terror felt by the THE curiousness of the Emergency lay people for the government, as in the readiness of the people to oblige and please those who ruled them. It was tradtional to India, in a way, as much as the actions of the Emergency were: an arranged marriage of the rulers and the ruled, where the ruled promised to honour and obey the rulers, and do their best eventually to love the rulers as well: a relationship between a male and active power and a female and passive principle. The Kamasutra describes how the male partner in a sexual act must pinch, bite, and beat the female in several different ways as the act progresses: for this is what is expected of him: the female partner, lying back and taking it, though perhaps not entirely exjoying it, must respond to each type of pinch, bite, or slap with the twitter or coo of a different species of bird, for this is what is expected of her.

Therefore, when Sanjay made certain tyes of pronouncement during the course of the Emergency, only a very few people said anything: most emitted the correct birdnotes. The slum dwellers complained when their hovels were destroyed, but never to the government. They com-plained to one another, and apologised to irritated employers when they were late for work. Meanwhile, what was certainly true was that government employees turned up on time, took fewer teabreaks, and attended more to their work. Indian bureaucracy-which was after all created by the British-has always been far too top-heavy: six men have always been employed to perform a function one man could have done, the least of the six passing a directive upward until it reaches the first, who passes it on to the person who can take action. One man in this chain who has gone off for tea, or taken the day off, can delay the directive which, when he returns to duty, will be swamped by other files, for weeks or months. This, however, ceased to happen in the days of the Emergency. The fall in food prices and the lower incidence of crime were noted by the people as well. The arrests were not noted because few except the most important ones were reported. What did cause a stir was what started to happen in north India, and most visibly in Delhi, as a result of the actions and directives of Sanjay.

DUKHSANA Sultans, or Rukhsans Belegam, is a youngish woman with the general appearance of an Indian filmstar. That is to say, she appears to be a prisoner within a personality she has assumed. The chainlike clank of her principants, many and various, the whi-



plike hiss of her silks when she moves, and the round-lensed, pink spectacles through which the world observes her, as through two spyholes into the cell of herself, are more than conducive to this image She is actually the niece of an Indian filmstar, Begum Para, known in the 1950s for the size of her bust rather than for the size of her roles. Begum Para's elder sister married a Hindu, so Rukhsana originally had a Hindu name which she turned into a Muslim one to fulfil the requirements of a legacy. Her life in Delhi, before she decided to prove herself as a social worker, is said to have been slightly colourful: a more unlikely person for Sanjay to choose as an assistant in his mission to improve the lot of the masses is difficult to imagine.

Even after the Emergency, when Sanjay was in trouble, she seems to have been loyal to him, and defended him to various hostile interviewers. However, the woman of Sanjay's family do not seem to have a high opinion of her. "She is," said Mrs Gandhi once, in slight irritation rather than in anger, "a very scatterbrained sort of person." Maneka said, "Well, she probably went around and talked a lot of rubbish. But she was very earnest, and Sanjay needed volunteers." This may have been so, but why he decided to take on an outsider, instead of turning to the existing volunteers of the Youth Congress, seems to me a question dificult to answer.

Rukhsana Sultana was put in charge of the most difficult area in Delhi, around the Jama Masjid, and there, amidst the slums, she floated in her silks, pink spectacles and pearls, from July to December 1975. During this time she was apparently mostly engaged in collecting complaints from local inhabitants about water-taps and sanitary facilities, or the lack of them, and sending these to the Municipal Corporation, which does not seem to have done much about them. In December 1975, however, when the prog-

ramme for sterilisation really started to be pushed, she was told by Sanjay to push it in Old Delhi. The population around the Jama Masjid was mostly Muslim: since Rukhsana was at least partly Muslim, Sanjay may have imagined it would be a case of like calling agined it would be a case of like calling to like: but the unanswering sea of Muslims around the gigantic old mosque receded rapidly as the pink toes of Rukhsana Sultana, painted to match her spectacles perhaps, intruded into their progenitive lives. A large number of the Muslim women around the mosque still you around as their ancestors did when go around, as their ancestors did when the Kauls first came to Delhi, in shroudlike black costumes known as burkhas. which cover them from head to foot. The only area left exposed by the burkha is the face, and this exposure is compensated for by a veil, attached to the burkha, which covers the face. The sight of Rukhsana Sultana, painted and scented, her face shielded only by her pink spectacles, pearls round her neck, her sari of silk and the choli or blouse under it cut, by the standards of the area, indeceptly low, must have shocked the orthodox Muslims, both men and women. She herself does not seem to have thought of these very poor people as particularly human. She is alleged to have told an interviewer that the stench and filth of the slums so sickened her that she had to douse herself with her favourite scent before she could bear to enter them. Certainly, on one occasion, my wife Leela met her near the mosque, and, having herself dressed in her simplest clothes, expressed some surprise at Rukhsana's attire in this ambience of poor and orthodox Muslims. "My jewel-lery,"the social worker said, "is part of my personality. Why should I discard my real personality?" She also developed a habit, when trying to browbeat these women into accepting sterilisation, of telling them that they should break free from the fetters of orthodoxy and tell their husbands that they were male chauvinists. This was heresy to most of the women and it was made worse when Rukhsana Sultana, to encourage them towards emancipation, flicked up their veils and made them show their faces to an audience that included men. This was equivalent to a Western social worker telling women that they must be emancipated and then, in front of an audience which included men, pulling their skirts up to show how they could be emancipated.

It was therefore little wonder that as she swished about the crowded alleys of Old Delhi she was always accompanied by an armed police escort, her credibility with the people she was trying to reach, never very high to start with, was reduced by this to nothing. She was a relatively unimportant figure in herself, but her activities may have contributed considerably to a kind of minor insurrection in Old Delhi in June 1976, around the Turkman Gate: though by that time the demolition of many shops and houses in front of the Jama Masjid had exacerbated the temper of the people still further. Gas, batons, and bullets dispersed a protest rally of Muslims: several were killed.

The episode could be said to have been the end of the beginning of the Emergency.

To be concluded next week.

The accident



was flying it as he wished. He frightened onlookers once when it seemed that the plane was going to crashland on the chairs; suddenly he had lowered the plane giving the impression that he wanted to make his craft kiss the grass. But he picked the plane up neatly. He avoided death every time by just a split of a second. And he continued flying 15 minutes beyond the time allotted to him. It seemed as though he did not want to come down

This was almost his daily routine, when he was in Delhi, performing aero-batics which ace pilots would not dare to

ANJAY GANDHI had a pas- 🦼 sion for flying and aerobatics. People who frequent the Delhi Flying Club say 📽 that he was far better at this than the other members of the club. But he was arrogant and never-listened to the advice of the other pilots Even then, these pilots concede that "he excelled in pinpoint landing and exploding balloons with his aircraft propellers in the sky". Unlike his brother Rajiv, who is a cool and composed IA pilot, Sanjay opted for powered flying indulging in the most dangerous types of aerobatics. He was given a private pilot's licence on 6 September, 1976, a commercial pilot's licence on 23 June, 1979 and an assistant flight instructor's licence on 24 January, 1980. When the private pilot's licence was granted, Mr Sanjay Gandhi had flown 325 hours His total flying experience by 17 June this year was 627 hours. He was allowed to fly Pushpak, Bonanza, Beach Baron, Piper Supercruiser, Twin Beach and Maule aircraft

Just two days before the fatal accident Capt. Kamendra Singh, alias Ralph, aviation adviser to the Punjab Government, had warned Sanjay that he should not do aerobatics below 2,000 feet. Just one week before his death Sanjay Gandhi had a narrow escape when he tried to perform a 'barrel roll' at slightly below 2,000 feet. His plane had lost control and dropped about 1,500 feet. The plane was coming down like a stick when, at the last moment at the height of 400 to 500 feet, Mr Gandhi regained control and managed to go up. It was a narrow escape In 1977 also Mr Sanjay Gandhi had a brush with death when his plane, a Beachcraft Bonanza, crashlanded near Lucknow

He loved to take risks while flying small planes. He enjoyed flying against winds and playing with the clouds He always said that "life is up there in the sky". Nobody can forget 26th March of this year, when Sanjay Gandhi braved all hazards of flying in the presence of retired and serving air force officers, club members and a few others. Dressed in his usual white kurtapyjama, and kolhapuri chappals, Sanjay was to fly a Pushpak. His co-passenger was Capt Kamendra Singh The Pushpak is not meant for aerobatics. And this fact became a challenge to him. The next 15 minutes saw the best of Sanjay's flying qualities Nobody could believe that he was performing steep banks, stall turns, sailchase, rolls etc with a Pushpak The plane had become a toy in his hands. He



do. His elder brother Rajiv had also warned him not to touch the Pitts S-2A because a tremendous amount of skill is needed to handle it. According to insiders, Rajiv Gandhi thought that Sanjay did not have the necessary experience to fly it.

On the morning of 22 June, Sanjay had taken Dhirendra Brahmachari with him for a joy ride in this plane. After coming back Brahmachari had given him an elder's scolding, telling him that he should not fly in such a manner. On 23 June Brahmachari confirmed that Sanjay Gandhi did not have the experience to do aerobatics in a Pitts S-2A: "It would have been better if he had tried it a month later after he had more experience," he said. The Pitts S-2A is the world's best for aerobatics but is also reported to have one of the highest accident rates.

On the evening of 22 June, Maneka Gandhi accompanied her husband, in this plane. Just after taking her, Sanjay took R. K. Dhawan with him. Dhawan was frightened after the flight. Onlookers recall that Mr Dhawan requested Sanjay with folded hands to be careful in flying. Dhawan had repeated his request several times. That night a friend had warned him, "Don' fly like this. If you are not going to stop it, I will complain to Indiraji". But Sanjay was adamant.

Under the Indian aircraft rules and international flying regulations the Pitts S-2A is prohibited from flying below 5,000 feet and above residential areas, particularly since in making loops this plane can lose height very fast. But Sanjay Gandhi was performing aerobatics above Ashok Hotel and Rashtrapati Bhawan.

On the morning of 23 June, Sanjay had invited Viren Anand (Maneka's brother) and Madhav Rao Scindia to fly with him. Viren had another appointment and Madhav Rao could not wake up in time. Sanjay therefore approached Capt. Subhash Saxena who was an ace pilot but he had no experience in flying in this type of aircraft.

According to an eyewitness, Jatinder Singh, who is a regular visitor at the flying club, Sanjay had also flown this plane on Saturday, June 21. On 23 June, Jatinder Singh reached the flying club around 7.15 in the morning. The Pitts' engine was started and Sanjay, in his usual way, was discussing a few technical points with an engineer, Mr Verma. Capt. Saxena on that day was not feeling very cheerful and he was very reluctant to accompany Sanjay. Satijay came on the left rear of the plane, took off his black spectacles and put them in the corner. Then he took out metallic glasses, and gave the cover to Mr Verma. He sat on the Pitts, and with his usual thumbs up, taxied towards the runway; he was at the controls. Saxena was in the front seat. The plane took off. It took a left loop towards the race course, then it moved towards the PM's house. Then it took another loop. Meanwhile, Jatinder Singh had started towards the club house, when he stopped to take a look at the plane in the sir. He saw that is had completed a loop but the loop was taken a bit low. Just after that the plane, going very low,

disappeared behind the Ashok Hotel. He scanned the skies for the plane, but it was not visible now. The plane did not rise. He started running and asking, "Where is the Pitts?"

The control tower was rung up. An ambulance and the fire brigade were coming towards the runway. One Pushpak in the air was doing its normal rounds. Jatinder Singh, Verma and four trainees, along with Deputy Director of Civil Aviation, Mr G. R. Kathwalia got into a Fiat and rushed towards the presumed site of the crash. From Ashok Hotel they moved towards the American embassy, searching for the exact site of the accident. Another car led them to the

site. The fire brigade and the ambulance had already reached there. Then policemen landed up and started pushing the onlookers away. Jatinder tried to open the crumpled door of the plane. It was jammed, "I opened the door by pushing, with my left foot, some metallic piece. Then I saw the split scalp, and crushed and entangled bodies. They were dead. There was no doubt about it. I left the door."

Sanjay was fascinated by the sky, by heights, and loved to be there. His was the death of a daredevil.

UDAYAN SHARMA



"Today is Pitts' Day"

GTODAY is Pitts' Day," Sanjay Gandhi is reported to have remarked to one of his friends just before taking off on that ill-fated flight. He was clearly in love with this particular aircraft which could behave like a trapeze artiste in the air.

It is not yet clear just how this plane was acquired four years ago, and through which convoluted route it reached the Delhi Flying Club. It was registered with the Frectorate General of Civil Aviation in the name of a Calcutta firm, Messrs Thomas Mouget, owned by industrialists who have been very friendly with Mrs Gandhi's family. It was brought to India in January 1977, but the customs clearance came only in May 1980 Obviously the parts had been lying in some obscure corner. It was assembled during the week before the crash and the airworthiness certificate was given only two days before the crash; the plane had logged 11. hours. The plane was sold by Aerotech Ltd of Wyoming, USA, in 1976. The registration code given was VT-EGN.

The Pitts S-2A Special Aircraft was first introduced in 1967, it was a two-seat version of the Pitts Special. It was larger, had increased power, and aerodynamic changes gave the aircraft improved aerobatic and landing characteristics. The different wing sections used on S-2A facilitate loops. The ailerons are aerodynamically balanced for a higher rate of roll at low speeds, and vertical rolls can be made with ease. The plane became popular in a lot of countries with flying enthusiasts. In early 1973, it was also used by the British aerobatics display

Some of the technical aspects of the aircraft are:
Wings: Braced biplane type, with

Wings: Braced biplane type, with single faired interplane strut each side and N-type cabane. Wing section NACA

6400 series on upper wing, OO series on bottom wings. Two spar wooden (spruce) structure with fabric covering. Aerodynamically balanced ailerons on both upper and lower wings. No flaps or tabs.

Fuselage Welded steel tubes structure with wooden stringers, covered with Dacron fabric except for metal top decking

Tail unit Wire braced welded steel tube structure Fixed surfaces metal covered; control surfaces fabric covered. Trim tab in each elevator.

Landing gear: Non-retractable tailwheel type Rubber cord shock absorption Steerable tailwheel. Fairings on main wheels.

Power plant. One 149 KW(200 hp) Lycoming 10-360-AIA flat four engine, driving a Hartzell type HC C2YK-4/C7666A-2 two-blade metal constant speed propeller with a spinner. Fuel tank in fuselage, immediately aft of firewell, capacity 90.5 litres. Refuelling point on fuselage upper surface forward of front windscreen. Oil capacity 7.5 litres. Inverted fuel and oil systems standard

Accommodation: Two seats in tandem cockpits with dual controls. Rear cockpit can be enclosed by a transparent canopy if required. Space for 9 kilograms of baggage aft of rear cockpit when flown in non-aerobatic category.

System. Electrical system powered by 12V 40A alternator and non-spill 12V battery.

Dimensions, external

Wing span upper— $610 \, \mathrm{m}(20 \, \mathrm{ft})$, Wing span lower— $5.79 \, \mathrm{m}(19 \, \mathrm{ft})$, Wing cord (constant, both)— $1.02 \, \mathrm{m}(3 \, \mathrm{ft} \, 4 \, \mathrm{in})$; Length overall— $5.41 \, \mathrm{m}(17 \, \mathrm{ft} \, 9 \, \mathrm{in})$, Height overall— $1.94 \, \mathrm{m}(6 \, \mathrm{ft} \, 4 \, \mathrm{Jz})$ in)

The Crash: Why?

See I was up there in the sky flying my plane and keeping a watch on the red Pitts aircraft which Sanjay was flying. It is not that I was keeping a watch because he was flying an aerobatic aircraft but because it has become a part of our system to keep a watch on other aircraft so that we don't clash. Suddenly, I found that the aircraft was taking a stall turn. Then, it went off into a spin to the left and I knew it was too late," Captain Shamim, chief flying instructor of Delhi Flying Club told this reporter. "When an aircraft goes into a spin at such a low altitude and at such speed (250kmph), it is impossible to save it. As soon as it got into a spin and went straight down, nose first, I brought my aircraft down and rushed to the spot where the aircraft had crashed. One thing I can say, when the aircraft came into a spin, it was not a deliberate manoeuvre. No pilot, no matter how experienced, is foolhardy enough to so into a spin as that law being to go into a spin at that low height. And Sanjay was very good at flying and he had excellent knowledge of aircraft."

According to captain Shamim, an unknown complication in the controls could have caused the spin. "Especially in stalls, it is essential that the radar effect should not be there. When an aircraft stalls and the radar effect enters, an aircraft goes into a spin."Could it have been avoided?" Yes, it could have been avoided. A lot depends on the experience one has, on how fast one reacts and understands promptly that there is something wrong with the aircraft. There was of course nothing wrong in doing aerobatics in the aircraft. It was de-

signed for it."

The aircraft Sanjay Gandhi was flying was a Pitts S-2A, two-seater, duel control, bi-plane. First flown in 1967, the S-2A is a two-seat version of the Pitts Special. It is similar to the single seat S-1 in basic configuration and construction but is slightly larger in overall dimensions. The increased size and power, coupled with aerodynamic changes, give the two-seater improved aerobatic and landing characteristics and make it extremely stable in rough air conditions. The control responses are good and the ailerons are aerodynamically balanced for higher rate of roll at low speeds and full vertical rolls can be made with very little difficulty. The different wing sections used on the S-2A provide inverted performance equal to conventional flight and facilitate outside loops.

"The problem with a single engined aircraft is that if something goes wrong with the engine, there is little one can do to save the aircraft," Air Chief Marshal Arjan Singh said. "Another hazard is that it has the



engine right up at front. At the time of a crash it moves right in. What killed Sanjay, I think, was the fact that the place where Sanjay was sitting was telescoped and the weight of the engine further squashed the seat. It was just bad luck that the angle of the aircraft was so steep. If the angle of the aircraft had been less steep then it could have hit the trees and this would have acted as a speed breaker. Like what happened when Morarji Desai's plane crash landed when he was the Prime Minister. In Sanjay's case the aircraft hit the ground at such a steep angle that there was nothing to absorb the shock."

On how the accident could have occurred, Arjan Singh said: "It is most likely that the accident occurred because the aircraft went off into a spin, unless you have sufficient height it is extremely difficult to get out of a spin and this is very unlikely in the case of a small aircraft like the one Sanjay was flying. All this only an inquiry can confirm. The other possibility is that it could have been a case of a runaway propeller. This happens



when the propeller gains more speed than necessary and it becomes ineffective and this in turn affects the aerodynamics. It has been reported that the aircraft had been purchased some time back and had been lying around for a number of years. This is extremely dangerous. Corrosion sets in, sometimes in the controls, sometimes in the engine. Unless it is checked very thoroughly, a few slips can be made. Maybe someone had overlooked something. That is quite possible, these things happen." As a note of caution, Arjan Singh said, wouldn't rule out some slip in declaring the aircraft airworthy. The records must be examined very carefully. You see, if an aircraft is declared airworthy and it really is, then even in a new aircraft it is possible to do

aerobatics without any danger."

Interestingly, there was one point on which Captain Shamim refused to comment: Why was there no fire when the aircraft crashed. The only remark he made was: "It is very strange."

The state of the s

MANTHARAMAN



Sanjay Gandhi with Kamal Nath and Jagdish Tytler in the Central Hall of Parliament on becoming MPs

Has the "Youth Congress" been orphaned?

ITH Saniav Gandhi becoming the general secretary of what might be called the Old Congress, the Youth Congress, already a fairly devalued entity after the heady days of the Emergency, lost even more of what little status was left. This was logical enough. The Youth Congress had been boosted into absurd prominence only to make it an effective vehicle for Mr Sanjay Gandhi; now that Sanjay Gandhi was in the main organisation in his own right, the Youth Congress' importance was proportionately reduced. Such was the lack of interest displayed by everyone after the Lok Sabha polls, that the IYC(I) president, Ram Chandra Rath, had simply stopped bothering about his organisation, leaving the day-to-day affairs in the hands of one of his general secretaries, Krishna Vasudeva Panicker.

It was in December 1975 that the national council of the Youth Congress under the presidentship of Ambika Soni took the unprecedented step of "inviting" Sanjay Gandhi to become a member of that council. Before that, the Youth Congress, particularly under the leaderthip of Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, had emerged as a progressive organisation. taking part in the activities of Moscowpriented international organisations like he World Federation of Democratic Youth, based in Budapest, and coordinatng its activities with the youth wing of he CPT. It had become a reasonably mportant springboard for young. Conpressmen aspiring to more powerful

But the advent of Sanjay Gandhi hanged everything. Earlier the youth activists used to be patronised by the

elder Partymen Now the elders started pampering the youth activists and a stage came in which many senior Partymen depended on the youth activists to give them access to Sanjay Gandhi and thereby to Mrs Gandhi. The Youth Congress acquired a more spacious office than the parent Party at 10, Janpath and whenever any important Congressmen from the states came to New Delhi, apart from visiting the Prime Minister's residence and the AICC office at 5, Rajendra Prasad Road (where it functioned till 1977), a visit to 10, Janpath became a must.

The defeat of the Congress in 1977 led to a split within days of the March, 1977 results. The then IYC President, Ambika Soni was asked by her erstwhile mentor, Dev Kanta Barooah, to step down from office soon after March 24, 1977 and the reappointment of Priya Ranjan Das Munshi was resented by the Sanjay loyalists, who refused to hand over the possession of the IYC office to Das Munshi and elected one of the general secretaries of Soni's team, Janardan Singh Gehlot, as their president. This dispute led to two parallel Youth Congress bodies functioning for some time after the 1977 debacle; ultimately the youth wing was suspended in the undivided Congress.

The very fact that a split took place on pro-Sanjay and anti-Sanjay lines shows that within a short span of 16 months during the Emergency, Sanjay had managed to build up for himself a band of loyalists who were prepared to evn split the organisation in order to defend him. This band comprised two kinds of people. Some were the old Youth Congressmen who preferred Sanjay's leadership to that of either Das Munshi, Ambika Soni

or Vayalar Ravi (the former general secretary from Kerala). The others were those, like Delhi's Jagdish Tytler, Bengal's Kamai Nath, UP's Akbar Ahmed, and the like who were totally apolitical till the advent of Sanjay Gandhi in politics, who had come in initially 'just for the kicks' and stayed on to become important leaders of the organisation and later MPs and MLAs.

After the formation of the Congress(I), the Youth Congress(I) was formed under the presidentship of Ram Chandra Rath, an MP from Orissa, who had been the state unit chief during the Emergency (Sanjay had entrusted to him the task of destabilising Nandini Satpathy's ministry). In the new outfit none of the former central office-bearers found any place, though former general secretaries Janardan Gehlot, Indrasain Reddy and Ghufran Azam were in the Congress(I). Only two former stalwarts, Ghulam Nabi Azad and Vinod Sharma, who had been state presidents under Mrs Soni, found a

place in the new setup.

The new setup was a poor cousin of the Emergency outfit, confined to one small room in the AICC(I) headquarters at 24, Akbar Road, with no funds of its own, depending on the signature of the AICC(I) treasurer for its expenses. The separate character of the Youth Congress had been lost and Sanjay, while utilising the youth wing for mobilising support for his activities during the 33 months out of power and later during the elections, did not seem to want to restore the old importance of the organisation. Even while choosing an organisational post for himself barely ten days before his death, he preferred to be a general secretary of the AICC(I) rather than being the Youth Congress(I) chief. The importance of the Youth Congress(I) in his list of priorities had diminished.

With Sanjay Gandhi dead, the IYC(I) President, Rath, has shaken off his lethargy and has once again started taking a keen interest in the day-to-day affairs of the organisation. For Rath, survival may not be a difficult problem. After all he won from Orissa even in 1977. But for those political nobodies who had been propped up by Sanjay in the past five years, survival will become a problem, mainly because of their arrogant behaviour with the Party elders.

Soon after a post-Sanjay meeting of the IYC(I) national council, one member commented: "Now the politics of manipulation and unconventional methods is over. We will now have to go back to the kind of politics which existed five years back. Those of us who are used to that kind of politics will adjust to the changed circumstances. But will the new crop be able to do so?" This indeed is going to be the hallmark of the Youth Congress politics from now on. The Sanjay-style politics is over and many who were under a cloud in the past few years have gained a new lease of life. Despite moves by a section of the Youth Congressmen to bring in Maneka Gandhi to fill the vacuum created by Sanjay Gandhi vis-avis the Youth Congress(I), it is unlikely that the Youth Congress will ever get the same importance in the Party as during the Saniay eru.

The Funeral: A last goodbye

T took two hours for the funeral procession to cover the 14-kilometre route from 1, Akbar Road to Shantivana, where the last rites of Sanjay Gandhi were performed in the fading sunlight of the evening. Sixteen years back Sanjay Gandhi's grandfather, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been cremated at the same site, about 50 yards away.

Hours before the procession reached the sprawling Shantivana, thousands of people had gathered there. Even ministers and VIPs sat on the ground, waiting, as the afternoon sun beat upon them. Occasionally, a group of people would shout: Jab tak suraj chand rahega, Sanjay tera naam rahega. At one corner a group of newsmen stood huddled under the shade of a raised structure which had been built for photographers A number of people were busy putting the finishing touches on a flower-bedecked platform. Five hundred men had worked round the clock to get it ready Steel-helmeted armed policemen were posted all over. A person who was supervising the proceed ings came and informed the Press that 80 kilograms of pure ghee, one quintal of sandalwood along with seven quintals of ordinary wood had been ordered for the

funeral. An air force helicopter whirred overhead. All eyes were turned towards the entrance facing Delhi's Ring Road, from where the body would be brought in

At 6.35 pm, half an hour behind schedule, the Shaktiman truck carrying Sanjay Gandhi's body draped in the Congress flag and covered with flowers, entered Shantivana. Crowds surged forward as the pallbearers — Rajiv Gandhi, Kamal Nath, C.P.N. Singh, H.S. Siddhu and Akbar Ahmed — brought the body down from the truck. Mrs Gandhi walked ahead with Maneka and then, holding Maneka's hand, she climbed up to the raised platform where the pyre had been laid, to take a look at the preparations. Cries of Sanjay Gandhi amar rahe rentithe air as the body was carried forward.

After it was carried to the platform, it was lowered next to the pyre. Mrs Gandhi and Maneka took a last look at the body, touched the ground as a mark of respect and climbed down. They sat down quietly in the family enclosure Some of the others seated there were other family members, and friends, including Amitabh Bachchan, Nargis Dutt and Sunil Dutt Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan sat quietly on a wheelchair. Delhi's Police Commissioner, P.S. Bhinder, then

walked up to the platform, saluted the body and came down.

Rajiv Gandhi performed the last rites. While priests chanted om swaha, Rajiv placed coconuts and chandan on the body in accordance with the Hindu traditions. Then logs were placed on the body and Rajiv was handed a stick of sandalwood. Suddenly, Mrs Gandhi indicated that she had something to say. The Congress flag which draped her son's body had to be removed. It could not be burnt. The flag was removed and the logs were placed back on the body. Upon the platform along with Rajiv and the priests was Dhirendra Brahmachari, in his usual spotless white dhoti, supervising the proceedings. As priests chanted the vedic mantras, ghee was poured on the pyre and the sandalwood stick which Rajiv Gandhi was holding was lit. He then walked round the pyre seven times, and not betraying any emotion, lit it. The time was 6.50 pm Pieces of sandalwood were handed over to friends and relations. Once the pyre was lit the crowds surged forward, closer to the pyre. The flimsy barricade to the north gave way and people came rushing in. The police even had to resort to a mild lath charge to keep the crowd at bay.

As the shadows of the evening lengthened, the flames leapt towards the sky. Sonia Gandhi broke down, crying. Silent tears rolled down Maneka's cheeks. Mrs Gandhi sat silent, stoically.

SAUMITRA BANERJEE



mpses

SANJAY Gandhi was extremely cheer-ful at home in the four days preceding his death, according to members of the household staff. Suddenly he had also become very meticulous, and used, for instance, to switch off the lights, fans and the airconditioner before leaving a room. He did not do much politicking, and spent a lot of time relating with his favourite hobby, flying. The newly acquired Pitts aircraft was his fayourite bird'. Just before the fatal Monday, he had taken R. K. Dhawan, Manka Gandhi and Dhirendra Brahma hari for spins' in the new aircraft Saniar recent of the the new aircraft. Sanjey seemed to be



enjoying himself, and remained serenely confident about his flying capabilities. On the fateful day he was scheduled to take his brother in law, Viren Anand and Madhavrao Scindia, MP, for spine in his aircraft. Madhavrao Scindia reportedly overslept and could not reach on time, and Viren reached late because his breakfast was served late and by the time he reached the Safdarjung airport, Sanjay had taken off with Subbash Saxena.

According to eyewitnesses at the air-port on June 23, Sanjay drove his Matador very menculously right up to the

dor van very menculously right up to the hanger and parked it at one side. Normally he used to have his vehicle anywhere he pleased to have his vehicle anywhere he pleased to have his vehicle anywhere he pleased to have would park it at a statistic while this day was an incoption.

To was Viren why saw the aircraft Labsedive and ranked to inform hisneka about the crash while Mrs Gandhi and the crash while more appropriate and reached the crash while we receipt of a page cally and scaling while the home and reached the hoppital within stoments of the body being salesh them. Instially she was not told that Sanjay was dead. Mrs Gandhi kept useuring has their there

still was some 'hope'. This meanir he trylse she wanted to give some 'man and the doctors to stitch up the last last last broke down on seeing the body before Maneks by a last broke down on seeing the body trill eleven on the night of the 23rd all hardly spoke to anyone. She was one on sedative that night, but could not she for more than three boors. The next morning family friends kept her engaged in conversation and she seemed to have in conversation and she seemed to have gathered courage to face the shock,

WHILE the entire household of the Gandhis was plunged into ghoom, the two-and-a-half-month-old Pheroze Varun lay in the living room of Sanjay and Maneka, attended to by his ayah He was his father's centre of attention every evening and on the evening of June 23, while his father tay dead in the adjoining house, some female triends of the family spent some time with the child. According to one of them, Pheroze wanted them to keep on talking to him. The moment there was a silence, he started wailing. The ladies, therefore, had to humour him, as his father did, till he fell asleep.

AMONG the things Maneka was worked about on the morning after her husband's death was the future of the personal staff of Sanyay, like his driver, Chhattar Singh and police bodyguard, inspector Jodh Singh. These two were extremely close to Sanyay even during his days of relities have the sanday and the sanday of relities have the sanday of reliti this days of political banishment during the Janua Lok Dal rule. While Chhattar Singh had continued in Sanjay's service, Jodh Singh had been transferred to an obscure outpost in a village near the Delhi University campus. His proximity to Sanjay had cost him a promotion and the files for his upgradation were being processed when the untimely demise occurred. Chhattar Singh had requested sanjay to send him to Moscow to see the Olympics and his passport too was ready. Chhaiter Singh will now certainly work as a driver either in the PM's household or in the AICC(I) office. Inspector Jodh Singh in all probability will join the PM's

BARELY three days after his death, the nameplate of Sanjay Gandhi was removed from the door of his room in the AICC(I) office at Z4, Akbar Road. The new nameplate said G. Kuppaiah Moopa-ner, the general seceretary of the AIC-C(I) from Tamil Nadu. The room allotted to Sanjay when he became the general secretary was previously occupied by Abdul Rahman Antulay when he was an officebearer. On the morning of June 26, the day of Sanjay's chauthathe new nameplate went up. This made one Youth Congress (I) activist comment that attempts were being made to erase the traces of Sanjay Gandhi from the organisation even before the embers of his funeral pyre had been extinguished.

R.K.DHAWAN was in complete com-mand of the situation et 1, Akbar Road soon after the death of Sanjay Gandhi. His men, most of whom were not liked by Sanjay, took charge of the room where the body was to be kept. The most notable among them was K. L. Bhatia, an automobile dealer, who regulated the flow of people into the room. Another Dhawan protege, Raj Kumar Kapoor, was seen controlling the distribution of pas-ses for the Shantivana caremony the next

may Gan unable to beer the short in many an enter that he combined in the bosokia for a couple of days. Kantal limit, on the other hand, returned at many from the other hand, returned at many from the USA, in the mine fight which brought Rajiv Gandhi bushes and their chaldren and Amtenheer. I ha setter friends of Sanday Gandhi who returned to the same flight were Lait This returned on the same flight were Lait This phase, the lages advisor of a simpley of four phases, and Segar Surjette pound of the challenge which was about a factor in Marchiff factory in Committee with Chatage Singh). Kantal Rajis was at the Shantavana when the body was cremited and along with Rajis soon Rahul and Dhirendra Brahmachuri, set fire to the pyre after Rajiv Gandhi. The day after the after Rajiv Gandhi. The day after the funeral a group of Youth Congress (I) men met Kamal Nath with a proposal for taking an urn containing Sanjay's ashes to their states. "I will talk to the Chief Ministers," was Kamal Nath's confident

While Kamal Nath made a brave attempt to show that nothing had changed for him as far as the power structure went, Jagdish Tytler was re-portedly shaky. But Congress (I) leaders discount the possibility of Tytler being immediately removed from his vantage position at 1, Akbar Road (where he has been sitting in the mornings to handle the petitions brought to the PM). They point out that while Tytler's arrogant behaviour in the past will induce his opponents in Delhi, like the PCC(I) President Har Kishan Lal Bhagat to try and dislodge him, Mrs Gandhi would not like to remove someone from her staff who was closely identified with Sanjay.

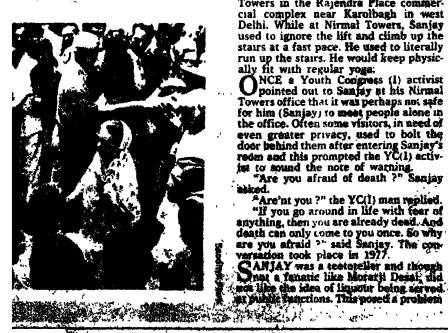




THE Dellai Fradesh Congress (c., mittee had not organised any railes since the January victory. When Sanjay was appointed the AICC(I) general secwas appointed the AICC(I) general secretary, H. K. L. Bhagat went to him and suggested that the Pradesh unit should hold a rally to celebrate the appointment. But Sanjay did not seem enthusiastic. The first post-poll public meeting of the DPCC(I), ironically, was held within ten days of Sanjay's refusal—to condole his death his death.

ď,

SANJAY had devoted a lot of his time to business during the days when he was out of power. Maruti Limited had to be wound up because the creditors of the



company, (interestingly led by Sanjays's friend Sugar Suri, which makes one wonder if it was an inspired act sp forestall possible autionalisation) had sought the settlement of all their dues and the mebility of the company to do so led-them to move the Ponjab and Haryana High Court for liquidation of the company (the case is still pending). Sanjay main business dealings were done by his other company, the Maruti Technical Services Limited, which he renamed the Rajdhani General Traders Limited dur-ing the Janata ray and continued his business from a fifth floor office of the Nirmal Towers on Barakhamba Road. The company later shifted to Padmini Towers in the Rajendra Place commercial complex near Karolbagh in west Delhi. While at Nirmai Towers, Sanjay used to ignore the lift and climb up the stairs at a fast pace. He used to literally run up the stairs. He would keep physically fit with regular yoga:

ONCE a Youth Congress (1) activist pointed out to Sanjay at his Nirmal Towers office that it was perhaps not safe for him (Sanjay) to meet people alone in the office. Often some visitors, in need of even greater privacy, used to bolt the door behind them after entering Sanjay's room and this prompted the YC(I) activist to sound the note of warning.

"Are you afraid of death?" Sanjay

"Are'nt you ?" the YC(1) man replied.
"If you go around in life with feer of anything, then you are already dead. And



It is perhaps little known but in the days out of pother Sunsity investor some money is the billioness by financier; and financier is missiler of transport operators. His money was kept at as obscure place—at alteraction say Oriental Bunk of Commerce todails near the Palain airport talled Missiplians was on the way to Gurgans had Sanjay had days stred some making there in the injust days of the Martin project. But well the years the bunk hamager, Chinadhar the bunk hamager in the injust confidence and make of Sanjay special reads were deposited willing but of the way branch, which does not even have clearing the little.

Martin after leaving Sanjay's body at the Lohis Hospital wante buck to the crists in Lohis Hospital to look for his keys and his wrist world. The leavy must have been important. The wisewatch was a his special too, Is will a steed saying Sanjay's body at the light too, Is will a steed and his wrist world. The leavy must have been important. It will be seen to delive the steed and his wrist world. The leavy must have been important too, Is will a steed and his will all the steed had to be steed to the large to be such to the large to be such to the large to be such that the large that a steed his will all the large that he will be such that the such that

COMICS



Interior IN CORSICA

by GOSCINNY and UDERZO











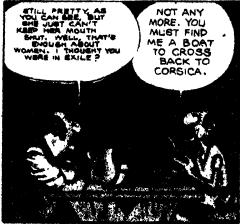






























Rebel who was Head of State

Nation bids goodbye to Giri

TIYGIENE in the slums was a new Linterest of former President VV Giri who died in Madras on June 24 at the advanced age of 85. Till his last days, he visited the worst slums in the city along with doctors and social workers and drew elaborate but realistic plans for. keeping them clean. Unfortunately, the Corporation of Madras never took him seriously. "When I was the Governor of Karnataka, I took special interest in the city markets in Bangalore and at my behest they were kept thoroughly clean. But here things do not seem to be moving fast," the late Giri had told me once. In trying to help the slum dwellers set up a new political Party: The Indian Labour Party (which never really took off), Giri was trying to recapture the spirit of his twenties when he joined his collegemates in Dublin to fight the British. And back in India he was noticed as an

'extremist' in Gandhiji's satyagrahas and soon started building up unions for railwaymen throughout the country.

"My father did not want an elaborate funeral He wanted us to spend more money on charitable purposes," said his son Shankar Giri, the eldest among Giri's 11 children. But then a former President cannot be buried or cremated just like that. So as Shankar Giri lit the funeral pyre 14 armymen fired three volleys in succession and bugles sounded the last post. He was buried with full military honours.

Mr Zail Singh, Union Home Minister and R Venkataraman, Union Finance Minister represented the central government. A section of the crowd near the crematorium could not help getting excited when MGR and his political opponent M Karunanidhi drove together in

MGR's car in the funeral procession. As the car neared the cremation ground there was a traffic jam and crowds which lined the narrow roads cheered both MGR and Karunanidhi as they stepped out of the car. MGR placed the wreath first and then was followed by Karunanidhi who stood by the side of MGR for quite some time.

Born in Behrampur, now in Orissa, V.V. Gisi became fascinated by radical politics while studying in Ireland. He joined the Anarchical Society, a wing of radical Indian students who also collaborated with the Irish radicals. After returning to India, he joined Gandhiji but within the fold he was known for his militant attitude. After serving a threemonth jail term (for picketing a liquor shop), Giri became active in organising trade unions for railway workers.

In 1937, he was chosen by the Congress to fight the powerful Raja of Bobbi-li for a seat in the Madras Legislative Assembly Giri, the dauntless fighter, was not humbled when Bobbili's followers staged an impressive elephant pro-cession and tried to heckle Nehru. "I chased the hecklers with my walking stick. They were shocked. How can a man have courage to brandish a walking stick at the minions of the powerful Raja of Bobbili, they wondered," he used to recall. Though he became a Minister in Rajaji's Cabinet in the late Thirties, he resigned government posts in the wake of the Quit India movement and courted arrest He remained a dissident even in Nehru's first Cabinet. He resigned in protest against the modification of an award of an industrial tribunal in a dispute between banks and their em-ployees A few years later, he became the High Commissioner in the then Ceylon and subsequently Governor of UP, Kerala and Karnataka. He was the Vice President during Zakir Hussain's Presidency, which paved the way for the bitter Presidential battle in 1968-69 when with the help of Mrs Gandhi, the Communists and the DMK, he defeated Sanjeeva Reddy.

Though he owned a sprawling house in Jayanagar, Bangalore, Giri preferred to live in Madras. "I want to be in the centre of life and Madras happens to be the nerve centre of south India," he had casually mentioned once. He never lacked visitors and friends in the city: occasionally journalists called on him, and though they sometimes found him boring and meandering, they could not help admiring his energy and enthusiasm.

That he was not lacking in zeal is proved by this oft-told tale. When he stood for re-election to the Presidency, there were several people who disapproved of his candidature because they felt that he was too old and like other Presidents who had died in harness, he might not be able to complete his term in office. To this, Mr Giri's only reply was a characteristic: "Those who think I'm too old deserve the benefit of my fist".



ARTHUR PAIS, Medies

Murderer without motive

A mystery of many 'm's

THIS murder most macabre is riddled with many maddening alliterations. M is for murder, it also stands for Manuel, the alleged murderer, for Martha, his mistress, for Marian the cuckolded husband, for May when it took place, in the midst of mango trees. And Marian is in Muscat where he is the valet of the

The murdered woman was Cristalina D'Sousa, 65: a god-fearing woman as neighbours describe her. When Marian, her son, left for Muscat she had advised him to take Martha, his young wife with him. That was in 1975 when Martha was only 23 years old. The marriage had been the culmination of a love affair which had run its meandering course in the uncarpeted and rough floors of the basement of the Ashoka Hotel, New Delhi. Martha was a junior private secretary in the hotel while Marian was a waiter And

they were both Goans.

Cristalina was murdered on May 23, between 9.15 and 10.30 pm. in her tour-roomed medium-sized house in Monteiro waddo, in Anjuna, a furlong or two from Joe Bananas, a maverick haven where freaks warm their hearts on a joint of "shit". She was found dead, among others by Martha herself, in the early hours of the next morning at around 3.30 a m. She had her dentures in her left hand and was lying on her back in a pool of blood with a towel by her side. For some strange reason, the police did not photograph the body but Dr J.M.Sharma, a forensic expert, was called to the site of the occurance.

A week hence, would have been a family reunion and Marian was due to return from Muscat. Cristalina might then have told him that she had caught Martha and Manuel, a drifter, copulating in the night in her, so far, virtuous house. As Martha recalls the incidents and recounts them to me with impressive calmness, her mother-in-law had not said a word. Naturally Martha though she was such a darling. "My heart will not allow me to think ill of my mother-in-law who was such a 'friend'".

I met 25-year-old Manuel presently in police custody in a room specially prepared by the police for such a meeting. His yellow shirt is blood-stained. The blood is from his lower jaw, he explains, when "someone" had punched him on his face and broken four of his teeth. Lateron investigation, I find out that a CID man had done the damage to his jaw. Manuel had no permanent job having studied only upto Standard five. For a while he had been the conductor of a privately owned air-conditioned inter-state bus. He also worked, for no fixed remuneration at the "canteen", a small eating place run by Martha's sister-in-law, for those who frequented the beach between September and March. Martha and Manuel often washed the dishes together in the kitchen of the "canteen" and one thing leading to another often ended in bed when the old woman and the children were already fast asleep. Reminiscing the incident, Martha tells me that it was "an infatuation" more on Manuel's part than hers. She insists I

must believe her for she is not, nor ever was, sex starved, "I'm not that type", she says with an air of finality.

Manuel, more down to earth, presumes he is irresistible. He says he did "it" as often as he was asked to. He claims, that in the brief three month affair (beginning last December) Martha became pregnant. She was subsequently aborted in April, at her own expense at Dr (Mrs) Naik's hospital at Mapusa, where Manuel posed as her husband. Police confirm this detail but when Martha is questioned, her response is one of shock at the "unwarranted conclusion" in a typically Roman Catholic attitude drawing the line between "friendship", her euphemism for adultery and "conception", a clean word for pregnancy She assured me she is "clean'

MANUEL'S version, which he repe-dated thrice for me is that Martha had asked him to get rid of Cristalina, because the mother-in-law "harrassed" her. He says he was told to kill with kindness. Speaking to me in Konkani. because he does not speak English, he says that he had been specifically told by Martha not to use any weapon be it a knife or a stick or a stone. And so, on that night when there was no one in the house he cornered the old woman near a door by the lavatory where she had just had a bath, gave her a blow on the face, when the dentures fell out. As she was falling he kicked her on the head, then on the ribs This, for him was "kindness" enough. He had not used any weapon. The postmortem examination traces the cause of death as head injuries. It also accounts for two broken ribs.

Cristalina had collapsed on the ground when Manuel left her. He went to his own house, had a bath and wore clothes— he had only his underwea on

went to Mapusa, the taluk town, for a konkani play, where incidentally, he found Martha with her in-laws. After the play, he came back alone. All had seen him at the play. Was he building an alibi? Martha and her group came home and stumbled on Cristalina's dead body, near the lavatory, after having looked for her in her room. They also found that the children, two of Martha's aged five and three, and one of the eldest sisters-inlaw, on a holiday in Goa, aged 4, were not at home. Apparently, the children had got up at about 1.30 a.m., found no one at home, and, in panic, walked about a quarter of a kilometer to an aunt's house

when he killed Cristalina. And, then he

adventurism. Police were tipped off by neighbours about Martha's affair with Manuel. Not that any one had any particular reason to suspect him. But the incident, if nothing else, gave the villagers a chance to vent their spleen, and let it be known that they had been aware all this time of the adulterous goings-on. Manuel made a "clean" breast of it immediately. In fact, higher police officers feel that the CID

investigator need not have broken his

teeth to extract the confession.

where they knew that the family had

gone for a play and would not be back

until, at least 3,30 a.m. They put the

children to sleep, mildly amused at their

From hindsight, Martha regrets that she "kept ithe affair) to herself". When on that night Manuel had come to see her he had insisted that she stay home and give up the idea of going for the play. On being rebuffed, he had torn her sari a bit, and "flung a feeding bottle" at her head. He then hid under the bed.

'Why didn't she tell us about him?' her eldest sister-in-law, a pitiably kind and pale woman asks with her hands folded. For some obscure reason, the motive of the crime is yet to be firmly established. Manuel sought Cristalina

and just killed her.

Manuel, Martha said later, had taken her jewellery and money. The jewellery could be worth over Rs.50,000. She said she had been pressing to return the money or at least the gold, until he admitted he had sold the gold. Even then, only last month, she gave him another Rs. 400. "Infaruation", she sighs by way of explanation. It was Manuel who always went to the Post Office to collect Marian's letters and drafts to his wife Martha, and then, he escorted Martha to the bank to deposit them. Martha had been pressing Manuel to return the jewellery as Marian was due

to return any day.

As for her "friendship", she tells me she had planned to tell her husband "everything" leaving it to him to do what he liked. "Which could be what?" I asked. And she tells me that she would ask him to take her to the Sultan's palace

and aim to take her to the Sultan's palace in Muscat. or leave her in the Anjuna hippie haven. "Now of course", she sulks, "everything went wrong".

Deputy Superintendent of Police, Vernenkar, who is investigating the case, does not think he will arrest Martha. Not just now, in any case. He is satisfied, so far, that there is no element of collusion or conspiracy between Martha and

Manuel, the alleged murderer





5 6 4

ATradition of Excellence

fanuel. Her behaviour at the theatre

s her normel self du Police in Gos are unde rolles in Gos are understandingly cau-tious. Only last month, the Bessions Court acquisted a murder accused in what Police had thought was an open and shut case. They had found a half naked young woman dead in her hotel room, strangled by her "dopatta" and her throat stuffed with cloth. She had had accusal intercenta just before her death sexual intercourse just before her death and smelt of liquor. Her husband who had supposedly come to Gos from Nag-

pur on his honeymoon, was arrested and comptly, made a clean breast of it. In beir elation over a murder case so easily detected which rarely happens in Gos, Police did not go any further than the "confession" in gathering evidence for the trial. And the Judge rightly said there was no case because confession is no evidence. Manuel's confession needs corroboration. And Martha only has memories of adultary to go by "Read my statement", she suggested to me, "Which runs into eight typed pages".

MARIO CABRAL e SA, Panaji

Star tantrums

Bitter fight off screen

FILM producers have had enough. To make their films, hundreds of them have been mortguging their possessions and horrowing heavily from distributors,. only to be sorely disappointed. The reason: their leading stars abandon them because they do not see eye to eye with them Take an example. T Razdan producer of the incomplete film Ulfat is said to have sued his hero for Rs 1,20,50,000 for "refusing to report for shooting and cooperate in the completion of his picture .. and interfering with all stages of production" While fighting his case very soon in the Bombay High Court he will have the silent sympathy of the affected producers and the distributors. Only silent, however, many of them are already refusing to support him for fear of offending other stars, who are ultimately their only assets

It is against this background of the commercial film industry that the entire sordid episode needs to be looked at. In 1973, T. Rázdan decided to film a Hindi version of the Tamil hit Iru Malargal and signed Waheeda Rahman and Sadhna in the female roles. Raj Kumar was given the role of the hero which in the original Tamil version was played by Sivaji Ganesan. Razdan wrote about how readily the stars signed for the film in his letter to the All India Film Producers Council (AIFPC) "All the three artists liked their respective roles and I still remember Raj Kumar, sitting in the Cine Mini Theatre (where a special screening of the Tamil movie was held) admiring and appreciating the tremendous emotional impact of the story and its players... I signed him in just three hours - soon after the show was over.

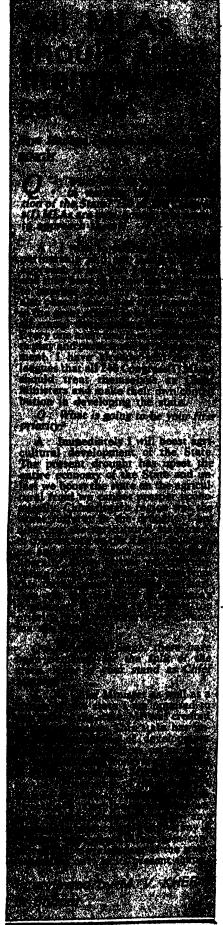
Presumably the 'tremendous emotional impact' did not last very long. Soon after the shooting had started, in September 1973, the hero, it appears, decided on an arbitrary change in the shooting location. Razdan's letter to the AIFPC reports that "Afterabout five months of forced silence (the last indoor months of forced silence (the last indoor shooting of Ulfat, I had done in the month of April 1973), I gathered my resources and planned the outdoor shooting schedule of the film in September 1973. During one of the meetings Raj Kumar forced me to plan the same in Kumar forced me to plan the same in Kushmir or Assam (though) the etory does not could kushmir or Assam (as its locale). Apparently it was enforced as a precondition to his charing the the film

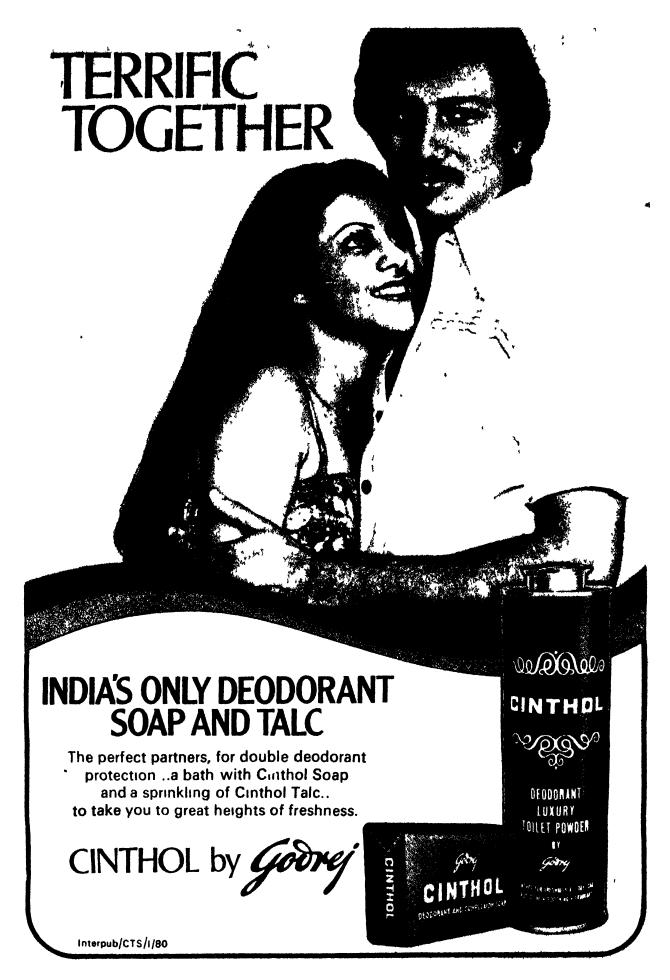
at all; the hapless producer complied and agreed to shoot in Srinagar. He arranged a stint with a 70-member crew from October 3, 1973. Reportedly, all the actors confirmed their availability. Waheeda Rahman and Sadhna arrived on time. Raj Kumar, despite having given dates for the shooting, it seems, refused to cooperate with the producer and kept stalling. Finally he agreed when told that the entire shooting would have to be cancelled if they did not leave by the 15th of the month Describing the subsequent events, Razdan says: "I came back home, picked up my luggage, took a taxi and proceeded to the airport. The jumbo plane was to leave for Delhi at 9.15 pm. Raj Kumar arrived by 8 15 pm along with his baggage and golf kit. I went to the counter, took three seat cards and returned to the lounge to find that Mr Raj Kumar had left... I cried and shouted. I was almost a dead man (emphasis Razdan's) till Mr Raj Kumar appeared once again. .

The end was yet to come At Delhi, comfortably ensconced at the Ashoka Hotel, Raj Kumar had apparently decided that he would not go to Srinagar after all. He never did, finally. The shooting was cancelled and presumably a very enraged Waheeda Rahman and Sadhna returned to Bombay, after having virtually wasted a fortnight without work. In February 1974, the AIFPC put a formal ban on Raj Kumar, stating that none of the member producers would sign the actor until some sort of clarification had come from him. He met them, agreed to reform and finally shook hands with Razdan. Raj Kumar, when I tried to reach, was unavailable for his version.

In early 1977 Raj Kumar appears to have obtained a sum of Rs two lakhs on his personal guarantee to complete the film. At this point, it seems, that he had taken over the film. While Mr Razdan refused to comment on the matter, which was sub judice, it was gathered that soon after the procurement of the loan Razdan's director and cameraman were fired. An arrangement was made with Kulyanji-Anandji to insert a song for Rui Kumar, a song that was previously not there. Soon after, Raj Kumar is reported to have sent the following demands to Razdan: that the negative of the film be transferred to his name; that he get 50 per cent of the extra coverage of the film on its completion; and that he be allowed. to direct, write and edit the movie. It is reported that not long after this

episode. Rasdan went to court. The first





case seems to have been a criminal complaint by the director, requesting Raj Kumar to make an account of the Rs 48,000 that was outstanding from the Rs two lakhs that he had obtained for the film. This was perhaps the first time that an actor was issued a non-bailable warrant. It appears that the magistrate usked the Worli police station to have

him arrested immediately. While that complaint was being heard in the Esplanade Court in Bombay, Razdan reportedly filed a suit for irreparable damages to his film and career. Raj Kumar was once again unavailable for comments.

ASHISH RAJADHYAKSHA, Bombay

Beaten, hounded, killed

Uniformed men spread terror

AJWATI and Triveni are two pretty young sisters in their early twenties. Both were married to two brothers, Ramu and Vijay around a year and a half ago. Their father in-iaw, Mauvishya, is a washerman of the Rajasthan Armed Constabulary (RAC) stationed in Dholpur, on the UP-MP border. The area is dacoit-infested and a large contingent of the RAC is stationed in the subdivision. The RAC constables used to visit the residence of Mauvishya quite often ostens-bly to get their clothes washed

dence of Mauvishya quite often ostensibly, to get their clothes washed.

Life became miserable for the girls after marriage. The constables pestered the women to submit to their lust. In fact, the in-laws even forced them to give in for fear of the uniformed men. The young wives, however, decided to put up resistance and applied for divorce only after leaving their father-in-law's house. This angered the RAC men and they forced Vijay and Ramu to lodge a complaint that their wives had been abducted at the Bari police station. The complaint was lodged against six close relatives among whom were the girls' brother Ratna and maternal uncles, Dulli and Babu. Vijay and Ramu also complained that those who had kidnapped their wives had also taken away valuables from the girls.

Suspecting the policemen's motives, all the six accused in the kidnapping case applied for anticipatory bail to the Additional District and Sessions Judge, Dholpur. The bails were granted. This, however, did not deter the police from teaching a lesson to the "culprits" who had dared to hide the young women. Ratna, Babu and Dulli were called to the police station and detained illegally for two days. During this period the accused were subjected to tortures. Dulli finally succumbed to the injuries he received while in police custody. The three-doctor joint medical board that performed the autopsy on Dulli confirmed that he had died due to intermal injuries in his chest.

pay on Dulli confirmed that he had died due to internal injuries in his chest.

Immediately after Dulli's death the police released Ratna and Babu who ran out of the police station acreaming, trying to attract attention of the people. A few people from a large crowd which, incidentally were staging a dharna close at hand against the shortage of diesel went to the police station, to confirm whether Ratna and Babi were saying the truth initially, the police officers denied the death. They claimed that the body of Dulli was brought to the police station. In the mean time, a large enjoy crowd had assembled in front of the police station and demanded that the body be handed over to them. The mob was ultimately forcibly dispersed by the police, it ordered

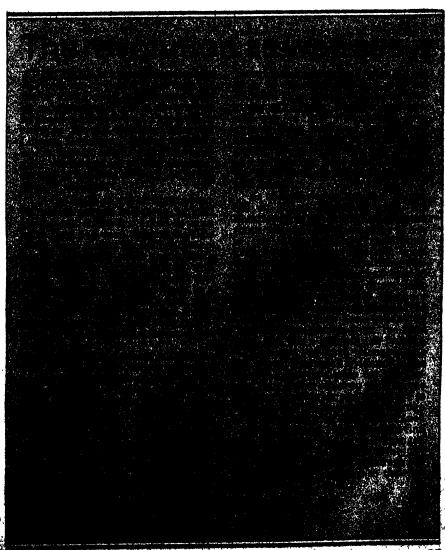


selves the police are believed to have freed three decoits who were in police custody and who were apparently eyewitnesses to the death. Police also raided Dulli's village, Kakrai, to apprehend those who were speaking out against the police about the death.

The incident would not have been known about had it not been reported in the national newspapers. The first reaction of the government was to issue a Press note denying the whole incident and terming it "incorrect, misleading and exaggerated," But the adviser to the Governor, S.L. Khurana, intervened and ordered the immediate suspension of the, Station House Officer as well as an Assistant Sub-inspector of Bari policestation. But by that time not only the young girls but many others had already paid a high price to the police.

As if this was not enough, in another incident the Border Security Force (BSF) also committed rape. On May 12, the BSF arrested a Bangladeshi couple and their young daughter who were trying to cross into Pakistan from Rajasthan. According to Sonali Mahmood, two jawans of the BSF are supposed to have raped his wife, Noorjehan, while conducting a search on her body. A government Press release confirmed this incident

MILAP CHAND DANDIYA, Jaipur



Beautiful ways to beat the heat



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OG1-2/79

UP's opium traffickers

Who is the law for?



Police team with the two men (squatting on haunches) who were arrested for allegedly smugging over 100 kg of opium The squares mark the two Customs officials who died in the accident the next day

OLD is freely available in Bara Bankı, a small and backward district of Uttar Pradesh, around 30kms from Lucknow But this gold is black, because that is how opium is commonly known among international smugglers Recently a team of the narcotics department arrested two Sikhs of Amritsar including an ex Army official on their way to Kanpur from Lucknow in a jeep The officials seized 100 kgs of contraband opium neatly wrapped in polythene bags, hidden inside the vehicle They revealed their modus operrandi of how they oper ate from their base at Bara Banki The very next day the officials, chasing some more members of the gang in a car, apparently met with an accident Two of the officials died on the spot The car carrying the smugglers dashed against a tree However, they finally escaped from the scene. What looked like an accident was probably a premeditated plan by the opium smugglers to do away with the official team which had arrested two of their men the day before

Every fourth person in Bara Banki is allegedly involved in the smuggling of "black gold". Over 80,000 kgs of the narcotic, worth Rs eight crores is smug gled out of this remote region every year The smugglers, most of them interna tionally well-known, are believed to be dealing in opium with their operational base in the state capital, Lucknow Bara Ranki district clayers of producing 20 to Banki district claims of producing 30 to 40 per cent of the total production of high quality opium in the state. The inhabitants of the district are largely dependent on poppy cultivation for their livelihood. Nearly 6,000 hectares of land spread out in 900 villages are used for its cultivation. According to the narcotics department the region has 45 per cent of

the total licensing for poppy cultivation.
A trip to two of the interior villages,
Tera and Tikra about 35 kms off the main town reveal, certain glaring facts. New multi-storied buildings and influx of light vehicles have given the villages an affluent look. The arrogant youngsters are frequently seen going around on

motor bikes with guns slung on their shoulders Almost every pucca house has either a neep or a car parked on its premises

For anyone who wants to dominate the international smuggling scene, opium is nothing less than a trump card Deals among the smugglers take place in terms of opium as it is used in place of cash The moment the drug reaches the king pins, money starts flowing in Gener ally the opium is purchased by the smug glers at the rates of Rs 300 to Rs 400 per kg, but the price starts rising as soon as it reaches the opium dealers in Lucknow where it sells at Rs 1,000 per kg. It goes up further when it leaves Lucknow in Bombay it is Rs 4,000 per kg The moment the consignment crosses Indian territory the price rockets anywhere be tween Rs 7,000 and Rs 10,000 per kg

The smugglers face no problem in managing the drug in huge bulks from

the farmers who are lured to sell the stuff illegally to the opium hawks. On an average an opium producer sells over 40 per cent of his yield to the smugglers Normally one hectare of land at Bara Banki produces between 40 to 60 kgs of opium The government buys the drug at rates of Rs 120 and Rs 220 per kg from the farmers while the smugglers offer twice or thrice the amount for the same quantity Unfortunately the narcotics department which procures opium from the farmers do not have any method to verify the amount actually produced reason during harvesting the fields are not guarded as it is done normally in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan The farmers conceal a major share of the production at the time when the cheera starts oozing out from the poppy flowers.

The poppy smugglers are a fairly well-knit organisation with a highly sophisticated mode of operation. The sophisticated mode or operation ane racketeers have their own tailors for making special suits used for opium pedding They also stitch burgas which are used for similar purpose With these specially manufactured garments the peddlers can easily carry 20 to 25 kgs of opium from the fields to their secret podowns in Rara Bank

godowns in Bara Bank

They have also fixed up 500 local agents including women who peddle small quantity in the district and store the rest in secret godowns which are The processing done, the opium is packed in small polythene bags not weighing more than 500 gms each and is handed over to the smugglers They travel by road and throughout the journey are escorted by armed men Unless a huge bulk is collected, the drug continues to be stored in big cities Finally, when a considerable quantity is collected, it changes hands on the Indian border or on the docks. This takes place once or twice a year when the opium is smuggled out of the country The Narcotics Department is aware of the activities of these gangs and also their operational bases. So far the Departrment and the police have succeeded in arresting only a handful of them red handed

DILIP K. AWASTHI, Bara Banki,

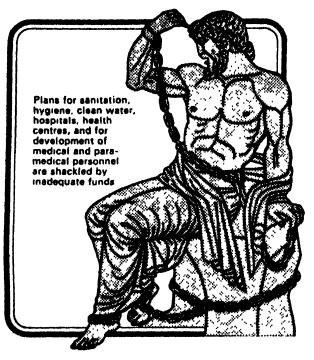
Irs Gandhi

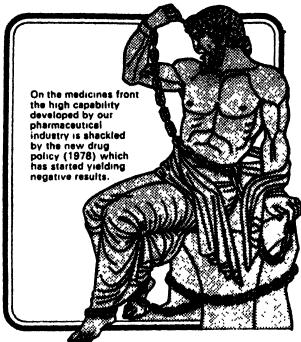
COLOCISTS and tree-lovers will prohably have the last laugh. Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi stated that she is all for preserving the pristine purity of Silent Valley. In a letter to Joseph John of the Friend of the Trees organization, Mrs Gandhi and: "I have not cleared the Silent ways and "in fact the silent purity and "in fact the silent printer and "in fact the silent print

Valley project", and "in fact we gre-realing carnest afforts to find an alcompite scheme which would give Lorane power or well as employment states, harming the ecology". Earlies, Mr John, who led the basile against the implementation of the project, had written to the Prime Ministry regarding the Kersia state and the strains of going alless with the strains. He had complained the the strains lie had complained the the strains. He had complained

majority opinion in the conference majority opinion in the conference. Now, however, a teasured Medium represent firm here is the firm many stand. Office, here Genedic one midde her desire well known regarding conservation and it is merely a piditer of time liefore she arrives ufficielly to the state government to abundon the project thereby alleying feits of econjusts and stand members of the scientific community.

Health care: do we care enough?





Health care for all by 2000 AD is the goal set by our country—as a signatory to the Alma-Ata declaration made by the International Conference on Primary Health Care jointly sponsored by the World Health Organisation and UNICEF.

Health care means a host of things: sanitation, hygienic living conditions, clean drinking water, hospitals, health centres, development of medical and paramedical personnel... and medicines

On all these fronts, we are nowhere near the goal of health for all

Outlay (Public) on Health in different 5-year Plans

| | Health (Rs. | Plan outley (Public) Crores) | Outlay on health as percentage of total |
|--|----------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| First Plan (1951-56) | 65.2 | 1,960.0 | 3.3 |
| Second Plan (1956-61) Third Plan | 140.8 | 4,872.0 | 30 |
| (1961-66) Annual Flan | 225.9 | 8,676.5 | 2.6 |
| (1966-66) Fourth Plan (1868-74) | 140.2 338.5 | 6,625.4 18,778.8 | 2.1 2.1 |
| Fifsh Plan (1874-78) | 681.7 | 40,841.0 | 1.7 |
| Sixth Plan (Dreft)- (1078-83) | , | 71,000.0 | 1.9 |

The Health Survey and Planning Committee (Mudaliar Committee), whose report is the basis of health planning in our country, had recommended two decades ago that at least 10% of plan outlays should be earmarked for health care.

We have not set apart anywhere near this percentage in our plans. In the Fifth Plan the outlay on health was only 1.7% of the total and in the Sixth Plan (draft) only 1.9% has been earmarked (See table).

It might be argued that priorities have changed and that money available for health care is scarce.

But even this excuse does not explain our shortcomings on the medicines front, because the pharmaceutical industry has its own momentum of growth

Short supply

According to newspaper reports, some medicines, even though they are produced in the country, are in short supply.

Recently developed medicines, available elsewhere in the world, cannot be easily introduced in India for the benefit of our people.

fronically, when we need more medicines-to fulfil the goal of medicines for all, if not health for all—the pharmaceutical industry is being asked to cut back production to 1977 levels.

In one breath we talk about health for all by 2000 AD. In the next breath we provide inadequate funds for health care in our 5-Year plans and put shackles on the pharmaceutical industry.

The one hopeful sign was on the medicines front—the capability of our pharmaceutical industry to develop and manufacture high-quality medicines and to make them available throughout the country, it could meet the challenge of medicines for all provided its growth was not hampered.

But what we find today is thet even in this small area of health care, the industry's capabilities are not being utilised due to curbs on production and the lack of a growth-oriented policy. Result: shortage of drugs and the inability of the pharmaceutical industry to make available newer and bettef medicines for our people.

Perhaps it's time for us to rethink.

Issued in the public interest by ORGANISATION OF PHARMACSUTICAL PRODUCERS OF INDIA Cost's Pullsing, Or. D N. Road Bambay 400 601

On Reviewing Anthologies and the case of the Irate Twelfth Man

KEKI DARUWALLA replies to Pritish Nandy's harsh criticism of his anthology

UR character and ethos being what they are, most things in this country snowball into questions about izzat So do anthologies. One's worst poems or short stories may have been picked up by an editor - in very many cases without as much as a word or a "by your leave" to the author. The author may be ashamed of the work included but he will normally not protest. He is there in the book after all. His "self respect" is still intact. But leave a man out (and I would gladly be left out of most anthologies) and the whole complexion changes. You have been slighted! If you are not in Wisden's Year Book, you haven't played county cricket during the year! And the twelfth man syndrome comes into play.

This wouldn't have happened in another country A writer who felt he has been left out of an anthology would have refused to review the book, if he felt he was the aggrieved party Not here That gives him the chance he is waiting for. With fangs bared and teeth thowing in a half-snarl he now proceeds to abuse the editor in the most vituperative terms. It is the twelfth man who now feels that he has the right to abuse the lucky eleven, and most of all, the selector. But one must

proceed chronologically.

I get a phone call from Calcutta one early morning in May and a husky voice says over the wires, "Would you really mind if I take a swipe at your book. You know I am motivated? I have been left out but then let's liven up the scene a bit and stir up a bit of controversy". I don't have the stomach for controversy, but who am I to say no? "By all means," I say, "go ahead". After the review is published I get further calls. "Have I lost a friend?" asks my solicitous reviewer. "It is a pretty vicious attack, you know" he adds. I have not seen the review as yet. Sunday has taken a fortnight to reach Delhi. The next thing you know is that somebody has stood at the street crossing and abused you, calling you dishonest and what have you. Enough venom in the review to keep a snake hatchery in business for a month. That is not all. The gentleman comes over to Delhi and hesitantly asks for your reaction. "Everything alright by me", I answer "except that bit about dishonesty. That was hardly on". "Oh! I am so sorry about that", says the reviewer. This also can only happen in India. You shout obscenities at a man in public. Then apologise in private. And the chapter gets neatly closed.

Nowhere in the review has Mr. Nandy mentioned the names of the poets he thought should have been included in the book. Yet every paragraph seems to bristle with one question. "How dare you leave me out" the review seems to say in every line.

"Me! Me!! Me!!!"

The answer to this is simple. Even while I was compiling the anthology Nissim Ezekiel wrote to me asking me whether I could include at least two poems by Pritish Nandy. I would have if he had written an honest poem in his life. But the man is always attitudinizing, striking postures, sometimes of the revolutionary, sometimes of the great lover, or the tragic, sensitive soul wandering through deserts of loneliness

Calcutta if you must exile me wound my lips before I go only words remain and the gentle touch of your finger on my lips Calcutta burn my eyes before I go into the night What exile is he talking about? Not physical punishment, surely. Nobody is throwing Mr Nandy out of Calcutta. The Police Commissioner there is interested in externing only professional crooks. What do you do with a contrived poem like that? The motif that runs through it, the schema, the sentiments expressed, everything rings false; phoney Phoney is the word. His entire poetic corpus can be summed up with that one word; and this time the labelling is not wrong

Most of his poems are just a string of nice-sounding words. The poem as such conveys nothing because it has no meaning to convey. Take "and for you I left behind the palimpsest of a dream". I have chosen this poem for comment because Mr Nandy himself has selected it in two of his anthologies.

and for you I left behind the palimpsest of a dream since you spoke of history and the wild rose withering on a familiar face when mysterious tangents of sense intersect each other and the sun blinds with gold the filigreed leaves on a battered soul

for you are the question and the inquisitor taking transient shape from among the whispers and rainbows

etched on phantom breasts

Nice sounding words, aren't they? Palimpsest, filigreed, mysterious tangents of sense (even though the phrase makes no sense) inquisitor. But what precisely is he trying to convey? He is playing with words like a child with gee gaws and tinsel.

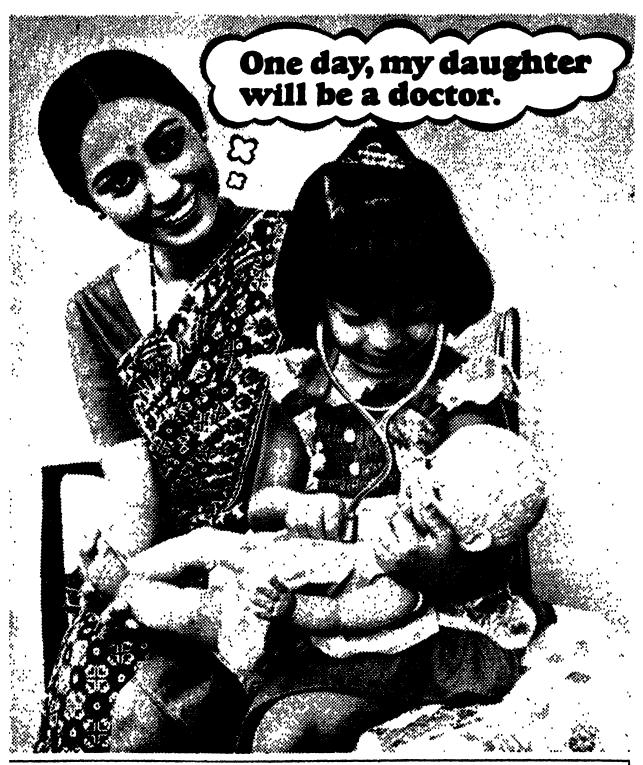


There are adjectives galore: wild rose, familiar face, mysterious tangents, filigreed leaves, battered soul, transient shape, phantom breasts all in the space of a few lines But adjectives don't make a poem. You have got to have something to say. And lest I am accused of tearing a stanza out of context and criticizing it, let us follow the poem.

the cicada sings of secret transactions and the thousand eyes

and for you I left behind the syllables of dust and rain terror hides behind the darkness of the thinking mind like the limpid dream of an antique month when rains destroy the imperishable metal of your arms and thighs and each avenue of the mind circles love from ruin to ruin from barren field to windlost voice and the dusk sleeps with death its lover in the overwinged ritual of an unloving mind

Can anyone tell me what "overwinged ritual of an unloving mind" means? Can it possibly mean anything? Or "limpid dream of an antique month" for the matter? A school boy would



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blush if this kind of a poem were attributed to him. It is stuff

like this which brings disrepute to Indian poetry
It is not that I failed to take a-look at his latest poems either. Over the years Mr Nandy has been gracious enough to send me his books - he publishes one poetry book every three months or so. In fact a time came when I was overawed to think that my book shelves would soon be carrying the complete works of Mr Pritish Nandy. The later poems were no better, amorphous clumps of words with repeated references to thighs, breasts, loneliness (that is patented in his name now) dark tresses of the night, dusk, 'duskways'. But one must get down to the points he has made in the review. A big song and dance has been made of 'wrong labelling'. The title of the book is fairly long: "Two Decades of Indian Poetry 1960-1980". "In English" would have lengthened it further and made it sound like Mr Nandy's own anthology mentioned above. And who wants to be numbered among the great? I loathed titles like 'Indo-English poetry' or 'Indo-Anglian poetry'. The very first sentence on the jacket reads "It is mainly in the last two decades that Indian poetry in English has come into its own". The suggestion that a person would buy the book thinking he was getting Kaift Asmi for his money, and go home to discover that he had been palmed off with Nissim Esekiel, is just too humorous to merit serious debate. The review alleges that I left out R. Parthasarathy because of politics. He has obviously not read the introduction where it is clearly mentioned that Parthasarathy was "tragically excluded" "because he did not choose to respond" (P XXIII). Similarly Mr. Nandy, as I have amply demonstrated, was not excluded, because of 'politics'. He was excluded because in the editor's opinion he wrote bad verse.

A lot of poets writing in English were excluded in Adil Jussawalla's "New Writing in India". That was because most Indian languages were represented in the book, which countained articles, short stories, plays and extracts form novels also, apart from poems. But some of us who were excluded did not get up and start abusing the editor. I have no hesitation in calling it one of the finest and easily the most representative anthology of modern Indian literature. But horror of horrors, the book excluded Mr Nandy! So Peeradina's or Parthasarathy's anthologies. And that of coqualifies us for the worst epithets in the English langu-

I would like to make a few general observations anthologies here. When you discuss with friends, critics, fe writers about an anthology you are working on, you qui discover two things. Firstly, they are interested in the p included and not in the poems. They will ask you, "Is so an there?" No one will ask you if you are including the "Nigithe Scorpion" (Ezekiel) or "The Tree" (Gieve Patel "Introduction" (Kamala Das). There is more interest in na and personalities and less in the work of the poets.

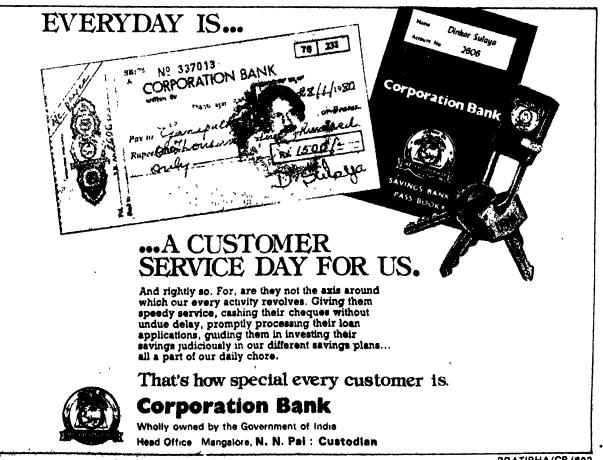
The second thing you discover, and that is when the l has hit the stands, is that reviewers, and especially those an axe to grind, take a morbid interest in the poets left rather than the ones included. Not a line on the 17 p included. But a page on so and so who has been left o

No two editors can easily agree about the writers who she figure in an anthology. Hence the anthology should be tack on its own terms. Is the poetry included good? That shoulthe main, if not the only, criterion. Out of half a dozen reviof this book, only one has discussed the poetry, quo excerpts.

What I attempted in the anthology was to include posts, with perhaps one exception, had a substantial body of v behind them. This does not mean that "new" poets, if one use the term, were not included. Sharat Chandra, Dilip Ch and Eunice de Souza have not appeared in very m anthologies previously and I am sure their poetry will i revelation to the reader.

I fully agree with Mr Nandy that the scene as regards Inc poetry in English is promising. However, the grain must separated from the chaff if the poetry is to have any impact. phoney and the pretentious have to be done away with excised brutally. Otherwise, even the poets with integrity vision will get tarred with the same brush.

As for Mr Nandy the one way he can get into anthologic by editing a few more himself.



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KHAAS BAAT

IT was a strange happening. The event itself was not so sensational because Hema and Dharamendra have been going around together for the past eight years. Almost everyone expects to see Hema with Dharam at social functions and in popular films Their affair (incidentally the longest in filmdom) could have ended eitherway total breakup or marriage Hema waited patiently since Dharam is too gentle to hurt either his wife or beloved. His kids also figured prominently in the mix up His wife re mained the silent third in the triangle, outsiders know her as a courageous, kind lady So, when news leaked out that Hema and Dharam had got mar ried (the event was real and a guarded secret), nobody was really suprised or shocked it was just the suddenness of the event and being taken una wares, which caused the muffled reaction Reportedly,

Hema's mother is not too happy about the event; she never was a party to the alliance She probably sees the marriage as an eyewash too feeble to make anyone believe that it is a "happily ever after" affair It is also not known whether Dharam's wife has divorced him or not The only person present at the wedding ceremony, in true Iyengar style was Dharam's father, who is said to have played a crucial role in bring ing Hema and Dharam together The married pair con tinue to work and live as though nothing extraordinary has taken place Maybe it hasn't really been extraordin ary for thein—getting married among witnesses, that is!

A RELIABLE source says that the latest starlet in Rajesh Khanna's orbit is pretty Poonam Dhillon Maybe he is playing the only game he knows keeping close to the heroine of his successful film And at the rate his career was going, the moderate success of Red Rose with Poonam as his co star, Rajesh is clinging to this girl (figuratively, pun intended) and insisting on her name for all his subsequent films Maybe he thinks she has proved lucky for him!

Bull it's funny what Yogita
Ball considers lucky—
things like her clothes, for inst
ance If she wears a new dress
and the day proves lucky for
her (God alone knows what
that means) then she wears



that dress and does not want to take it off for the whole day. And if she wants something to go her way, she wears what she calls one of her "lucky outfits". Wonder what she does with the outfits that prove unlucky to her and these are quite a few! Gets rid of them? Anyway, one unpleasantness she has successfully got rid of—her marriage to Kishore Kumar the divorce has finally come through.

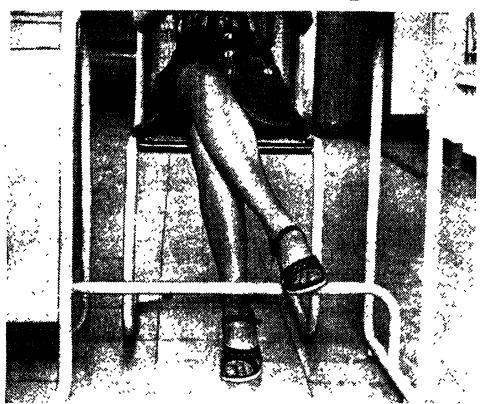
SHABANA AZMI is the next sgirl to watch. She has given a good performance in Thodiss Bewafaai. She was always a good actress, but now she has really surpassed herself Maybe her little setbacks in the game of love have unleashed the talent which was struggling to come out For one, her break up with dear steady, Shekhar Kapoor has changed her Recently though one hears the

name of another Kapoor, who has taken Shabby's fancy. One Sunday, for instance she was out all day, only to return late at night—and the reason was traced to Boney Kapoor.

VINOD MEHRA is acting very peculiar these days and we don't think Bindiya is the cause. There's someone else on his horizon now!

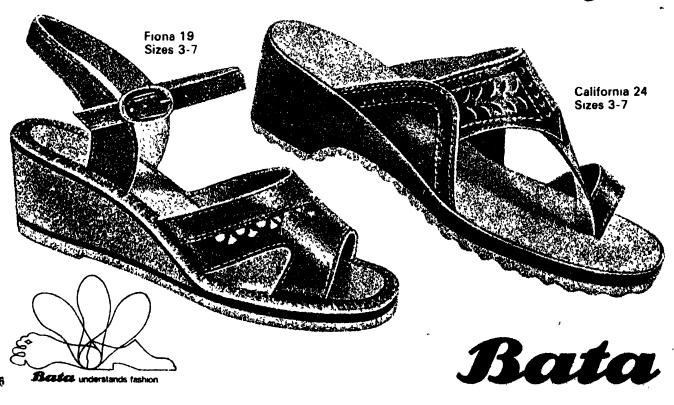
A FTER five years Rankhee and Gulzar seem to be coming together again. Gulzar is working on a filmscript for Ramesh Behl who has Raakhee in mind for the heroine's role if Gulzar can write a script for Raakhee's film, probably in the near future, he may direct her in one of his own films. They know each other so well that their joint venture can't be anything but terrific Good luck to Ramesh Behl and his project!

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BATA COMFORT SHOES - a treat for working feet



KHAAS BAAT

FRIEND told me with a Achuckle that director K Balachander lost one of his fingers while directing Rathi Agnihotri in Ek Aur Itıhas, the Hindı version of Maro Charıthra. Probably Balachander was concentrating with a finger between his teeth while directing Rathi. Balachander is a seasoned director who has brought the best out of most artistes but Rathi who is suited only for glamorous, sexy roles must have made him work harder, my friend the ught! The film is expected to be released all over India towards the end of September Kamalahasan who starred in the original version is excited about the film. Some of his better films were directed by Balachander and if Ek Aur Itihas clicks, it should wipe out the humiliation of his recent Tamil flops.

TALAKENDRA's Mazhai K Pattalam is Lakshmi's first directorial venture though K Balachander actively supervised the filming. This film is drawing huge crowds even in its eighth week. Its failure to get public support initially is understandable, it stars Sumitra who seldom fares well at the box office And the hero, Vishnuvardhan who is a big name in Karnataka films, was little known in Madras till he was cast in Mazhai Pattalam Lakshmi, his heroine in a number. of Kannada films, has now introduced him to Tamil films Years ago he did appear in a Tamil film but the film and its star went unnoticed.

Tr'S been ages since Hema appeared in a Tamil film But whatever she does in Bombay makes news in the local Tamil Press. Recently, when a Bombay magazine ran a story on the Dharam-Hema marriage, three widely circulated Tamil dailies immediately picked up the story. Some of them went to the extent of chasing the Poojari (priest) who's supposed to have performed their marriage ceremony. But the Poojari promptly went underground and refused to meet the Press

POR the first time Rajnikant and Madhvi are teamed up in the Tamil version of Gol. maal, directed by K. Balachander. A Telegu version starring the two is also on the cards. Sumalatha was keen to bag the heroine's role but Madhvi managed to oust her.

TELEGU actor Krishne hit the box office with his home production, a film which stars

his wife Vijaynirmala. Krishna is a successful director but his maiden Hindi venture Takkar,a remake of his Telegu film, has disappointed both the moviegoers and distributors. Krishna wanted to launch another Hindi film but after the lukewarm reception of Takkar, he will surely like to wait for some time. But Ram Robert Rahim, the Telegu version of Amar Akbar Anthony directed by his wife seems to have made everyone happy Recently the dubbed version of the film was released in Madras. It did well just because of Rajnikant's presence.

JAYABHARATI, the Cleopatra of the South, seems to have found a new godfather. Kailash Sarogi, a rich businessman settled in Madras. He made a fortune dubbing one of her Malayalam films into Hindi, Man Ka Aangan. Now he is busy preparing the Hindi version of yet another Malayalam film, Pratishodh. His ambition is to direct Jayabharati in a Hindi film.

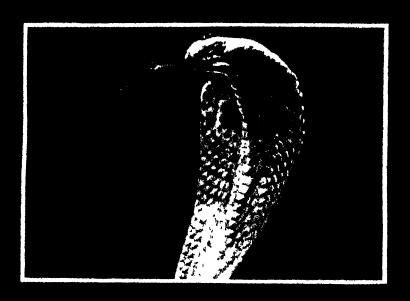
PEOPLE who have seen the rush print of Pundhu Chrruppu Kadikirathy, are raving about Sarada's performance. Pity the film is facing a lot of problems regarding its release.

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Fast masters

Mr Hanshi Gogen Yama-guchi, the 10th Dan black belt and, according to the Guinness Book, the world's foremost karateka, supervised a bravura demonstration by five of his best disciples in Bombay recently. Hanshi's younger son Goshi Yamaguchi (6th degree), with other karatekas from Hanshi's school-Gojukaiand its Indian do jo (branch), led by an Indian, Vispy Kapadia (4th degree), combined to give a memorable demonstration of the complex kataş (ritual exercises), full contact fighting and the climatic breaking The techniques. light of the evening, however, was the weapons display. Shihan Masauchi Khambara worked on his nanchaku and provided a fascinating spectacle to the 3,000 -strong audience.



Sans fans



Prakash Padukone sneaked into Bombay on June 10. A few people were at the airport to receive the vanquished hero. It was a strange sight considering that only a few months ago the airport lobby in Bombay was clogged with over 20 reporters, TV camera crew and, of course, innumerable fans of King Padukone. That was when Prakash had won

the All England Championship. Since then, he has, apparently, fallen from grace after having failed in his bid for the world title in Jakarta.

"I do think I have a lot of years more in top level bad-minton", Prakash told Ashish Rajadhyaksha who met the shuttle star at his fiancee's house. And, whether by way of a justification of his failure to cope with the Indonesian star, Liem Swie King, or possibly in earnest, Prakash added that in Indonesia "people play bad-minton the way Indians play cricket here (in India).

We don't really have the facilities to encourage top class badminton players, he lamented. What he did not crib about was his latest reception at Bombay airport and the fact that a top class badminton player also needs encouragement from his fans, particularly at a time when he is trying to get over his failure at a crucial tournament.

Not safe, but sound

Is it the Calcuttans' gift of the gab that has earned the city another distinction that of the world's noisiest city? Perhaps, as the Society for Clean Environment states in its colourful brochure released on the occasion of the World Environment Day which was observed on June 4. Delhi and Bombay are not far behind Calcutta in the noise race. Looks like Calcutta will take some beating, though.

The Satanic bug

Can Catholics participate in transcendental meditation as taught by Mahesh Yogi? Apparently, the Pope has been requested by the Catholic Laity Congress to forbid his followers from indulging in such "pagan" practices, reports Arthur Pais.

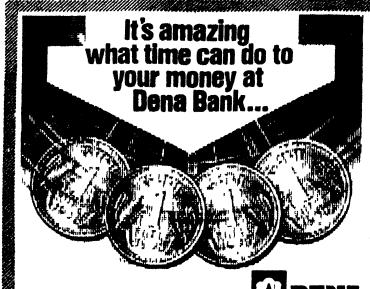
As matter of fact, the views of the Laity Congress provoked Clarence Motha who heads the department of history at Loyola College, Madras, to write a letter to the editor of The Hindu. Observed Mr Motha: This resolution obviously reveals the lack of knowledge of the true meaning and purpose of yoga and meditation...meditation has always been stressed as a devout practice by the Catholic Church down the centuries."

State of Head

Lieutenant The ernor of Goa, Pratap Singh Gill, visited Pakistan recently as the leader of a 17member jatha of Sikhs, on a pilgrimage to the gurdwaras across the border. Garrulous as ever, before his depar-ture, Gill summoned the docile local press and the Goa correspondent of UNI, and told them to take note for posterity that he was the first Indian Head of State to visit Pakistan as an official guest". He was promptly pulled up by the Centre for making such a pompous claim But Gill, according to Mario Cabral & Sa, is not a man who gives up easily. On his return from Pakistan, he called the local Press again and declared that during his cordial talks with General Zia-ul Haq, he had "discussed important matters of common interest between



Goa and Pakistan". The "important matters" included a proposal to send a hockey team of Goan girls to Pakistan Needless to say, Zia "promptly agreed" And Gill has now issued instructions to Chief Minister Rane to do the needful



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COIMBATORE. Two lovers sought the aid of the law enforcement agency for "theirlove entorcement" wedding The busy Bazaar police station was taken aback when a young couple "just married" with fresh garlands and new dresses walked in and refused to leave They did not ask for blessings but came to seek police protec tion so that their wedding, made in heaven, is not rent asunder by their wicked parents on this earth. The 20 year-old bride, Kalavathy, and the 25-year-old bridegroom, Bhoopathy were in love with each other Since their parents did not approve of their intentions, despite the fact that both of them were closely related, they eloped and married in front of Sri Subramania Swami at Marudamalai Hill temple and walked straight to the police station-Sunday Standard (Chandra Manoharan,Ootacamund)

*TADRAS The non-vegeterarian hotel of Anna Salai was the victim of a hoax on Saturday (June 17). A neatly dressed young man is said to have gone in a taxi to the hotel and ordered food packets and coffee stating that they were required for the members of the DMK executive, which was holding its session at the Party office. Two servers of the hotel with the packets accompanied the stranger in the taxi to the DMK office in Government Estate. When the taxi reached the DMK office, the stranger asked the servers to bring two

more food packets. One of them rushed to the restaurant and returned only to learn the person had already removed the packets from the taxi, carried them in another vehicle and disappeared — The Hindu (J.Panchanathan, Madras)

JHANSI. On June 13, an old man, who had been declared dead by various consolidation courts here, walked into the court of Mr Ram Shankar Dixit, Judicial Magistrate to say that he was alive and kicking. The Judicial Magistrate pronounced Parmoo Kachi alive in his judgement last weekend. Some persons of Khilwari village, under Tahrauli police station in this district, about 45 km from here, declared Parmoo dead and managed mutation of his ten-acre land in favour of one Harihar Singh of Sidhpura village, stated to be the adopted son of the old man—The Northern India Patrika (Rajneesh Batra, Allahabad)

KANPUR The Kanpur University examinations scheduled to begin on July I, may be postponed to a later date for want of paper to print answer-books. It is gathered that the university had approached the Education Directorate for an allotment of 10,000 reams of paper so that it could print the answer-books required for the examinations But the Directorate reportedly replied that it had no provision for allotment of paper for the universities of Kanput, Bundelkhand, Jhansi and Meerut The university subsequently approached various paper manufacturers and so far only one, and that too in Calcutta has agreed to supply 2000 reams. The university needs paper not only for answer-books but for printing examination schemes, question papers and a number of other proformas needed for conducting the examinations It is reliably learnt that even if the university manages to get the paper reams from the Calcutta mill, it will take at least two months to complete the printing and binding of answer-books while the examinations are a mere 20 days away-The Indian Express(Arvind Sand, Calcutta)

ndia abroad

NEW YORK. Miss Shyamala Rajender, a former professor of chemistry has, after years of litigation, won a sex discrimination suit against University of Minnesota. The case was filed in 1973, when she was denied tenure, that is permanency of appointment. The refusal, she contended was racially motivated. Miss Rajender (53) is from Madras and now a US citizen. She was appointed professor at the university on a year-to-year basis. "But when I asked for a tenure" she explained, "I was told that the university didn't believe in hiring women on a regular basis". At first she filed what is called an internal grievance case. An 11-member committee was appointed by the university to inquire into her complaint. The committee unanimously ruled that the chemistry department had in fact, discriminated against Miss Rajender, because of her national origin.

The university president overruled the committee's finding. Miss Rajender's annual contract was not renewed. She then filed a complaint in the US district court in 1973 under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Her attorney, Mr Paul Sprender, who specialized in representing civil rights activities, changed the complaint into a class action suit in 1977. This meant that all women academic employees of University of Minnesota and applicants for those positions both past and present and not simply Miss Rajender, became subject to the verdict of the court. The case was tried for 11 weeks before it was decided upon recently. The consent decree not only gives Miss Rajender \$100,000 but includes a provision whereby two of the next five individuals to be hired by the chemistry department of the university for regular faculty positions have to be women-Sunday Statesman

THE Death of a Dynasty—Headline in the *The Times*, London, announcing Sanjay Gandhi's death

PEOPLE come and go but the nation continues to live. Every living being must die some day-Mrs Indira Gandhi on Sanjay's death

THE random death of one young politician—a man with no lasting achievements and no ministerial record—ought not make too much difference to the largest democracy in the world—The Guardian

FOR Mrs Gandhi, the death of her son is not only a shattering personal loss but it is also a political blow. She had been trying consistently to build up Mr Sanyay Gandhi as her heifapparent— The Statesman

SANJAY GANDHI's death has been a great blow to the Congress(1) Jyoti Basu, West Bengal Chief Minister

HER (Mrs Gandhi's) desolation as she looked down on her son's dead body in a Delhi hospital must have been deeper than the one she experienced standing near the burning pyre of her father—The Pakistan Times

HE had a great passion for cars, but we all thought he drove too fast—A Rolls Royce engineer quoted in The Hindustan Times

SANJAY'S was the shortest political life and the briefest parliamentary career —Madhu Dandavate, Janata Party leader

THIS is the greatest tragedy that could have befallen me—Delhi police commissioner, P.S Bhinder

THOSE whom the gods love die young. We are poorer, much poorer after his death —Vice President, M. Hidayatullah

SANJAY GANDHI'S death has brought darkness at noon—Atal Behari Vajpayee, Bhartiya Janata Party leader

A TREE which held the promise of greatness has been hit by lightning—Kamalapati Tripathi, Union Railway Minister

SANJAY GANDHI who died at the age of 33, belonged to the same category as Jesus Christ, Alexander the Great, Tipu Sultan and Vivekananda, all of whom died at 33—C M. Stephen, Union Minister for Communications

IN this country we seldom say anything adverse after the death of a person. The ruling Party should not do anything which might create a controversy—Chandra Shekhar, Janata Party President

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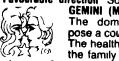
Helps build your fortune Beginning July 6
This week the Sun and Mercury are in Gemini, Rahu is in Cancer, Jupiter and Saturn are in Leo, Mars is in Virgo, Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is in Scorpio and Kethu is in Capricorn Venus is in Taurus and the Moon will be moving through Aries, Taurus and Gemini from Pisces



ARIES (March 21-April 20) Refrain from making caustic comments Exercise tact and patience in your deal-

elders For most people this will be a busy week, business and professional activities will keep most people engaged Your efforts will be crowned with success but do not let over- optimism spoil your fortune in your own interests, check all extravagant tendencies. You will benefit through a member of the fair sex A happy romance is predicted for unmarried folks. A new friendship will brighten your professional prospects Good dates 7 9 11 and 12 Lucky numbers 3 4 and

5 Favourable direction South
TAURUS (April 21—May 22) Do not be disappointed by) * ĺ misfortune Despite obstacles in your path you will (1) forge ahead on many fronts A property dispute is likely to be decided in your favour Expenditure will rise by leaps and bounds but greater profits will help you to make ends meet Some people will inherit property after the passing away of relatives. An impulsive or outspoken comment can prejudice your employers opinion The domestic scene will continue to be a source of happiness **Good dates**. 7 8 10 and 11 Lucky numbers 2, 7 and 9 Favourable direction South



GEMINI (May 23-June 21) The domestic front will pose a couple of problems The health of womenfolk in the family will be a source

of worry Otherwise, this will prove to be a favourable week On the social front you will gain prominence. The existing favourable stellar influences should be utilised to the hilt. Hard work will produce good results Do not ignore your hunches and let your intuition guide you for important letters before taking a decision **Good dates:** 8 9, 10 and 11 Lucky numbers 4 and 11 Favourable direction: West



CANCER (June 22-July 22) This week begins on a promising note A sudden stroke of good fortune will

place you in an advantageous position You are however advised to guard against deception and over-optimism Pay great attention to professional or business undertakings Differences with business partners must be settled amicably At home, someone may fall sick. A close relative can give you cause for worry. Check all extravagant tendencies otherwise you are likely to face financial problems. Some people will probably go on a long journey Good dates: 6, 7, 9 and 12 Lucky numbers. 1 3, 4 and 9. Favourable direction: West



LEO (July 23-August 22) You are advised to proceed carefully and make plans in advance A small mistake can prove very costly

Keep your temper under control if you want to avoid problems on the social and professional front Romance is on the cards for most Leos but do not allow a person of the opposite sex to interfere with your professional duties Disagreements with relatives and family friends should be avoided at all costs. People in the armed forces should exercise caution in property deals Good dates 6 8 9 and 12 Lucky numbers 9 10 and 11 Favourable direction. North



VIRGO (August 23-September 22) You will spend an enjoyable and happy week provided you do not dis-obey the orders of those in

authority Keep your tongue under control and do not allow minor problems to ruffle you. The domestic scene demands your urgent aftention Dubious love adventures are to be avoided in your own interests. A person of the opposite sex is likely to harm you. Therefore be on your guard Some people will inherit property Check extravagant tendencies and make plans for the future Good dates 6 7 8 and 9 Lucky numbers 2 3 and 7 3 and 7 Favourable direction North
LIBRA (September 23—Octo-



ber 22) You will have several excellent opportunities to expand your business and consolidate your financial position A secret ambition will soon be

realised to the accompaniment of joy and happiness. Do not allow domestic or love affairs to interfere with the conduct of your business or financial affairs. You will gain through property matters and insurance policies. A promotion is on the cards, especially for people in the ser vices Medical expenses are foreseen in joint families Good dates 6 8 10 and 11 10 and 9 Favourable Lucky numbers 1 direction South



SCORPIO (October 23— November 21) A lucky week is predicted for you Businessmen will make huge profits by selling off old stocks' This will be the beginning of a period of steady progress on the financial front Professionals should push their activities to the utmost. You will enjoy a fair measure of happiness at home Pay great attention to business details and guard against over optimism. Those in authority must be kept in good humour in your own interests. An old person may oppose your plans and create minor problems at the weekend Good dates. 7

8 and 9 Lucky numbers 4 and 5 Favour-

able direction. South east



SAGITTARIUS (November 22—December 22) The home front will be a source of great joy and happiness this week Elders and chil-

dren will contribute to your happiness Opposition on the part of an elderly female relative is likely. A secret relationship will now prove very helpful. A happy romance will make the week more colourful Unexpected good fortune is on the cards You are however advised to guard against extravagant tendencies Problems with your colleagues must be settled peacefully Take steps not to displease those in authority **Good dates**: 6, 7, 8 and 11 **Lucky numbers**: 2, 6 and 3 **Favourable direction**: East



CAPRICORN (December 23-January 20) A very lucky week for people born underthis planet Friends, new and old will contribute

to your happiness. Their cooperation will help you in attaining your objectives A secret source will prove to be of immense value On the financial front, you are likely to take great strides. This is the time to make new plans for the future and enter into fresh trade agreements. Romance will blossom and people engaged in artistic pursuits will win fame and recognition Look after your own health Good dates: 6, 9, 11 and 12 Lucky numbers 3, 6 and 9 Favourable direction: West.



AQUARIUS (January 21—February 19) This week may prove rather unlucky for many people Reversals on the business and financial

fronts are to be expected. The cooperation of business partners is very important at this crucial juncture Spouses are likely to play very important roles Guard against deception Your friends are likely to let you down when you need them most Therefore let your own hunches and intuition guide you Good dates 8, 9, 10 and 11 Lucky numbers 2, 4 and 7 Favourable direction South
PISCES (February 20—March



20) Exercise caution in your dealings with those in authority Employers should be kept in good humour in

your own interests. Some people will inherit property. For those in the services, promotions are highly probable. A secret source will prove to be of immense value Keep away from gambling and speculation. You are advised to check extravagant tendencies if you want to avoid financial problems. Wait for an important letter. Good dates: 6 7 9 and 12 Lucky numbers: 4, 2 and 8 Favourable direction South and West

M B RAMAN

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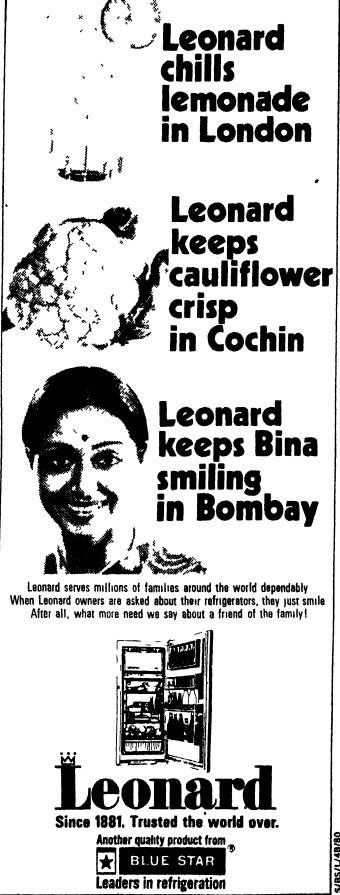
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THE WORLD

The in-Fidels



Cuban refugees

Jimmy Carter had once welcomed the trickle of illegal Cuban regugees with "open heart and open arms" But the trickle arms" But the trickle turned into a flood And the deluge continues increasing the number of refugees to millions Meanwhile, the Cuban President Fidel Castro is himself not on a very firm footing It seems he is losing his charismatic image since he came to power 21 years ago Countries which had followed his style of Castro Communism are refusing to toe his ideological line like Nicaragua and Venezuela As for Castro himself, he is finding it hard to provide foodstuffs to his fellow countrymen despite the estimated seven million dollars a day aid from Rus-

sia. In fact, the leader himself said in a speech in December last year . "Some have said that we are experiencing difficulties is better to say we are sailing in a sea of difficulties" Indeed to get out of the difficulties 10,000 Cubans forced themselves into the Peruvian Embassy in Havana sometime in April in search of political asylum in the USA Others who wanted to quit the country braved the stormy Florida Straits in sail boats to reach the USA In the USA they have been kept in resettlement camps prior to their becoming immigrants And all are happy that they left the dictatorial regime of Castro as the photograph depicts.

Luron is fun

Any evening if you walk in the Theatre Marigny you will find Thierry Le Luron creating a comic microcosm of French politics and showbiz supported by a 25 piece orchestra. Le Luron, only 28 years old is France's leading imitator and ventriloquist who performs nearly 30 impersonations, caricatures, parodies, burlesques and travesties. In his acts he spares no one . in fact, he sometimes starts his shows with an impersonation of the French President himself. He is different from his predecessors in the sense that he has combined two distinct genres-"imitations and the chansonette"-and made them lively, topical and original. And that is the secret of his success. It was the May 1968 Revolution that dragged Luron out his

smug, bourgeois shelter when he had to sit and watch TV all day At that time the French Ministers were debating about the student disturbances and he started imitating their habits of speaking and even their mannerisms. Now his eyes are set on the United States of America which is "tempting" him. But he has no illusions about America. Maybe he is somewhat unsure that the sense of humour of those across the Atlantic is not close enough to that of his own countrymen in France. In France he claims he has a solid footing. Naturally, he is not known as Le Luron for nothing for "Luron" in French means "funny guy". "I just hope that it translates well in other languages" says Luron with a twinkle in his eyes.

Barn storming

Of all the antiques in the world, old English barns and granaries have now caught the fancy of the Americans. These buildings are being exported all the way to the United States and Canada. Two such barns had reincarnations in Toronto. In a country like England, where painting the front door of one's house often requires the permission of the local authories, moving a whole house would seem an impossibility. In truth, the Englishmen 'are salvaging those buildings which are just not being cared for says Mr Durtnell, the managing director of a barn exporting company. And how do the owners of these noveau antiques feel? Well, if one comes down to brass tacks, while it costs money to renovate or even pull down the old barns, the owners are getting paid for what little piece of old oak they can transplant in America. And speaking of durability, well, "the rule is that a house must withstand snow, wind and a cocktail party all at once These new homes can pass that test"

A degree ahead



Remember America's youngest President John Fitzgerald Kennedy and remember his charming wife Jacqueline. Well they had a son and a daughter who have grown up. Whether they will follow in the footsteps of their illustrious father to become politicians remains a big question but one thing is certain. They have got down to studying and Caroline, JFK's daugh-ter, graduated from Radcliffe at a joint session during Harvard University's 329th Commencement on June 5. And it was a celebration for the whole family. There was (from left to right) John F. Kennedy Jr, Caroline's younger brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, Caroline and her mother Jacqueline Onassis.

Who belle-d the cat

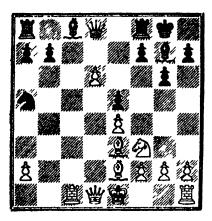


Twelve—year—old Ingrid "Kiki" Nordh, is probably one of the major attractions of the Cheetah Safari Park at Johannesburg, South Africa. Daughter of Erik and Janet Nordh, who are veteran animal trainers at the park and who run the park as well, Kiki took it into her head to learn to tame animals herself. For

starters, she chose the lion which goes to speak of her courage. But then Kiki is a brave girl. And in the course of playing around with her pet lion she has become the youngest lion tamer in the world. As for being a major attraction in the park one of the many dauntless acts this young girl indulges in is riding the lion bare—backed

chess

Radriguez (Black)



Miles (White) to move Position after Black's 13th move

Round-up from Riga

Having marvelled last week at Tal's play in the Riga interzonal, I was left with no space to comment on the performance of our own representative Tony Miles. Tony was only the second player in our history to reach this stage of the world championship cycle the first being Harry Golombek and as such he acquitted himself very creditably indeed. A final score of 9/17 belies the fact that he was in the running for one of the coveted top three places for much of the time and only an uncharacteristically weak finish of 1½/5 kept him out of the top placings. Tony probably found to his cost as I have some times found to mine that when one is mort desperate to win games one is also most open to defeat especially against top class opposition. Still he has no cause to be dissatisfied with his result.

dissatisfied with his result. The British Chess Federation deserve great credit for their initiative in sending Jonathan Speelman along with Tony as his second. In such a long gruelling event a second is a must for anybody with any real aspirations. The amount of analysis and preparation necessity to succeed at this level is alone quite enough to exhault a single person both mentally and physically even without having to move a single pawn at the board. So all parties concerned can at least be content that they did their best even if it was not quite enough.

I think a game is needed here lest this article begins to sound too much like an autopsy. I give a very smooth positional win by Miles against an opponent who seemed to be a little out of his depth.

White Miles Black Rodriguez.

Interzonal Tournament Riga 1979 Grun feld Defini e

feld Defence

1 P-Q4, N-KB3, 2 P-Q84, P-KN3, 3
N-Q83, P-Q4, 4 N-83, 8-N2, 5 PxP,
NxP; 6 P-K4 One of many playable variations to be condemned by theory 6. . NxN;
7, PxN, P-Q84, 8 B-K31? As fag as I know a new move here. The idea is to clear the tong diagonal as quickly as possible in preparation for P-Q5.

the tong diagonal as quickly as possible in preparation for P-Q5

8. . N-B3, 9 R-B1, PxP One of the points of Miles s idea is that 9. Q-R4 can be met hy 10 P-Q5! BxP+ 11 RyB! QxR+ 12.8-Q2 winning two minor pirces for a rook while any less active move will be met by 10 P Q5 and .! P-Q84 with a very powerful pawn centre indeed 10.PxP, Q-O, 11 P-Q5! N-QR4, 12 B-K2, Q-M3, 13 P-Q6, P-K4, (DIAGRAM) Hoping to prove that the PQ6 is isolated and

weak No one can doubt it is isolated, but the latter hypothesis soon comes under fire 14. R—87, B—K3; 15. N—N51 R—81; Not. 15. B x RP? 16. O—Q2 picking up a stray piece

16. N x B, P x N, 17. C x R, Q x R; 18. O—O White has caught up with his development and the OP is still alive and kicking 18... N—B3, 19. P—Q7, Q—B2; 20. B—KN4 Support from a new angle On 20. N—Q1 comes simply 21. O—Q2 and R—Q1 or QB1, so Black puts his faith in opposite bishops 20. N—Q5; 21. B x N, P x B; 22. Q—N3, K—R1; 23. Q x KP, B—K4; 24. —N3, B—83; 25. K—N2, K—N2; 28. O—Q5, P—N3; 27. R—K1 The KP prepared to advance and join its neighbour Black has no real answer 27. Q—B4; 28. Q—N7, B—Q1; 29. P—K5, P—Q6, 30. R—K3, P—Q7; 31. P—K6, K—R3, White was threatening 32. P—K71 B x P 33. P—Q8—Q, R x Q, 34. R x B+32. Q—K4, B—K2; 33. P—KR4, K—N2; 34. Q—K5+ Q x Q, 35. R x Q, P—KR4; 36. R—B4+ Resigns. After 38. K—K2. 39. R x R the weak QP becomes a (weak?) queen.

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

When you hold an unsupported Queen in dummy and a singleton Ace in hand, it is sometimes a good move to lay the Queen on the block. This situation is fairly well known.

| WEST | EAST |
|----------------|----------------|
| ▲ AJ952 | ▲ Q 10 8 3 |
| ♥ Q 172 | ♥ A K B |
| ◆ A | ♦ Q 7 5 |
| 4 9 6 4 | 4 Q 7 3 |

You are playing Four Spades as West and North leads the 6 of diamonds. You play the Queen froin dummy hoping that South will be able to cover with the King. Then you cross to \$\varphi\$ A and take the spade finesse. If North wins, there is a good chance that he will play a second diamond rather than switch to clubs. The same kind of play can be made with J x or J x x opposite a single ton Ace or a doubleton A K also with K x opposite \$\varphi\$ 10.

Here the object is not to invite a lontinua tion of the surfled but to transfer a menace

spend Che heart. The defence begins with three minds of hearts and switches to a club the 9 forcing the King. Now the Queen of diamonds may provoke a cover, if it does, then. West can be squeezed in the minor suits.

The title of Bridge. Bidding Naturally, by Joe Amsbury (Batsford £4 95), should not be taken in too literal a sonse. The author is an avowed admirer of the closely reasoned language of bidding that has been developed by the Sharples brothers and Jack Marx. As Amsbury says good bidding is skin to an erudite conversation His book is erudite in a bridge, if not a literary, sense, it deals in a conversational way with many sequences that other writers have not analyzed in depth.

Improve Your Defence, by Tony Souter (Batsford, £5 95), deals with a subject that can be tiring unless the mixture of text and illustration is exactly right

TERENCE REESE

stamps



When the Interparliamentary Union Congress held its 46th conference in London in 1957, the Post Office marked the occasion with Britain's most modest commemorative issue. The words 'Parliamentary Conference' were added to the design of the current 4d definitive stamp and the numeral '46th was tucked in below the Queen's chin Only 10j million of the stamps were issued and they were generally overlooked, even by collectors. Most were used on ordinary mail and very few dealers bought large stocks. The increased popularity of all British stamps has forced up the price of the 1957 commemorative. The current Stanley Gibbons catalogue quotes if at £2.25 in mint condition or £2.50 if fine used. The illustrated first day covers, bearing one of the stamps cancelled by a special West minster postmark, now cost at least £30.

C W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1 The basics of existentialism are found in the books "Fear and Trembling The Concept of Dread" and Sick ness unto Death Who wrote these books?

2 While a novelette is described as a short novel or a long short story how would you describe a novellat?

3 It has frequently been observed that physical or mental disorders appear in a patient as a result of medication given to him for an illness he is currently suffering from What is the term applied to the new disorder?

to the new disorder?

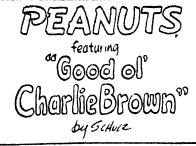
4 What would you be doing if you are practising mythopoeia?

5 To whom would you attribute the Nutcracker Suite?

What happened on June 18, 1815? Who is Pierre-Auguste Renoir?

Soren Kierkegaard
 A form of Semitic folk tale which is of a particular time and place
 S. A form of Semitic folk tale which is particular disease
 Engage in deliberate and conscious myth making
 Foter I Tcharkovsky
 Settle of waterloo
 The Battle of waterloo
 The famous impressionist and state of the film-director, Jean Renoir father of the film-director, Jean Renoir

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An eyewitness account

The following description of the moment of Sanjay's death, and how various people reacted, was given to us by an eyewitness. The eyewitness does not want to disclose his identity, because he has no desire to gain either publicity or reward; he just related a moving human story.

BOUT forty to fifty people had collected by the time the fire brigade arived on the scene of the crash, and the first thing they did was to begin to clear this crowd from around the wreckage. The plane was badly twisted, but still more or less intact; the door was stuck. Some fire brigade people asked who the victims were; they were informed that Sanjay Gandhi and Captain Subhash Saxena were inside

The door of the plane was finally opened, and one look at the bodies showed that there was no chance of either being alive. Sanjay's skull was split, and body badly hurt. A stretcher was brought, and the fire brigade people took out Sanjay's body, placed it on a stretcher, covered it with a blanket, and took it to the ambulance. Mrs Gandhi arived, in a white Ambassador, when Saxen's body was being put on the stretcher.

She opened the right door of the car and walked briskly to the site of the crash, followed by R.K.Dhawan and Dr Sahay She then came to the ambulance, lifted the blanket, and quickly covered Sanjay's body again with a sign full of sorrow. Mrs.Gandhi was asked where the ambulance should go. "Hospital we"ll go to a nursing home," she replied. Safdurjang and Dr Lohia hospitals were suggested She said okay to the latter hospital. All through the drive Mrs. Gandhi was very calm and very composed.

The entrance to the hospital was partially blocked by a person trying to stat his car Immediately some security people got down and physically dragged the vehicle to one side The ambulance stopped on the porch

The rear door was opened and Sanjay's body was taken out I tried to help carry it, but there were now many enthusiasts to do this I went ahead and found a sister writing on some register I asked her which room was vacant as two bodies had been brought She hesitated, but on being told who they were, gave the number of a room By then Mrs Gandhi had come in, followed by another nurse, and we headed for room number one. I popened the door, switched on the lights Mr Gandhi's body was put on



the bed, and Mr Saxena's on the settee In less then ten minutes Dr N P Singh had come followed by other doctors and nurses. Then Mrs ANDHI made a request "Please, everybody leave the room for two minutes" She closed the room and latched it from inside She reopened the door in two minutes, and a select few entered By this time the corridors were full of people

Mrs Gandhi wanted a surgeon to do a stitching job on the body, and Dr Mrs Gupte, assisted by colleagues, did so Mr Saxena's body had been taken to anotherroom Before the operation started. Mrs Gandhi had settled the room With great courage and calm fortitude, Mrs Gandhi occasionally observed the stitching operation Three sets of pyfama-kurtas had also been brought by now, so that Mr Gandhi's clothes could be changed Fresh bedsheets were put. Only when Mrs Gandhi was satisfied, were visitors allowed in Among the first to enter were Mohammad Yunus and Dhirendra Brahmachari

And of course, Maneka too She came in with Mrs Gandhi holding her, comforting her There was a blank, lost look in her ye eyes, which was painful to see. In a few mintes, she was escorted out

Babu Jagjivan Ram came, stayed for a tew seconds, and left without any expression. Atal Behari Vajpayee showed some feeling Raj Narain looked lost Jagdish Tytler came in crying ing, and Mrs Gandhi gestured that he should be taken out if he was in that state. The best composed was Mrs Gandhi's nephew and the man who contested from Rae-Bareli, Arun Nehru, Mrs Gandhi spoke to him often in hushed tones. Maneka returned, along with her brother Viren She sat there with a blank look, still too stunned perhaps to let her sorrow gush out in tears. Mrs Gandhi, obviously deeply pained, controlled herself and supervised all the arrangements She did not seem to take kindly to some of the more sycophan tic expressions of grief.

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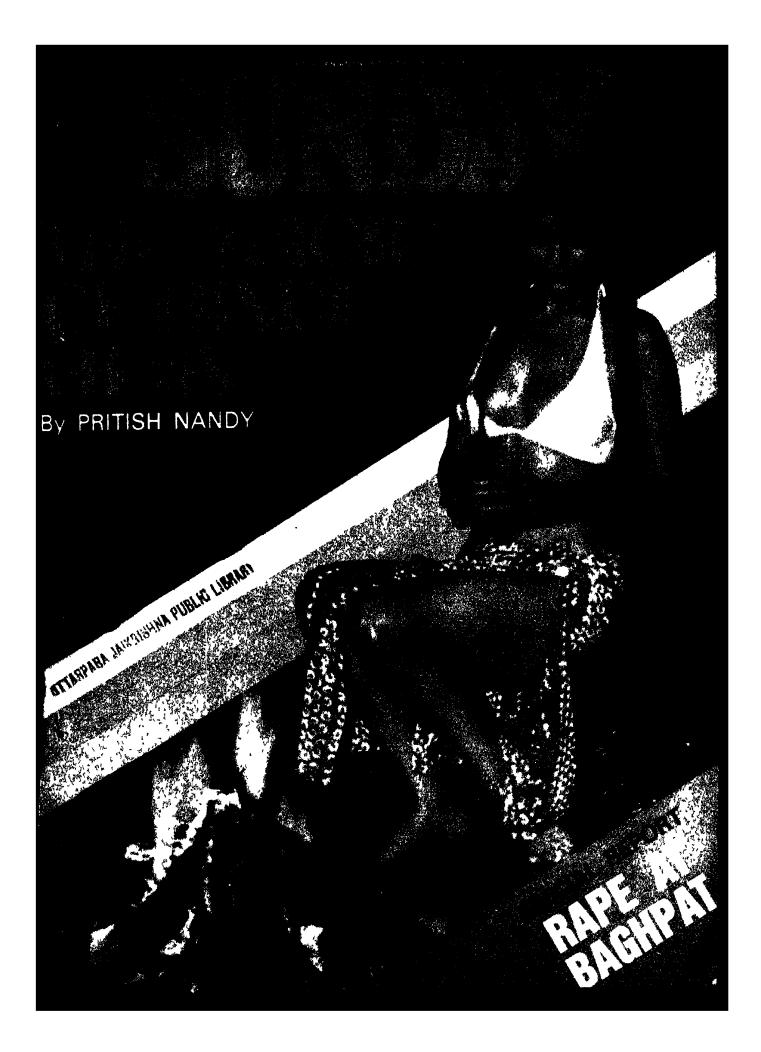
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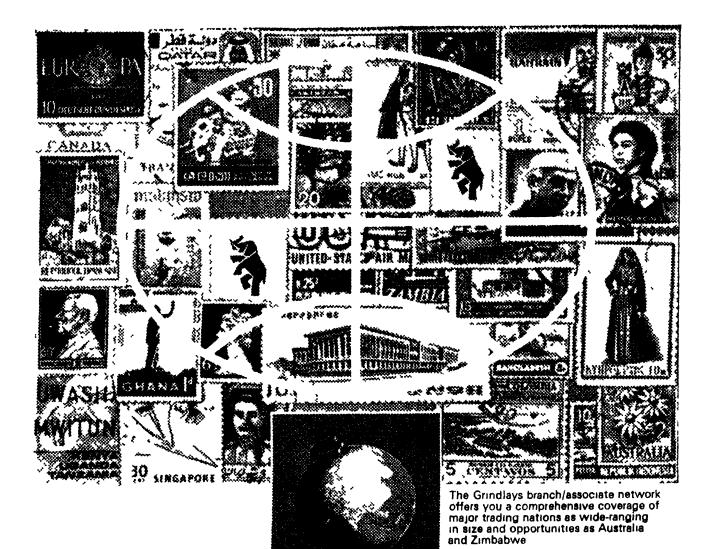
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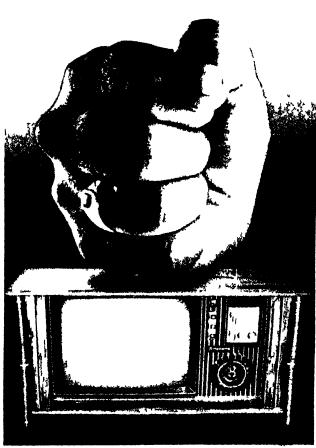
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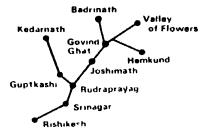
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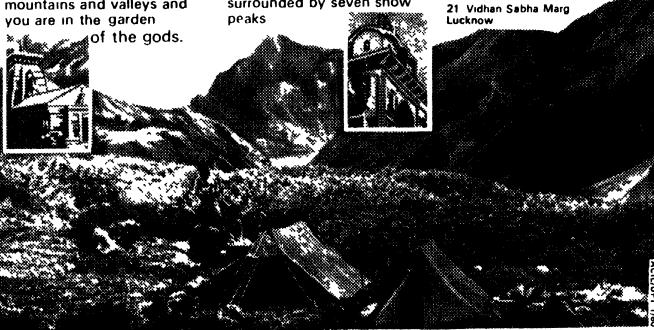
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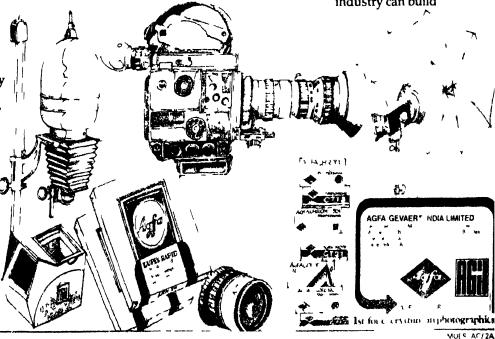
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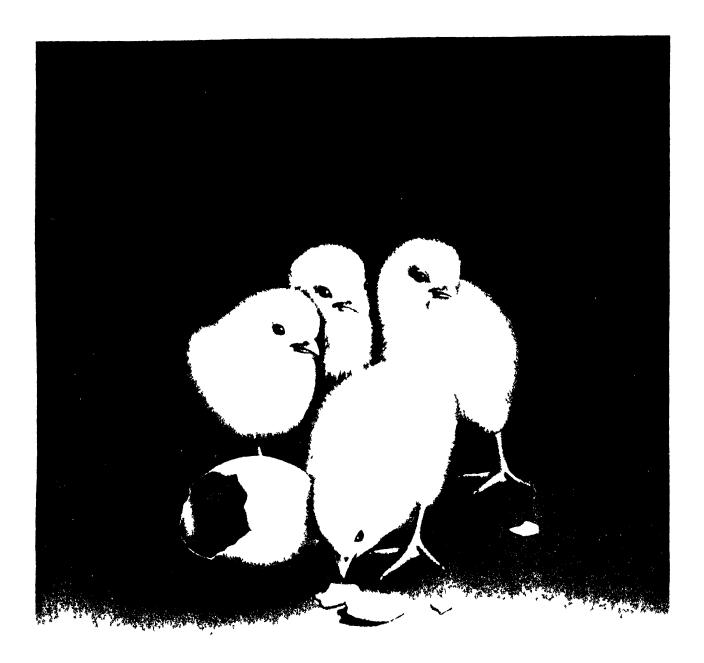
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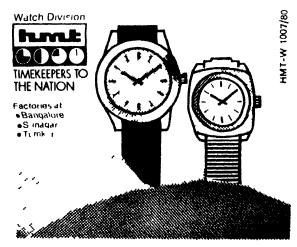
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At one time or the other, all of us have speered at Hindi films. Critics have carped at the fact that they do not portray reality. This week's cover story is a fresh look at those films, an attempt to prove that they are more realistic than anyone would care to admit.

The agitation in the North east has found an echo in Jhargram, West Bengal, where advasis are pressing for the creation of a separate state However, till the moment of writing, there has not been much violence, although rumour has created panic.





At Baghpat, only nine Rilometres away from Deihi, a group of policemen shot dead the husband of a pregnant woman, along with two of his companions. Then the woman was dragged out of the car, stripped, paraded in the nude before a shocked crowd, led to the local police station and assaulted An on-the spot report. P 22

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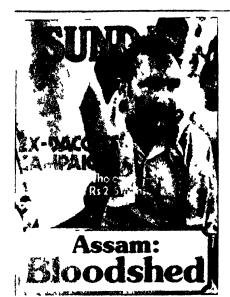


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Crime no bars

I FHANK Ajoy Bose and Kamal Sahai for their cover story on the "Ex dacoits' campaign" (1 June) A few remarks may help to complete the narration I gratefully acknowledge the role of the Mahatma Gandhi Seva Ashram in securing the dacoits' surrender and rehabilitation My colleagues Messrs Mahanir Singh, Hemde Sharma, Tehsilder Singh, Lokman Dikshit and many others also played an effective part

It is a welcome gesture that the PM has taken a personal interest in the matter, particularly in (a) re habilitating the surrendered dacoits and their victims and, (b) preventing the dacoit menace in future. For a start, the central and state governments should meet and decide on preventive measures, conventional methods of dealing with the crime may not be adequate. Some positive programmes should be chalked out in the Chambal Valley for creating a peaceful atmosphere

S N Subba Rao, Mahatma Gandhi Seva Ashram, Morena

THE story reads like fiction — a man kills somebody, escapes to Chambal, becomes a dacoit, gains notoriety, returns to surrender and then lives like a VIP Such indulgence of these outlaws has made a mockery of our Constitution

B John, Calcutta

SEEKING help from criminals and anti-socials is now considered a must for election campaigns. Mohar Singh is a notorious killer with a record of 345 murders to his credit Most of his victims were supposedly innocents.

Now he is a friend of Mr P C Sethi and roams the streets campaigning for politicians. It is disgraceful that even the PM does not mind siding with such criminals

AKAC Chakrabortty, Bombay

It IS disastrous that ex dacoits are joining politics, especially when they have not yet undergone a change of heart. It is a shame that the ruling Party is giving them pat ronage, allowing them to live in comfort in jails and then using their muscle power for its own political ends.

Debasish Ray, Puri

SOLUTIONS to a country's social, economic and other problems can be attempted in two ways—one, through radical and correct mea sures and the second, through inde cisive long term measures which seem promising in the beginning but prove unsatisfactory as time passes Both Mahatma Gandhi and JP were exponents of the latter course Their methods did not work Compassion and philosophy, after all, produce the least effect in a society consumed with corruption and selfish ness

Sushmita Chakraborty, Gaya

I BELIEVE the dacoits are yet to be reformed People of the region are still afraid of them and cast their votes in favour of the Congress(I) for fear of being tortured If the ruling Party continues to indulge the exdacoits, it will definitely lose popularity Mohar Singh's remark "I am no less than Charan Singh" shows that he unaware of how people see him

Debashis Dutta, Tezpur

MR BOSE's report proves conclusively that there has been no change of heart among the bandits of Cham bal Earlier they had to carry their own guns and probably did not walk about freely Now they not only move about with the proud bearing of patriotic war veterans escorted by their gun bearers, but are also fawned upon by political Parties Their emancipator, Subba Rao, confesses that the Mungaoli open gaol resembled a grand harem with all the fixtures—of wine and women Incidentally Ajoy Bose has not been able to ascertain from the guardians of the dacoits — the police — the number of killings a desperado should be credited with to qualify for a surrender

P. S Rathaur, Basti

A denial

TOOSHAR PANDIT, writing L under the caption "Why Assam's agitation must now stop" (25 May). described me as an adviser of the AASU Again, the same writer in his article "A solution is possible, but' (8 June) has called me one of the "think tank" of AASU This is to inform you that both descriptions are wrong I am not connected or associated with the AASU in any way And for that matter, I am not connected with any organisation, though I fully subscribe to the aims and objectives of the sponsors of the agitation and support most of their decisions I would be grateful if this position is clarified

G C Phukan, Gauhati

THIS refers to Tooshar Pandit's story "Assam bloodshed" (1 June) The author failed to give a correct account of the situation I am afraid he is wrong if he insists on calling the All Assam Minorities Students' Union (AAMSU) the All Assam Mus lim Students' Union It is equally wrong to say that "The Bengali Hindus are yet to identify with the AAMSU in a significant manner" In many places Bengali Hindus have participated in demonstrations in fairly large numbers. On 26 May at some places processions were taken out by Bengalı Hındus ınstead of Muslims, demanding a stop to atroci ties on genuine Indian citizens This happened in Kokrajhar town I Jamal, Goalpara

APROPOS of Nilima Sanyal's letter (Opinion, 1 June), I would like to point out that the surname of Prafulla Mahanto proves that he is not a son of the soil of Assam His forefathers were migrators Similarly, Harekrishna Mahatab who lauded that stand of the AASU is a migrant in Orissa, as is evident from his surname Hence the futility of the "sons of the soil" theory Hari Gopal Somani, Calcutta

MR PANDIT's article "Assam bloodshed" afforded a clear picture of Assam today His closing sent ence "Assam is certainly sitting or a powder keg with irresponsible playing with fire, hardly realising that even a small spark can rip apart everything to pieces" aptly reflected popular feeling about Assam SK Hayath Basha, Madras

THE allegation that the Assamese are attacking the minorities is total ly baseless. Until now violence has

Bata wraps your feet in comfort



occurred only in those places where foreigners and Bengali-speaking people are in a majority like Tinsukia, Nowgong and Barpeta. This shows who the culprits are. I would also like to point out that Dibrugarh is not in Lakhimpur, as stated on your 1 June issue Achyut N.Phukan, Shillong

THE Assam agitation is basically anti-left and anti-democratic. Many CPI(M) workers were harassed and beaten up by militant agitators. Even democrats like Dr Hiren Gohain were not spared. If the agitators claim that the left is anti-Assamese, how can the assault on Dr Gohain, a product of Assamese culture, be justified?

Bipul Ch. Khaund, Digboi

THE students are carrying on a violent agitation with pictures of Bapuji mounted on their heads-Ahish Sarkar, Dibrugarh

Welfare project

THIS refers to G. S. Kartha's arti-L cle on the Silent Valley project (1 June). Obviously, the project is a threat to flora and fauna of a rare variety. However, any extreme position regarding conservation or going ahead with the project blindly would prove counter-productive. The primary objective of any government step should be public welfare. Instead of prolonging the raging controversy, it is only sensible to draw up a case in favour of public welfare. Funnily, concern for nature and individual economic and political interests are being given precedence over the interests of the exploited masses who hover on the brink of survival.

C. R. Bijoy, Cochin

Review of reviews

PRITISH NANDY's review of the Daruwalla anthology (1 June) is peerless. For a change someone has thrown caution to the winds and jumped off the fence reviewers invariably sit on. Each review that Nandy writes in your magazine is courageous, intellectually honest and scintillating. Absurd as it may seem, SUNDAY is changing literary norms. It is introducing a new approach towards reviewing that is hard hitting as well as very stylish. Chandan Gupta, Calcutta

MR NANDY's review of the anthology of poetry edited by Daruwalla was a bit too nasty. Too personal to put it briefly. What on earth did the 'dishonest policeman' have to do with two decades of Indian poetry? The title was misleading, but one

THE article is full of anti-Asamese venom. Mr Pandit did not mention anything about the infiltration of foreigners from Bangladesh which is so massive that it has to be seen to be believed. Unless the infiltration is stopped, in course of time Assam will be lost to India. B.C.Borphukan, Sibsagar

MR PANDIT held the AASU and the GSP responsible for the current violence, but did not mention a word about the CRP men who took advantage of the curfew hours to rape the women and girls of some of the villages. The constitution has guaranteed the minorities of the country the right to protect their religious and linguistic rights. Therefore, is it logical to call them unconstitutional when the minorities are desperately trying to save their democratic rights within the country?

R.K.Chakravarty, Mangaldai

CONTRARY to what Mr Kartha reported, Mr Joseph John is not sad at all; neither is the Silent Valley "in the shadow of death". In fact, it is on the verge of being transformed into a national park. Like my innumerable countrymen who defended the valley against depredation, I am happy that the project's enthusiasts under the banner of the Kerala State Electricity Board bave been silenced by the latest report that the centre has already drawn up a budget for the valley's conversion into a national park. Further, the PM Mrs Gandhi assures: "In fact we are making earnest efforts to find some alternative schemes which would give Kerala power as well as employment without harming its ecology. Joseph John, Vice President, Friends of the Trees, Kottayam

cannot make it an excuse to indulge in vitriolics. The airs he put on ! Who made him the high priest of Indo-Anglian poetry? And can he honestly swear by the Muse that he himself has never been choosy and cliqueprompted? The only redeeming feature of the review was acknowledging the pioneering role of that great patron of Indo-Anglian creativity — P Lal. Even that he could not do without planting a few sharp thorns in the bouquet he presented. K. V Chacko, Nagpur

MAY I thank you for setting one literary goonda against another: Pritish against Keki, bravo! Let these 'intellectual-poetic' toughs fight it out. We the silent majority of poetry readers prefer Sarojini, Aurobindo and Toru to the excretions of Ramanujan, Kumar, Nandy, and other poetic panwallahs. S. A. Raj, Madras

In bad taste

THIS refers to the report "Case o the missing cigarettes" (1 June) Here in Bangalore all brands are available, not only those of ITC bu also other companies. All these cigarettes are sold at higher prices which vary from shop to shop. Eve though cigarettes do not come unde the Essential Commodities Act, th police should bring to book thes cheats. SUNDAY is the only nationa weekly to have reported the pro longed strike at the Bangalor branch of ITC. Why doesn't the stat or central government take action K. N. Ravi Kumar, Bangalore

SMOKERS need not go crazy abou cigarettes. Cigarettes have been known to kill more people than al accidents, cases of infections, dis eases, suicides, alcohol and cance of the stomach put together. N. Ramesh, Hyderabad

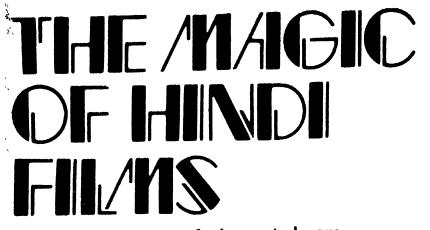
Party poster

THE picture of the Bangla bandl L poster which appeared on page 31 of the 1 June issue has a wron caption stating that it is a "Wes Bengal government poster". It i clear from the writing that the post er was issued by the state committee of the CPI(M).

Anıruddha Chakraborty, Calcutta

God, no

NEW hope for Tibetan refugees" (1 June) by A. J. Singh is misleading. In 1974 some Tibetans plotted to assassinate King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the present King of Bhutan, and not his father King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, who had already passed away in 1972. Mr Singh's statement that the Bhutan government was very harsh on the Tibetan refugees, placing restrictions on their movements, preventing Tibetan students from coming back home, and going to school is far from the truth. The author is right that the refugees refused to take up Bhutanese citizenship in 1978. But the government never took such harsh steps that year. Of course, in 1974 when the plot to assassinate the King was revealed, the activities and movements of Tibetan refugees in the kingdom had been checked for some time to ensure peace. Mr Singh is correct in what he says about the various religious sects. But his statement: "Dalai Lama is on an equal footing with the King of Bhutan, for the Bhutanese" is not true His Holiness the Je Khenpo is the religious head of Bhutan, not the King. T. Tandin, Shillong



N the beginning there was darkness Velvet soft, frightening and black In the austere shaft of sunlight that lit up the be-

wildering emptiness of my adolescence, stood Madhubala And, sometimes, Suchitra Sen

As I suffered the pangs of growing up through a troubled adolescence and lay miserably alone night after night, these two were the only women who seemed to understand my predicament, who would

Or, The mystique of the wet dream Or, Why do aur do is always paanch Or, Why Hindi films are truly realistic Or... well let poet PRITISH NANDY tell you why he is in love with Hindi films and their actresses

> sympathise with the rebellious winds of change that blew my mind They held me close to their taut and tender breasts, and of such memorable intimacies were born my fondest dreams, in cinemascope and multicolouis-tinder dry and, more often, embarrassingly wet

Meena Kumari

And neither the pimply, bespectacled, bucktoothed recipient of my ardent, forty-page love letters nor the horny Henrietta from Ripon Lane who rubbed her ample, hirsute thighs against mine as we cut up trogs together in tender nearness during the biology practicals could ever hope to win a place in my heart as sunlit and surf-laced as the Madh island locations where Madhubala and I, a gawky 13, romped together. Or as



Lienember vividly and can almost teel and touch at I tried hard enough the starched white screen of movie halls where tales of valour and love hate and villainy startlingly exploded into life as I sat with my eyes wide open, rubbing shoulders with strangers, and watching the women of my dreams laugh and cry by turns. Algebra and biology were as boring as chemistry and physics despite the delights of discovering H muctia's growing bulges behind the shelves of beakers and the biology master's backand so I happily gave them up and bunked classes at school to find solace it the darkened howels of movie auditoria, some of which, alas no longer exist lickets that I could ifford would cost anything between six and ten annas, except at the Moonlight cinema on Sun day mornings, when tickets were even cheaper, with one act plays, dance reent als and comic artistes thrown in fice. The money came from my two anna tiffin allowance which I would save every day bravely bearing the pangs of hunger

only to squander my fortunes on ray favourite women

At times I grew as bold and dashim is the heroes who bow bent the women in their arms. I would strut across the street to Grace, the movie hall just opposite our home in north Calcutta where we live I as faltering teenagers. The afternoon matinee show was the safest bet. The re-t of the family siestaed at that time and the coast was invariably clear. There was only one problem. I had to circfully watch out for my father's triends and he had a vast number of them with this strange habit of popping up from nowhere and catching me red handed as I stood in the long queue for the front stall tickets

Madhubala was then the theme for the dreams of many young boys (and -older men too. I am quite sure) and I had turned many giddy cartwheels and fallen flat for her exquisite charms. Whether she was playing a wispy ghost and sing ing "Ayega, avega ane wala"in a run away success like Mahal ordoing a rol licking comedy role as in that superb film Chalti Ka Naam Gaadi, or even trans forming herself into the inimitable and passionate Anarkali in Mughale Azam where she brushed under the car

seemed to give me and me alone, those very special sidelong glances from the silver screen. I was hopelessly, truly

hopelessly enshaled

And then there was Suchitra Sen. She was the cause of my near encounters with death when after seeing her on the scieen smiling pouting and whisper ing love as she alone could do with such casual munificence. I walked the streets of crowded north Calcutta m 1 total trance and had many a motorist and taxi driver screech his brakes and curse me, ill the way to my fourteen past penera tions. Which young boy of thirtien can ever forget the volitile Reena B ovir of Saptapadi the benutiful damsel ston-Palashi in Harano Sur or even the Copic nuise Radha of Dwip Jele 1 i She looked as exquisite in the Hindit Im he made - Devdas which I saw on 1 1 1114 Bombar Ka Babu and Sich id Le (int faltered many times by the horally mattered to me 1 lewe for 115 S. R c sang and me that Hemmin Mills "Er path juli no se de 10 keman hoto tumi bolo > all a for my exclusive pleasure it in C et 1) it was Partir TC imported all the ypensi in portedly it it those days to product 13 500

The middle class have nothing but myths to live for. If it is not Sharmila Tagore, it is Marxism. If it is not Marxism, it is Mohun Bagan

that I until allting and maddening melody. Tunning major tunning image in a uniform tunning in a uniform the kine boly tunning in a large to the kine boly tunning in a large to the circuit grey of my sid fair and incoming strays into the dark to kiddeys. It is stages the melody tetain and fally.

The me from the rest though not the line is still a But they me into the lite me in the sections. For they with the yet with lexitial and torbidden the m namet till bre me though not the more men There we Mili Sigh to in times who was a great to all Isawherm I kochuri almothidi don times and hervivi ity ind hilf dontimes and her vivi ity and die hitulogietry nev realed to chain m thm t t Sh wis er it tun in e m a l lut held forth with equal up and a struction with other demand two and still am trankly no rient june of uting skills. The wayward almosth are lental impse of a smale a bini of definice a casual insourance with ach arows in her irsenal any (1 my woman for that matter) cm till flo i me

Then there was Nutural Linky plantified woman who restrained to a horent virulity and often expectious 12. I by taying to fit mit the Ling Itarian in her handlighted but in within a her handlighted but in within a her man in the sixteenth reducted for him woman who ultimately vin Lilher man in the sixteenth reducted If the fisticults and mer divides some over Such martyrdom never appeal for me though I would often with it my utter delight countless oth two counters to the county of the sixteenth reduction to the counters are the counters in the sixteenth provocities.

tion from Nut in And she cert unly gave it to them in large dollops! Thank he igens she has since left films and turned te music the nightclub circuit a im told. Her slinky good looks in middle age her excellent poise and the strapless dies eathat show off her cleavage to abstantial advantage will attract a total by different kind of audience. Lam sure And India in wom inhood in its true tradition, will turn full circle from the intermile eternally chate wife to the sensia a long legged seductiess we all lite in of

Witherda Rehmin cime a little later and took some time to mature, like good Burjundy wine. Unlike the wholesome Nut in she had the idy appeal a distinct touch of the sensuous and that rare go they of valuerability which can woo even the deare t heart Curu Dutt nurtured her with much love and much care all he deoholic wife tempestuous mi-tresses and bucolic deathwish worked together in supreme symbion to get the better of him. W theed i took his suicide well better than his creditors at least or me in aident fin Inlater life she has married anondescript sidely actor with a past that would put a bishop to shame She is still very beautiful and certainly very talented were is she puts on the mantle of character roles and pretends to empy the growing pace of middle age But how in I torget the quickening of the pulse is her footward reached a deitening crescend on The Guide or the missed he urbeat when like the legen dary Banalata Seniot Natore she quietly rused her eyes to look at the Surduji tixi driver in Abhiji in and Soumendu Ray's camera trapped every subtle numee of the tempest that riged within her. Whitever role she has done in her turly long cureer from in aging dancer

to a novice whore from a sensitive young girl in search of her destiny to a hucks ter's moll or a dacoit's mistress. Waheeda Rehman has acquitted herself with distinction. And uncring sensitivity.

But there were also heroines I distinctly disliked. Vyjantimila for instance she was worse than a nightmare in those days with her thick lips and even thicker pair of eyebrows horsing around with makes of all shapes and sizes in Nagin. Her marriage to a doctor after her much publicised affairs of the heart with the two leading actors of her time brought her career to a screeching half and she resumed her love for Bharata Natyam which may not have brought her as mach money as she earned in her heyday at follywood but certainly trimmed her figure and made her look more beautiful in middle age.

I sometimes wonder now if it was her looks that put me off Vyjantimal i or the company she kept (an you imagine a wom in being seen around with the likes of Raj Kapoor Dilip Kumar Pradcep Kum it or Rajendra Kum it even if she was strinded on a desert island with nothing to choose between but them and a bunch of anthropoids hanging by their tails? While I would have given her higher marks if she had chosen the anthropoids. I have never ceased to marvel it the kind of heroes who got away with all the kudos and the limelight during the littles and sixties. They had nothing on their side neither looks nor acting skills. And it can be only compassion of a tire case of bureaucratic humour that can win for actors like Sohrab Modi for instance, the Dada saheb Phalke award Mr. Moders a good man But inyone who thinks I im kidding is requested to see a re run of any of the old Sohr ib Modi movies and if he can sit through all the excruciating hamming for half in hour will win my respect for all

This is true of almost all the films of that time and after I cave out Balras Sihni ind Guru Dutt both remarkable actors and you have very little left. Even though, for a hapless schoolboy with nothing but his daydre ims for company it was great fun. Dev Anand prancing around like an imbecilic adolescent with red ants in his pairts. Dilip Kumar with a brogue so thick you could slice it with a butterknife Raj Kapoor looking pathetic for completely wrong reasons. A fat arsed Pradeep Kumar looking forlornly asinine in moments of deep emotional stress Rajendia Kumar hitting the bot tle, but not hard enough to spare us the subsequent tears and self pity Raaj Kumar hiding his banalities behind an ill fitting wig and pictentious accents that suddenly collapsed in the middle of emotion charged dialogues. There was something delightfully dehatt in all this, something authentic and funny despite the super charged scenario. But what is even funnier is that all these ham actors, and others like Shammi Kapoor and Sunil Dutt who followed them in ludic rous procession, soon took on the garb of gicat Thespians Anywhere else in the world our film journalists would have easily earned six years' rigorous impris onment—or fifty lashes without an op tion - for their unashamed and cold blooded assault on both taste and the English language, here they were pub lished, feted and rewarded for recognis



The "Sangam" days Raj Kapoor and Vyjantimala



ing such dubious acting talents. And thus were the great myths of our time born

If you are, incidentally, looking for motives—I was not—it may be worth pointing out that many of our film jour nalists of the period were als doubling up as publicity agents for the different actors and actresses—some openly, like Bunny Reuben others on the sly

Bull easy reputations were not just being built by the heroes. Many ordinary actiesses became great heroines. Cheap comics became outstanding artistes. Sidey character actors were eulogized as remarkable stylists petty larcenists as great villains. Every thing was larger than life. Even the performances. The mythology of the commercial cinema was finally established—as an alternative to visible reality, with its boredom and its futilities.

Look at Meena Kumarı She made a superb dipsomaniac in Saheb Bibi aur Ghulam, a role many still say fitted her like a glove, for more reasons than just her histrionic skills. As she sang "Na jaon saiyan chhurha ke baiyan" with unpara lleled sensuality, many of us sat through the footage with our legs tightly crossed so as not to embarrass the elderly audi ence around us But for that solitary spark of sexuality and her delightful role in Kohinoor,a rare swashbuckling comedy, Meena Kumarı on the screen was as starched as the dhobi's laundry and rigor mortis had set into her marrows, alas, long before she actually succumbed to cirrhosis of the liver In real life, I am told, she was quite different and her countless paramours remain to describe her artistry in the boudoir Some of them have climbed the ladder of success, thanks to her Others have, reportedly, punched her diaries and sold off her poems as song lyrics Still others have used her, and then treated her rather shabbily Her marriage, in any case, was a disaster from its very beginning She began to take her roles as tragedienne too seriously After that, self-destruction can be the only way out Her swan song, Pakeezah, ran to packed houses and filled her ex-husband's coffers—but she

died a lonely, lovely woman her heart empty and bereft of love

Nargis I never quite cared for Many of my friends swooned over her frail beauty, but she always reminded me of a filly gone astray She had such a strange resemblance to Anna Sewell's protagon ist that she left me quite cold, although I have always, for some strange reason, cared much for frailty in a woman She looked shrewd and much more real than a schoolboy's fragile dreams. And in any case, a film with a title like Mother India can put off even the most ardent fan, however dedicated he may be to either Nargis or his country. I cated for neither overmuch in those days.

Vyjantimala is still trying to keep her name alive, dancing But she has not a chance in the world with much more accomplished dancers like Yamini Krish namurthy and Sonal Mansingh around Waheeda Rehman is gracefully aging Mala Sinha is still struggling to stay in her piece of sunlight as it keeps moving away Suchitra Sen has turned a recluse Madhubala is as dead as a slab of beautiful marble Meena Kumari lives on as a controversial legend even after her death Yet look where the white sari has taken Jaddanbai's Beti today!

Then came the great divide That vast patch of starless dark when only glow worms like Asha Parekh and Sadha na, Nanda, Babita and Saira Banu ruled the heavens They were a strange, dumb

Mala Sinha (left), Sharmila Tagore (right)

lot and even the great technological innovations of the Hindi enema and the movie camera could do nothing to make them look even remotely attractive, let alone beautiful True it was a period of hit films and golden jubilees. With Dil Deke Dekhos, Love in Similas and Aas Ka Panchis galore But the heroines were as beastly as the heroes. With the ridiculous Shammi Kapoor, the pathetic Rajendra Kumar and the plain dained stupid Joy Mukherjee being examples of the kind of superstars, that this period of daikness threw up!

The only two exceptions to this see nario of bleats and yahoos were Sharmila Tagore and Ianuja, the intellectual stars' I have always believed, from child hood, that the intellectual is a myth in our society. And the intellectual woman is only a figment of our fevered imagina tion She just does not exist except in fiction and the reveries of the educated middle class who have inane wives imbecilic daughters and shrewish mothers in law to deal with all the time. The office girls are often lascivious and money grabbing Mistresses are expensive and demanding And even the after office visit to the slut house can be boring after a while So what does this vast army of middle aged clerks and office goers do for their leisure but seek recourse in films and football and occasionally in wish fulfilment. This is what the enter tainment industry, both legitimate and underground and the porn business thrive on—the literate middle class with its pretentious values, absurd mores and painful self pity. They have nothing but myths to live for If it is not Sharmila Tagore it is Marxism If it is not Marx ism, it is Mohun Bagan

Sharmila Tagore and Tanija were a godsend for this class. It was their great escape from their Adda and Jhol. Bhat culture, from the boredom of Vividh Bharati and whoring after office hours And thus was the great myth of the intellectual woman nurtured in filmdom, even as Sharmila Tagore wore a diamond in her navel and gyrated to the strains of Shankar Jaikishen in An Evening in Pairs and Tanuja tried desperat ly hard to look both intelligent and expensive at the same time. It was a tragic effort even at the best of times and La Tagore finally found herself in the remote marshlands of the serious cinema (where she has done very well I am told) and Tanuja oscillated between smalltime Hindi films and Bengali directors in search of inex pensive glamour imported from the hin terlands of the Bombay celluloid world But it will be unfair to write them off In a period of darkness they were the only

Each and every character you see on the silver screen comes alive in your everyday life if only you choose to see them instead of deluding yourself that all Hindi film characters are fake, unreal.

stray shafts of light, however faint they may have been.

In fact, it was Sharmila Tagore who started this whole business about the New Morality It was she who took off her clothes one day and got into a skimpy little bikini which revealed much more than what it hid And she certainly did it with great style For she had the figure to dare it Today the Zeenat Amans, Par veen Babis, Rekhas and Shabana Azmis follow the mores she launched over a decade back—but often with disastrous consequences Rumour has it that Zeenat Aman has attempted suicide after her humiliating affair with Sanjay Khan Parveen Babi has been declared bonkers by her psychiatrist, and can perhaps never live a normal life again. Both the vivacious Rekha, now a total recluse, and the exquisite Shabana Azmi have changed their lovers often enough to evoke the suspicion that they will age into crotchety spinsters

But then, if the sixties were such a barren period and almost all the women who came to the silver screen were such dead bores, why did people still throng the movie halls? What was the lure that kept pulling them like a magic magnet to the crowded ticket counters? Why did black marketeers prosper and why were the crowds willing to pay fabulous prices to see even a low second rate movie with a third rate hero and become horsing around?

Strange as the thesis may seem, I suspect this is because the Hindi film actually manages to give the milling masses a closer and in a sense, more authentic look at reality and the strange complexes and quirks that the social system suffers from In other words, our commercial films are much closer to life than we really want to believe There is this strange, quasi intellectual premise being bandied around that the Hindi film is an inauthentic genre, the merchandis ing of uniteal dreams to a semiliterate audience This is frankly, poppycock We have a peculiar condescension to wards our own countrymen, this refusal to accept their ability to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad, what is intelligent and what is foolish

As someone who has often seen the public behave with dignity, taste and good sense, I refuse to accept this premise that our intellectuals and academi cians have always tried to sell us with faulty logic and quite indefensible evidence People enjoy Hindi films because they understand the language of the commercial cinema, they empathise with its values, they identify with the charac ters and recognise the stcreotypes. That is perhaps why children in halfpants and frocks get hooked on them before they are even fully aware of the facts of life, before they can recognise the difference betweeen the clowns and the villains, the molls and the virgins

HINDI films again have always preached a rather commendable philosophy. Good always wins over evil Justice invariably triumphs. The smugglers are always brought to justice, even when smuggling funds are used to fi-nance such films. And the good woman always wins her man in the end Good is really good and shines like a sparkling lodestar, evil remains really evil and nosedives into the darkest of pits Black and white are clear opposites, and the hero and the heroine always take sides The right sides There is no scope for sly compromises or the mixing of alloys Truth, justice and fairplay are absolute verities What better lessons would you like your children to learn? It is true, reality is sometimes more ambiguousbut should we not strive towards what is ideal? In Hindi films every emotion, every virtue and every vice is pure, elemental, and uncompromised That is why we suffer when the hero's ageing father is ill and confined to bed, or when his mother works on the eternal sewing machine to earn enough to bring up her children on dry chappatis And when, after that staple diet of dry chappatis, the skinny brat with woe begone eyes sud denly grows up with a quick dissolve into Amitabh Bachhan striding down a dark lit lane as the front benchers clap hyster ically and the women around you loudly sigh in sensuous angst, you feel the sudden quickening of the pulse because you recognise yourself

Yes, more often than not, it is you on the screen Seeing yourself precisely as you had always dreamt that you were Not that murky little clerk sitting behind a deskful of files or that stupid henpeck ed husband going shopping every morn ing with your cretinous mother in law Not that lying, scheming, friendless, wheeler dealer you know yourself to be— nor that imbecilic commuter reaching the city every morning from outlying suburbia to earn your daily tarka roti For once, you see yourself, precisely as you have always imaginedor known-yourself to be Not as others have described you over the years. Your unimaginative parents your shrewish wife your exploitative in laws your ex travagant mistress holed up in some dirty old lane somewhere your spoilt children, or your insensitive boss who refuses to acknowledge your true worth

Look around you Mohan Chhoti or Mukri in khaki shorts playing the eternal havaldar who is an absolute goof is just as real as Shashi Kapoor, the sharif badmash, who dons the uniform of an inspector and is willing to shoot his own brother for the sake of his calling Both are as real, as true to life Look inside a smokey, dark bar in Dharmatalla and you are bound to see Bindu or Shashikala Stand outside a giris' college and you will see Jaya Bhaduris, Smita Patels and Reena Roys by the dozen At any night club you are likely to bump into Kalpana Iver or Komilla Wirk They are all real,

always for keeps Life is one big adventure only if you recognise it as such $D\epsilon$

aur do is always panch

For every handful of dull intellectuals and eggheads who want to sit through the excruciating experience of watching good cinema' there are millions of peo ple milling outside the halls showing popular entertainment' And that is as it should be Why should I pay hard earned money saved from the taxman's clutches to watch a bus driver's wife wait for her husband with a tiffin carrier for hours if I can, for the same value, watch the inimit able Rekha and die a million deaths to see her smile? Fo accept this truth, all you have to give up are your pretensions, your intellectual hangups

As for 'reality', I am not so sure it is that important. The Hindi film deals with far more tangible truths in its attempt to get under the skin of the visible verities If we were only interested in seeing a reflection of the reality around us, we would see only documentary films. If we just wanted reality in art, and all assess ment of creativity was based on how close it was to the realities around us, almost all the great masters would be rejects. This is true for the theatre, music, literature, dance or any art form for that matter By deviating from visible truths at times, all significant -and mod ern-art forms have sought to create a greater awareness of truth Distortion surrealism, abstraction, exaggeration all these are essential tools in the hands of competent creative people, and all these help to create a more heightened awareness of the reality that swirls around us. The quest for reflecting truth with a draughtsman's precision was nev er considered great ait ever

The entertainment formula that is often criticised, the song and dance stuff that is the standard input into any Hindi film of the commercial genre is equally valid, and has always played an important role in the performing arts. Take Sanskrit drama or Greck tragedy for instance. The moralising, the search for unerring blacks and whites in any situation, the musical interludes the come dians and the villains the tragic heroine -all these come from the hoary past. And all these belong to the most vital genres of creativity. There is no thing vulgar about them, nothing degen erate It is only the jealousy of the incapable and the incompetent against the success and the glamour of the popular cinema that has nurtured this myth of the corrosive influence of Hindi films on our society, our culture and our children

For those who speak of violence, one can name countless serious films where the violence is just as gory, if not more, and there is not even the mitigating consolation that this violence is commit ted towards propagating a moral cause, as is almost invariably the case with Hindi film stories Slaughter, mayhem, suicide, the brutality committed on women, child abuse, caste wars, the boredom and the futility of life, divorce, abortion, arson, rape and loot these are as much the theme of serious films as they are elements in the commercial cinema And I have seen them shown in far more agonising detail in serious films The dishum dishum fight sequences in Hindi films are superbly choreog raphed—they look almost like dance

Cinema verite, or the cinema of reality, is, frankly, a bit of a myth. And also, perhaps, a bit of a fraud.

Compare them with the hard, brittle, ruthless violence in serious cinema and I am sure you will find the latter more painful, much more difficult to take. And underlying all the violence, the hate and the agony in a Hindi film is a subterranean sense of spoof, a delightful perspective of joy and fulfilment, the victory of good over evil, justice over oppression. It is the inherent optimism and joie de vivre that makes the commercial cinema so popular, so successful

THE same is true for sex. Hindi films still nurture the great world of romance at a time when such values are slowly dying out. The great songs of the Hindi cinema—written by some of the finest poets in the land: Sahir, Shailen-dra, Kaiki, Majrooh Sultanpuri and, now, Gulzar—have institutionalised this romance. There is no head-on, hard-core sex as such If concepts like love and romance still play a role in our lives in today's society, it is only because the Hindi film has kept them alive Ennui, futility, defeat, the unhappiness of the human predicament, existential despair, the inevitable destruction of human relationships—these are the abiding concerns of the serious cinema. But I would still love to see Rekha in soft focus enter Amitabh Bachchan's arms as Kaifi's tender lyrics create the subtle ambience of love, loneliness and unforgettable romance and the camera eavesdrops with gentleness, with loving care on each detail. This is the language of love I understand. And many of us still do—even as the crass, the degenerate and the painfully 'honest' world of reality invades our lives.

Long before Sachin Dev Burman sang Meri duniya hai Ma tere anchal mein, the Oedipus complex had come to stay in our films. It is always the mother who has to finally approve the hero's girlfriend, even if her virginity is intact and she is more pure than the waters of the Ganga It is always the poor mother who has to slog on the eternal sewing machine, face the taunting neighbours, wash dirty bartans all day long, starve and work as a domestic help in order to rear her ladla and send him to the best English medium school in town. And the ladla, even after prancing giddily around the chinars in Kashmir with an overdressed and tightly corseted girlfriend, manages to get a first class first and brings home the girl he loves for his mother's final approval, so what if his comedian friend has already sounded the old lady on the romance

Every time there is a close-up of Sulochona's hands on the handle of the pram, every time the camera eavesdrops on Achala Sachdev singing a lullaby and rocking the cradle, every time the zoom lens zeroes in on poor Dulari as she cooks a humble meal in a tumbledown kitchen, why do we get a strange lump working up our throats? Why is it that every time Manmohan Krishna or whoever is playing the hero's or heroine's father dies on an elaborate bed and the violins in the background scream to a crescendo, our eyes begin to leak like the Calcutta Corporation water pipes? Why is it that even if the heroine unwittingly spends a stormy night in the hero's arms and realises a week later that she is irrevocably pregnant, we are willing to forgive her sins and still call her a Sati Savitri? Why does our blood boil when the villain tortures the hero in a death pit or molests



the heroine before finally getting the lambasting of his life and being carried away by the police who invariably arrive a little late? Somewhere in our heart of hearts, even though we never want to admit it, we identify with the various characters much more easily than we give ourselves credit for When we go to see a popular Hindi film we are far more vulnerable to our emotions than we tend to think. Our tears flow more easily Our laughter is more spontaneous. Our anger is more impulsive

We become conscious spectators when we watch an art film. We are always on the guard and looking out for familiar faces who might have come to the auditorium To see a Kumar Shahani or an Aravindam film, you see, is 'the proper thing' to do But when you are watching the trials and tribulations of Julie or helplessly weeping over the sorrows of Bobby or being swept off your feet by the sheer tragedy that faces the beautiful Noorie, you are a complete non-entity No one is bothered in the movie hall with your social and intellectual status. If you happen to bump into a friend, you either look away, embarrassed-or pass the visit off as a silly attempt to kill time But most of us will stand in the never-ending Advance Booking queues or even spend a mini-fortune on tickets in black, white, blue or pink if a Sholay or a Trishul comes to town

Why? Because we love to see our heromes, dressed in the best silks and chiffons, fall head over heels in love with the heroes, no matter if both of them, with their post-thirty tyres of lard in the waistline, pretend to be sweet sixteen. Because we are fascinated by poor professors living in luxury apartments that even a Birla or a Chowgule could hardly afford Because all our suppressed hurts and angers come to the fore when blood and gore take over in large doses. Because we fantasise about basic loves and hates in black and white, even if they are presented on screen in multicolour. Be cause, and this I think is most important, we are left alone in the darkened movie halls with our emotions.

From the privileged minister's son to

the urchin growing up on the streets of dishevelled Calcutta, from the lonely streetwalker outside the Victoria Memorial at dusk to the blind beggar with a harmonium slung around his neck they all sing Hindi film songs. The tinker, the tailor, the bootblack, the vendor, the young girl waiting for her lover on a bench beside the Strand, the constable ambling home after a long, strenuous day collecting bribes from the drivers of overloaded lorries, the young executive enjoying a night out at Mags, the strag-gling poet in search of a dream he knows he can never realise. They all hum the stray line under their breath For there is a song for every person, and every emo-tion There is a song for every grief and every joy We hum them in our bathrooms, in offices, in crowded buses and trains, in public urinals and long ration queues as we stand after a long day with empty kerosene cans in our hands. We sing them aloud on lonely beaches and in forests aglow with mysterious twilight. We whistle them as we sit beside the windows of empty trains hurtling into the night, and all our sorrows, all our griefs turn to song.

We all tap our feet when Lata Mangeshkar sings "Arre jhoot bole kaua kate "or Mukesh serenades "Kabhi kabhi mere dil mein" or Kishore Kumar yodles "Tum bin jaoon kahan". Some of the songs from the fifties and sixties are just as popular now as they were when the audience first succumbed to them. Think of the songs from Guide, or, even earlier, Madhumati Think of Mughal-e-Azam. Think of Sachin Dev Burman or Salil Chowdhury, Naushad or O. P. Nayyar in their heyday. Even now, every time we meet the woman of our dreams we hum under our breath, "Chaudvin ka chand ho", everytime we are smitten by sorrow we break into "Asoon bharı haı ye jeevan kı rahe", and everytime we get ditched in love we sing out aloud "Jane wo kaise log the jinke pyar ko pyar mila, humne to jab kaliyan mangi kanto ka haar mila". Who ever thinks of Shakespeare or Rabindranath Tagore at such times? Not

me And why do you think HMV and Polydor — those who have made their fortunes on Hindi film music - keep reissuing old favourites every year? Nostalgia keeps their cash registers ringing; royalties pile up; the repertoire stays alive over decades. The music like the Charminar cigarette, cuts across all communities, all classes, all peoples of this subcontinent Muslims sing film bha-jans. Hindus clap to quavallis and sing fullthroated paeans to Allah Even dur ing the worst days of the anti-Hindi movement in the South, no one protested against the blaring of Hindi film songs The commercial cinema cuts across all ettyminded communalism When Vinod Khanna clasps Shabana Azmi in his arms under a white bedsheet in Shaque or a Christian Mala Sinha climbs into Dilip Kumar's hirsute Islamic embrace, not an eyebrow is raised, never is a single question asked. When a rustic Jat like Dharmendra smooches Tamilian Hema Malini in broad daylight and acknow-ledges that they are in desperate love, no one ever wonders which language will acquire primacy in their intimate conversations - Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil or English. The three-language formula works perfectly — unless y fourth, body language unless you consider the

Moments of happiness...



T was Raj Kapoor, the great showman, and his superhit Bobby that set in a completely new trend in the making of love stories in Hindi cinema Dimple Kapadia and Rishi Kapoor brought in a breath of fresh air on the screen and saved the scene from the stale histrionics of Rajesh Khanna and his kind What an irony that Mr Khanna later married Ms Kapadia, caged her in the golden pinjra of matrimony, made her sire two daugh ters and converted her from an impish teenager into a fat and dowdy prospec tive divorcee! Dimple lost her charms prematurely but many others took up the cudgel on her behalf And while Ms Kapadia went into premature retirc ment, Jeenat Aman, Parveen Babi and Rekha ruled the roost with their new found sexy image that liberated the prototype heroine from the folds of the eternal seven yards of Kanjeevaram silk to modish slit skirts, mini cholis, backless evening gowns and sarees worn un ashamedly at least six inches below the navel If you did not approve of this kind of baring and daring you could always shut your eyes tight or watch Jaya Bha duri movies. Ms Bhaduri, who shot into fame with her very first film Guddi, had her peculiar sugary charm and quite a large fan following. There was a crafty careful carelessness about her that won a million hearts. And she was a rather good actress too

Now, of course, the ravishingly beautiful Rekha has come and taken everyone by storm Hers is a miracle. The ugly duckling has blossomed into a swan The child of Gemini Ganeshan and his mistress Pushpavalli, Rekha spent a trou bled childhood trying to come to terms with her environment. She climbed the ladder of stardom the hard and cruel way, with jeers and wolf whistles accom panying her most of the way But, in the process, she has sharpened her acting skills and blossomed into an exquisite woman Her beauty is now peerless and her sex appeal instant. She is the woman of everyone's dreams and has dislodged all the others - Hema Malini, Zeenat Aman, Parveen Babi, Raakhee The awk ward village belle of Sawan Bhadon is today Hindi filmdom's unquestioned empress And, thank god, she now be haves like one

But Rekha is not just a star She is a consummate actress, though not as often utilised She commands extraordinarily versatile acting skills and, I am sure, given the opportunity, she can make chhutti of all our so called great actres ses Directors like Hrishikesh Mukherjee and Muzaffar Alı are now takıng her on and if her acting in Khubsoorat is any indication, Rekha has certainly launched herself on the high road of making film history Even in a multi starrer like Mu qaddar ka Sıkandar, where her skills are pitched against quite a few of our leading stars and her role is comparatively brief, she usurps some of the most memorable scenes And that is true for almost all the recent Rekha starrers She is so good that almost no one else has half a chance to start with But beauty and acting skills are only two of Rekha's assets To be No 1 takes much more - and Rekha has those qualities in ample measure as well Hard professionalism, and a no holds barred approach to the world of competition She began a bit hesitantly, behaved temperamentally at times, threw tan-



trums and lost films halfway through the shooting. One relationship after another— with some of the seediest males available in the gutters of the industry—ruined her chances of hitting bigtime. Till I am told, came along Amitabh Bachchan Leaving behind at home his gifted, though somewhat dull wife. Mr Bachchan took it upon himself to nurture this wild rose of the industry with his own hands, and with much loving care. The outcome? A new, chastened, more professional Rekha. The Rekha who has filled filmdom's most prized slot.

Mr Bachchan of course, has the Midas touch and whatever he touches turns to gold. The media has a running battle against him Competition has often tried to trip him over. Even his primal promoters. Salim and Javed, have now turned away — and are promoting other actors other stars. But Amitabh Bachchan remains undaunted. Guts hard work and rare professionalism are his most crucial assets. His voice, his smouldering eyes and his unlimited range as an actor spells nothing but class. And his hard, bitter, angry young man image — the iconoclast that we all identify with in our most secret dreams.

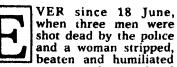
Besides Rekha and Amitabh Bach chan, we have Shabana Azmı now Shaba na, the sensitive poet's daughter, has suddenly found herself propelled into big time entertainment She began with Shyam Benegal's Ankur and was instant ly a big hit in the small film genre But astute as she was, it was only a matter of days before she began dividing her time between Satyajit Ray and Manmohan Desai, Sai Paranjpe and Basu Chatterjee, M S Sathyu and B Nagi Reddy And it has been that way since That she would succeed in each genre was always ob vious For not only is she devastatingly beautiful, in a totally unique kind of way, but she also acts with supreme confidence and skill I would rate her the finest actress the Indian screen has ever produced - and quite a remarkably attractive woman. Her histrionic range is

unique and she does wonders with any kind of role Ankur or Parvarish, Swami or Amar Akbar Anthony Shatranj ke Khilari or Junoon, Shaque or Sparsh give hei any role big or small, tragic or tunny, intelligent or downright stupid, and she will make it tick like no one else can If the media stopped chasing her with gossip and gave her the kudos she deserved it would go a long way towards building a star who combines unmatched acting skills and high professionalism with rare beauty and sensitivity

With Rekha and Shabana — and Amitabh Bachchan — right at the top, the Hindi film scene moves into the eighties There are now pressures building up from the sidelines. The serious cinema, the small budget film, cinema verite — all of them are building up their own audiences, however small. And rightly so But I am almost certain that the Hindi commercial film will continue its heady odyssey right through this decade, picking up an increasingly larger audience, young and old, intelligent and stupid, as chaotic and as confused as any cross community, cross cultural audience is likely to be in this country.

Everything will be true to lite - as real as our dreams, as false as our virtues, as complex as the simplest emotion That is precisely why the Hindi film means so much to all of us. It is the ultimate and most convincing manifesta tion of our complex, confused and de lightfully eccentric culture Colourful, chaotic, exciting — it gives us the heady taste of life as we have known it, as we want to believe it to be Sometimes kinky, often tlak Plagiarised, lifted wholesale from many western films, rany and yet utterly, utterly Hindustani represents all that we, and our world, stand for As the eternal hobo of the screen sings lustily on the open road in Shri 420 "Mera juta har Japani yeh patloon Englistani, sat pe lal topi Russi, phir bhi dil hai Hindustani

So move over Mr Freud and let the razmatazz take over.



in the open square, the people of Baghpat have been in the grip of terror. "Everyone in Baghpat is scared. If you ask anyone on the road they will not tell you anything about the incident. They are scared that the police will take revenge if they say anything against the police." Samarjeet Singh, an advocate who lives near the town square where the incident occurred, tells us This is true A shopkeeper near the square tells us plainly that he does not know anything about the incident. We ask a boy to accompany us to the house of Helen, a nurse, who had gone to aid the molested woman when she had been removed to the police station. The boy refuses flatly, "If I accompany you and I am seen then the police will come and take me away after you all have gone." It is only inside rooms or outside the public eye that people tell us their versions of what happened on the afternoon of 18 June The following version was corroborated by Jagbir Singh, an advocate, from whose village the molested woman comes.

On 18 June, at around midday, a cream Ambassador car, UPG 6005, drew up at the town square and stopped to get a punctured tyre

Maya Tyag

SPECIAL REPORT



mended. There were seven people in the car --- six men and one woman. The woman was pregnant. Four men got out and went to a nearby liquor shop to fetch some beer while the person who was driving the car got & out and went to the workshop to get the tyre repaired. A man wearing a vest and trousers walked up to the car. According to Jagbir Singh, "He then came up to the woman and started talking to the woman and held her hand. At this the woman protested." Her husband, who was among the men who had gone to the liquor shop, heard his wife's protests and came to the car. A scuffle between the two men followed The man in the vest left the place and returned shortly, accompanied by an armed police force. The passengers of the car became apprehensive and asked the driver to drive away. But the car refused to start. So, three of the occupants of the car got down and started pushing the car. At this, without any provocation, the police opened fire. Two men dropped dead instantly, shot in the back. The third



D P Gaur, police station in-charge

man rushed towards the crowd of people which had by now gathered, but even while he was doing so, he was shot dead. The two other men in the car got out and ran, and the police were unable to get hold of them.

After this the lady in the car,

Maya Tyagi, was dragged out and beaten. Her petticoat and sair were torn off. She screamed. Then her legs were held apart by two policemen while a third inserted a baton into her vagina. Those in the crowd who tried to intervene, were roughly prevented from doing so. She was dragged to the police station, naked In a gesture of sympathy, someone from the crowd threw a kuita at her with which she managed to cover herself partially. She was then taken, along with the driver, into the police station under arrest.

The three people shot dead were Ishwar Tyagi, Maya Tyagi's husband, Surendra Thakur and Rajendra Gaur Ishwar Tyagi was from Talheta village in Ghaziabad; the police station is Modinagar The two others were from Bulandshabr Ishwar Tyagi used to work in a factory in Faridabad. The person who had approached the car in a vest and trousers was sub-inspector Narendra Kumar Singh.

Jagbir Singh reached the spot right after the incident had occur red, and met Maya Tyagi the same

The spot where the three "dacoits" were shot dead by policemen





Maya Tyagi's bruised and swollen toe, full of pus

day. Maya Tyagi told him that she was going with her husband to Sankalputti to attend the marriage of her niece, and the attack was totally unprovoked. Jagbir Singh had come to know of the incident and had immediately rushed toward tree spot. He learnt that the wo nonbelonged to his village, Sankalputtu. "I did not know that any woman from my village was associated with dacoits. It was very difficult to believe this. So I became very suspicious and enquired; i discovered that she in fact had not been associated with any dacoits 1 saw her as soon as she was being put in a police



Charan Singh addressing protest rally at Baghpat

jeep and was being taken away As soon as she saw me she asked me to help her. She said that the police would kill her just the way they had killed her husband, so that no one could give evidence against the police. So I stopped the jeep, as I knew the DSP, and spoke to her. She told me all that had happened Ultimately I pleaded with the DSP to accompany her. They allowed it."

They then left for Meerut where she was admitted to the Dufferin Hospital on 18th. There she was medically examined and treated. The medical report issued by Dr Pant says that there were nail injuries on her right breast, multiple contusions on her back, buttocks, thighs and hands. There was a lacerated tear on her right foot and a vaginal tear with bleeding. The examining doctor is unambiguous: 'In my opinion, it is a case of rape.'

On 19 June, Jagbir Singh moved a bail application for Maya Tyagi's release but it was rejected as the court had by then not received the papers concerning her arrest. The next day, 20 June, she was granted bail at 2.30 pm, but was not released till 8 pm. Jagbir Singh said that only when he threatened the police with contempt of court did they release her. The police all along insisted that they had not received the bail order. Maya Tyagi was taken away from the hospital by her brother to Modinagar.

Once out on bail, Maya Tyagi filed an application with the district magistrate of Meerut on 21 June, and stated what had happened to her. She also specifically complained that inside the police station she was raped many times. Her ornaments, which, she said, consisted of two sets of bangles, a necklace with pendant, earrings.

and two finger rings amounting to 15 tolas in gold, were forcibly taken off her and not returned (she was going to attend a marriage; therefore the ornaments.) Besides, a wristwatch which she was carrying in her bag was not returned.

The police, of course, have a different story It is also a story which can be punched full of holes. "How can a woman be raped in a police station when there is a massive crowd standing outside?" the SHO, Baghpat, D. P. Gaur asked. D. P. Gaur had been posted to Baghpat two months back. According to the police, on June 18 in the afternoon, an informer came and told subinspector Narendra Singh that a group of dacoits, along with a woman, had arrived at Baghpat and that they had stopped at the square.

The ramshackle garage where the car had come to replace a tyre



Promptly, Singh went up to them and asked them who they were. The men refused to part with their names, according to the police. Narendra Singh then caught hold of the collar of one of the people whom he described as a 'bad character The 'bad character' promptly drew his revolver and fired in the air, say the police. Narendra Singh then left to fetch reinforcements Before the police arrived, the crowd who had gathered started stoning the alleged 'dacoits' waiting near the car. The 'bad characters' then took out ∢heir revolvers and started waving them at the crowd. Immediately the police arrived and one of the 'bad characters' opened fire. At this point, the police returned the fire and there was a shoot-out. During the encounter three people were shot dead and two people took to their heels and fled. Narendra Kumar Singh chased them but was not able to catch up with them. When he returned to the scene, according to the statement he issued after the incident, "I saw that the crowd was excited and was assaulting the woman And they had torn off her clothes. At that moment I saw a person thrusting a stick into the private parts of the woman. At once I stopped the people from beating the woman. She was bleed ing from her private parts. I took that woman, Sudesh, and the accused apprehended along with her, who claimed to be the driver, into police custody." Revolvers lying next to the dead "dacoits" were then recovered.

"Of course they were dacoits," D. P. Gaur said. "We have charges against them and even the Rajasthan police had them on their wanted list. Besides, revolvers have been recovered from them. There is no doubt about this. All this hullabaloo is being created for nothing. This is being made into an issue by the Lok Dal. It is the reaction of the. defeated. It was because of me that the Harijans could vote in the Assembly elections. I did not let the jats terrorise them this time and it was because of this that the Lok Dal lost from Baghpat. And that is why I am disliked by Charan Singh's supporters who are now agitating over an incident that is routine. The Lok Dal wants me out from Baghpat.

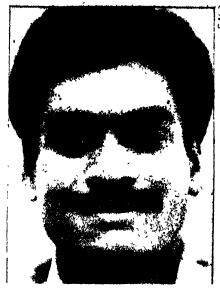
At the very least, Gaur's statement is astonishing. Is it routine to shoot people, even if they are alleged to be dacoits, in the back? A woman was provenly raped: did the crowd do it? Her ornaments were stolen: did the crowd do it? The "bad characters" were supposed to have fired shots: where are the bullets from their revolvers?

Before the last Assembly elections, there were largescale transfers of police and civil administra-

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tion officers; people considered to be "loyal" to the Congress(I) were brought in, particularly to areas where the Lok Dal was considered a potent force, as in western UP. The police officers of Baghpat were of this breed And that is why the UP Congress(I), instead of letting the matter be treated as a simple law and order issue, in which whoever could be proved guilty would be punished, made it into a partisan issue. Mr Rajesh Pilot, MP, for instance, took it upon himself to defend the police, as if it was not the police's reputation at stake but the Congress(I)'s.

Nor was the Congress(I) eager for an impartial judicial inquiry To begin with, memories of Narainpur, and the dismissal of the Banarasi Das government on that issue, are still fresh in the public mind. The Congress(I) has brought out a leaflet which it is distributing in that area, which says "Baghpat mein begunah nahin, khunkhar dacait maare gaye(In Baghpat, not innocents but bloody dacoits have been killed)."It lists the alleged crimes of the three men, and states that the woman was abused not by the police but by the crowd. According to M. C. Sharma, the Congress(I) MLA from Baghpat, "The entire movement has been engineered by the Lok Dal to create



Narenara Singh who shot the three people

law and order problems. Dacoits have been killed and the police are not to blame. These Lok Dal supporters are resentful because they have lost the elections and now delegations are coming to find out what had happened "Well, the local Congress(I) leaders obviously could not do much to prevent delegations from travelling the 60 odd miles to Baghpat from Delhi. For one thing, Par-

liament happened to be in session. and that provided a forum that could not be ignored by the government. Delegations of MPs came and went back disbelieving the police version. On 1 July the Home Minister Zail Singh himself visited Baghpat to ascertain the "merits and demerits" of the case. He agreed that Maya Tyagi "was going to attend the mar-riage" and was shocked enough to say that "parading a woman naked was a stigma on the nation". Now, besides a CID inquiry, a judicial inquiry has also been ordered. But there is still one problem; the police officers alleged to be guilty are still on their jobs and have not been suspended pending the findings of the inquiry. As long as they are there, there are fears that the inquiry may face difficulties in obtaining the full truth. All the delegations which have gone have not found it easy to get the terrified people to talk.

The police have many difficult questions to answer If a crowd of 2,500 had gathered there, and there was a public shoot-out between the police and the alleged "dacoits", how come no one else was injured by stray bullets? If they were "dacoits" and the police were interested in arresting them, how come they let two of the men escape? According to

Ishwar Tyagı and Surendra (ın background), kılled by the police





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Car in which the Tyagis and others were travelling

policeman Narendra Singh, he found a man from the crowd shoving a stick up the "private parts" of the lady: how come Mr Narendra Singh's sense of duty left him at that point? Why didn't he arrest this criminal who was abusing a pregnant housewife in such a horrible manner? Does Mr Narendra Singh have any answers to this?

Mr Madhu Limaye, in his letter to

Rajendra Gaur killed by the police



the Prime Minister on the subject makes the further valid point that even if the police allegation that these men were criminals is true, "can they be shot in broad daylight? If there are warrants pending against these hardened criminals they should be properly arrested and prosecuted. Mr Limaye also takes legitimate exception to a claim made by Mr Rajesh Pilot, which was an effort to cast aspersions on her character. Mr Pilot had said that Maya Tyagi had left her husband. Mr Limaye asks: "Does this mean that all women who have deserted their husbands, or whose husbands have deserted them, are fit objects for these atrocities?

'Police ne mera izzat loot liya'

Maya Tyagi, the lady who was assaulted and raped by policemen at Baghpat, was obviously in anguish when SAUMITRA BANERJEE met her. She discusses her meeting with the Prime Minister and recalls those terrible hours at Baghpat.

Q: You met Mrs Gandhi yesterday (2 July). What did you tell her? A: I told her exactly what had happened to me. I told her that we were travelling from Delhi to Baghpat to attend the marriage of my niece, Rajbala. We had stopped at Baghpat to get a tyre, which was punctured, repaired. A man in plainclothes approached me and held my wrist. At this my husband, Ishwar Chand Tyagi, slapped him a number of times, after which the man left. He returned later with a number of armed policemen. They shot down my husband and two others. Then the policemen dragged me out of the car, tore off my sari and my blouse, humiliated me in a number of ways which I cannot discuss, and dragged me as I was to the police station. At the police station, police ne mera izzat loot liya. There were nine of them and they all did it to me. Q: Did anyone from the pub

lic harass you?

A: No. No one from the public did anything to me. It was the police which did everything.

Q: What did the Prime Minister

tell you?

A: She said Jo ho gaya so ho gaya, and told me she would look into the matter immediately.

Q: What else happened at the

police station?

A: The police removed my jewel-

lery and my watch. Q. Have they been returned?

A: No. I told the Prime Minister this and she said she would look into this.

Q: Who did the car you were travelling in belong to?

A: We hired it,

Q: What was your husband's profession?

A: He used to buy and sell milk in a place near the Delhi border. I do not know the name of the place. My husband shifted there only about three months back and I had gone there only a month back. Before that, I was with my in-laws in Modinagar.

Q: Can you think of any reason why the police attacked you? A: I think it was because my. husband slapped that man, who

later turned out to be a

policeman. O: Did your husband or any of the other persons present in the car have any old enmity with the

police?

A: Not as far as I know . Except once when we were in Modinagar the police had hauled up my husband because they suspected that he had stolen some utensils. But he was later proved innocent. I did not know any of the other people in the car.

Q: When were you married to

Ishwar Tyagi? A: In 1974. The baraat came from

Talheta village

Q: Do you think there is any danger to your life? A: I do not know. But people tell me that I might be harmed.

EXTRACTS

MORE gunfire was heard at Muzaffar nagar, a small, bedraggled indust gial town in Uttar Pradesh, where the un plains start to straggle up into the hills. This was a pure protest against sterilisation a number of workers started a protest rally and were answered by a storm of bullets more died here The implementation of family planning, Mrs Gandhi had said, de pended on the ability and dedication of the officers in the areas concerned There were not only officers concerned, people, such as schoolmasters and police onen, who were supposed to national birthrate under some kind of control These reluctant proselytisors were told that if they did not bring in a certain number of volunteers for steril isation every month, their salaries for, that month would be suspended The family planning programme became not only a programme of incentives but of disincentives for government servants were also told that if they had three, children, they would either have to be sterilised or lose all chance of promotion and perks This was an idea modelled on that of the programme that has been very successful in Singapore

Dr Karan Singh, the former ruler of Kashmir, is a scholarly man who writes poetry in English and in his own lan guage, Dogra (the rulers of Kashmir since the last century have not been Kashmiris but Dogras from south of the Banihal Pass, who were put on the throne by the British) When I first met him in 1968, he was the Minister of Tourism under Mrs Gandhi In 1974, when I was posted to India by UNFPA, I went to see him on official business, since he had recently become the Minister of Health and Family Planning He said, "I used to be called Mr Tourism 1 dynamised tour ism in India Now I'm going to do the same with family planning Unfortunate ly I don't know much about it yet " I commiserated with him "Any new thoughts you have about our programhe said come and tell me about them" Next time we met, some months later, he appeared particularly in terested in the scheme of incentives and disincentives which had been introduced in Singapore

It so happened that shortly after this I was sent by UNFPA to Singapore to write a brochure on the progress of the family planning programme there. When I had come back and written the brochure, I showed it to Karan Singh. He was delighted "So," he said, "this is how they do it in Singapore And they're very successful, aren't they?" I said, yes, they were, and then some dim instinct flut tered in my mind "You're not planning to try this here?" I said "Singapore is only 228 square miles, and most of the people there are already fairly highly moti vated." Karan Singh, studying my text intently, failed to answer me

I am not trying to say that my report influenced the government of India in constructing its family planning programme, simply that there was a certain obsession about the Singapore success in the minds of many officials concerned,

Sanjay and the Emergency

By DOM MORAES



Mrs Gandhi being seen off at Delhi airport by Sanjay before a foreign visit

including Mrs Gandhi's In a conversation I had with her about family planning before the Emergency, she talked a lot about the island which Lee Kuan Yew had moulded into a miniature Britain, and about applying a system of incentives and disincentives in India I attempted, mildly, as I did later with Karan Singh, to dissuade her from the idea that what had worked in Singapore could work in India Nevertheless, in a very crude way, the Singapore system of motivation and implementation was applied in India, and it was doomed to disaster

Disincentives in Singapore were not a very serious threat to the life of a person, especially if that person already knew a considerable amount about birth control Most people did, since a motivator need only take a bicycle to reach any part of the island, and since the hospitals, and even the register offices, had family planning courses for newly married couples Also, since the television and the radio, the possession of which horrible inventions were status symbols, loudly proclaimed family planning, family planning had become a status symbol This was not the case in India

A government officer in India, unim aginably ill paid by most other standards, if his monthly salary was suspended, if his chances of promotion were stopped, simply because he did not deliver a certain number of people to a certain hospital to be operated upon for a reason

he did not fully understand, would panic even more if he himself was asked to undergo this operation. The panic spread the penis is probably more of a symbol of pride in India than anywhere else, if only because the penis is the only banner a poor man has to raise in asser tion of the fact that he is himself One day our doctor sent a fruit seller to us He was a very young man, unmarried, and he used to pedal around parts of Delhi on a bicycle to dispose of his wares. To do this he required a licence from the police. His licence expired shortly after the Emergency was declared the policeman concerned refused to issue another un less the boy had himself sterilised. We could do nothing about the fruit seller, and I do not know what happened to him but I was sure that the police officer was as terrified about the possible loss of his salary for the month as the fruit seller was about the loss of his sexual potency If terror spread, therefore, it was not due to an organised campaign by the govern ment designed to cow the people it was simply because terror was bound to spread in a largely illiterate and ignorant population, due to the utter disorganisa-tion of those government bodies who should at this time have filled the minds of the people with truthful information and some idea of the benefits resulting from sterilisation, particularly for women The government may have brought the clerks to their work on time

since Emergency: but since they had no idea what they were supposed to be efficient about, the red tape which Mrs Gandhi had hoped to destroy during the Emergency only wound itself more tightround the throat of the country

There was no chain of command, as there had been during British times: that was the pity and the heart of the matter. The Emergency, as such, considering the state of the country in the year before it was declared, might have been the only way to settle the mess and prepare for new elections The Emergency as it was carried out merely introduced further chaos Mrs Gandhi appeared to me at the time to feel she had a British chain of command under her (I am not talking of the British of today, but of the days of the Raj, when people were dedicated to their work), but she was terribly mistaken She handed down orders to people unable to carry these orders out From her came Sanjay from him the frightening and pitiful Rukhsana from Rukhsana the police who accompanied her around the Muslim slums in Delhi from a totally unconcerted and spontaneous movement to stabilise the country, which nobody had prepared for, came the resultant backlash There was no organisation behind Mrs Gandhi when she declared the Emergency, rather a totality of disorganisation which was probably not her fault, but that of the country she was trying to safeguard the disloyalty, the lack of faith, the private vendettas carried out by government officers, the hushing up of anything which would put the government in a bad position the frowning upon herself and her family these were not really her fault. These were the fault of the nature of India, and the nature of Indians, forced upon them by centuries of autocratic rule, which is what the people most appreciate and understand

EARLY in the months of the Emergen-cy, Sanjay began whistle-stop tours around the states. Maneka went with him "It was so odd," she told me once (a slight, freckled young woman, committed to blouses and trousers rather than saris) "we went to some place by airplane and the local Congress workers picked us up They put us in a car and took us to where we were staying. It was about two minutes' drive away we could have walked. When I got out of the car, the workers said to us, 'You must rest: that long drive by car must have been very tiring.' We laughed they said, 'You have to rest.' So we did "

This was at lunch in our house in Delhi. Sanjay was sitting down the table at Leela's right, Maneka on my right: all very correct, very European. "You see," said Maneka, "I'm the daughter of an army officer, I wasn't used to this sort of thing. I came to accept it, but I always thought it was very funny Sanjay took it in his stride " The grandson of one Prime Minister of India, the son of another, Sanjay smiled at me across the table. He is a sturdily built young man, with a rather pallid complexion, features which though handsome are not exactly positive, apart from his quick, gelid eyes that glint at one through rimless glasses.
"Yes," Sanjay said, "It was terrible."
They may have liked the tumultuous

receptions they received, Chief Ministers coming to the airport to meet the son of the Prime Minister, garlanded arches raised in the path of their car, because



Sanjay being given a king's reception in Karnataka

any perfectly ordinary young couple, much though they later deny the fact, would be rather flattered by this kind of thing Sanjay would make brief, brusque speeches in the villages of the area, then they would fly away Enormous publicity was attached to each of these visits the Press and television fell over one another to hear and see Sanjay It was this coverage that later attracted much criticism. According to the then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, V Shukla, who replaced Inder Gujral, Mrs Gandhi asked him three times to ask the government media to cut down on the publicity afforded her son He did. the newspapers did not Later, the correspondents who had written adulatory articles about Sanjay's various trips wrote in a different manner, complaining about his rudeness to Chief Ministers who were much older than he was, and about his radeness to the Press

HERE is no doubt that Sanjay is not a THERE is no doubt that being young man distinguished by his manners. Even when he is friendly there is that slight aloofness in him that appears to have run in the family since his grandfather, but without the curious redeeming family charm he is very difficult to talk to, or perhaps not exactly to talk to but to communicate with He also seems to choose the people he will talk to very carefully. an admirable trait, it seems to me, but not one much appreciated in India, where everyone talks to everyone about their most intimate problems, often on first meeting "Sanjay," his wife once told me, "has been under criticism since 1969, when he first tried to launch Maruti. He's used to criticism. He seems, however, to invite it by his silences which punctuate quick bursts of words driven home by a forward thrust of that bespectacled and publicised head.

This head was much wanted after the Emergency was over, and in some senses a price was laid upon it. Mrs Gandhi said to me, "You see, he was young."That, I told her, was the very reason why I was asking her why he had assumed such authority. "He didn't", she said, fell to the prophety stant heretad her hands in his sombrely silent, knotted her hands in her lap, then abruptly said, "It's not true he became unpopular with the people. Let me give you an instance. Last year, after the elections were over, Maneka," and suddenly the smile came, the smile that

reminds one that she is a woman with children and grandchildren, "had just got her driving licence. She had to go to Willingdon Hospital, and while she was parking she brushed another car. Well said Mrs Gandhi judiciously, defending her family, not much damage was caused just a few scratches on the paint. But Maneka decided that she should wait until the owner came back. If she went away, people would say she ran off because she was Sanjay's wife. So, she waited, and the owner eventually came*.

"He was an old man," said Mrs Gandhi "And you know what old people are like, very boring. Old people continually lecture young people on their bad behaviour, their lack of proper responsibility, and so on " I reflected that a short while before I had sent her flowers for her sixtieth birthday, and then, as often before looked at her smile and forgot this "Anyway," Mrs Gandhi informed me, "he gave Maneka this lecture and she said she had waited for him to come back and offered to pay for the damage. She wrote down her name and address, for him to send the bill to. When he saw the address, he said, "Are you the wife of Sanjay Gandhi? Then I won't charge you anything '

Upon seeing me unmoved by this narration, she twitched her right eyelid and said, "When I was campaigning at Azamgarh recently, my election agent told me a story. He said, outside his office there was a group of women. One was weeping The agent heard the words beta and ladka, (son and boy) and he thought something had happened to the woman's son. So he went out and asked her if he could help her if anything had happened to her son. The woman said, 'k is not my son I am weeping for but Mrs. Gandhi's son.' Sanjay had just been sent to prison, you know." She added, "I'm not asking you about his popularity with the people, ma'am. He seems to have become very unpopular with your own Ministers and the Press " She cocked her head sideways, and fiddled with her sari, and said, "I said he was young It follows that he's very direct. If he doesn't like what somebody's doing, he says so very bluntly. I don't do that If I think someone is doing something wrong, I always try and cushion the blow I tell him what I think in a very roundabout way "

LIVING

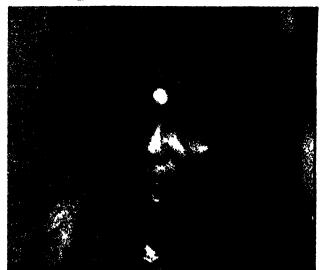
It all ads up

Brenda Kristen—billed by the Oberois as the star who "bewitched Roman Polanski, Margot Fonteyn and Britt Ekland"—is now in Bombay At 24, the has the top-rated Brenda Kristen Show on television in Australia and 20 LPs to her credit She has come to India to sing for diners at the Oberoi hotels in Bombay and Delhi

Ashish Rajadhyaksha, like many other Bombaywallahs, fell prey to a series of ads in the local dailies which car ried pictures of the luscious blonde staring into a hand some male face. Unable to resist the temptation that Brenda is, he met her soon after Brenda spoke to him in a beautiful, husky way She is the spitting image of Olivia Newton John, notes Ashish and adds that Bom bay has for a change, got someone who is well worth all the ads in the papers



Supreme sacrifice



Sometime ago, actor director producer Feroze Khan was in the dumps That was when he planned Qurbani with Zeenat Aman (who, once again, agreed to bare herself) The film was meant to boost Feroze Khan's box office image which has been on a steady decline since the last few years On June 19 this year, Quibani was finally premiered in Bombay and, with ticket rates of Rs 1,000 and Rs 5,000, the show was a sellout A short while before the

premiere, Feroze went underground Apparently, he could not bear being hounded by the Press Be sides, his job was almost done Qurbanihad received the kind of publicity which few Hindi films have before their release All that teroze Khan has to do now is thank Zeenat Aman for her sensuous crooning in the film. Biddu for some un usual music and of course, Nazia Hassan whose num ber, Aap jaisa koi bhi has left many a young heart pal pitating

19 for the loss of 2...

There have been instances of people receiving Republic Day awards by default through the Rashtrapati Bhavan mixing up names but this is probably the first instance of two Ministers missing the bus, well nearly, through someone's contu-sion and oversight The scene was Gandhinagar, the capital of Gujarat, and the occasion the swearing in of the new Congress(I) Minis try headed by Mr Madhav Sinh Solanki Everyone knows that such ceremonies can get pretty boring Add to it the heat of the season and the suffocating confu sion inside the shamiana and you know what finally made chief secretary H K L Capoor flip reports Iushar Bhatt His big hand icap was that he was manful ly struggling on in Gujarati

not his forte by a long chalk After the ceremony presided over by Governor Sharda Mukherjee had seemingly gone on for ever, and the chief secretary had come to the end of the page, he made the concluding re marks The police band on duty in the best traditions of alacrity took the cue on the dot and struck up the national anthem But two Deputy Ministers, Lalit Par mar and Chandrakant Patel had been left out They squirmed speechlessly A sheepish Chief Minister de clared it was all a mistake Honest The second time over, the chief secretary was taking no chances. This time he waited a good few mo ments, perhaps to spot a frantically waving hand at the back, before repeating his concluding remarks

Hijacked Train

A movie is released and be comes a hit Suddenly there are all sorts of writers who claim that their own stories have been plagiarised to form the basis of the film Common enough in the West, but it has now started happening here in India too Consider the case of Sharif In 1976 he began to evolve a theme that centred round a train catching fire en route to Delhi from Bombay He wrote the script and reg istered The Capital Express with the Film Writers' Asso ciation The 40 page script, which Sharif had worked on with Gautam Sengupta, dealt largely with the ac tions of an assorted set of characters after the train catches fire The prime char acter, as he visualised him, was a psychopath destroyer of the train "We had even mentally cast the man who would play the part — Dan ny Denzongpa" The other characters were a couple of diamond theves pursued by a lawman, a couple of runaway lovers and a group of schoolchildren along with

their teacher
However, there were no tak
ers for the project, although
all those who read it agreed
that it was brilliant in das
gust he turned journalist,
freelancing for various film
magazines. And then B R
Chopra entered his life "I
first heard of The Burning



Train when publicity stills were published in some film magazine. Then one day I read a paraphrasing of the story of The Burning Train and it was like a knockout blow. Over 25 char acters are absolutely identical and the only change was in the name of the train and the route. Sharif has referred the matter to the Joint Disputes Settlement Committee of the FWA but BR Films failed to send a representative to the first meeting During the second meeting they said that the film had been released anyway and that the Committee could go ahead and make a comparison.

Independent fighter



Binode Brahmachari was born in 1897 But, looking at him, one would wonder whether he is really as old as he claims to be And what is more, he still gives an occa sional demonstration of his skill with the swadeshi weapon—his lathi, which he had often wielded against the British during the Independence movement. Brahmachari was once a

freedom fighter and an active member of the revolutionary Jugantar Party of Comilla He suffered 11 years of imprisonment for which he now receives Rs 200 as pension from the government

In 1950, Brahmacharı came to Calcutta and, at the age of 53, chose to start a school for the bustee children of Dhakuria Shri Ram Narayan Jatiya Vidya Mandir is what he started many years ago Here, according to T Uma Sinha, education means much more than a mere degree The emphasis is on the vocational—carpentry, tailoring and book binding The government has been assisting the school yet, more often than once. Brahmachari has to rely on the more affluent residents of the locality for funds to run his school He goes from house to house, pleading for the cause of the school It is not always that he succeeds in convincing people but, almost four decades after he fought against the British. the 83-year old Brahmachari is now waging a war against illiteracy

I swear!

The names of Lord Muruga, Karl Marx, Allah, Lenin and Mrs Gandhi were invoked by some members of the newly elected Tamil Nadu Assembly when they took the oath on June 19, reports Arthur Pais Though Chief Minister M G Ramachandran insisted that members of the Assembly could only swear by the name of God, it was Mr P Nedumaran who led the way of defiance, he swore by God as well as by his favourite deity, Lord Muruga. A Muslim member then took the name of Allah Mr Anbil Dharmalingam of

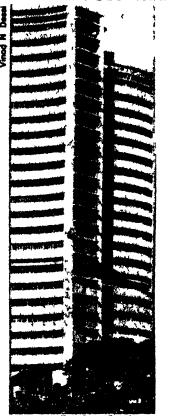
DMK swore in the name of "Periyar"—the nickname of I V Ramasamy, a pioneer of the Dravida movement A CPI member invoked Karl Marx, Lenin and the late CPI leader, Jecva Mi Dhanushkoti affirmed in the name of Subhash Chandra Bose A Congress (I) representative vowed by Kamaraj while another Congress (I) member swore by Mrs Gandhi Amidst all this, an AIADMK member, while taking the oath, declared that he was "the sidekick of the revolutionary actor, M G.Ramachandran"

Making light of the damage

There is a set of traffic lights in Calcutta which seems to be jinxed. Situated at the crossing of Chowringhee and Lindsay Street, it acquires a tilt on a regular basis. At least once every six weeks some errant driver, either in a fit of recklessness or because of an excess of alcohol, sends the traffic island reeling. For a few days it looks like a drunken

monster as it lurches to one side and then someone carries out the repair work to restore it to its original shape. And the citizens of Calcutta wait with bated breath to see how long it will be before it is bent once again. The last we heard, someone had a high bet on just how long it would be before the set of lights receives its next blow

Shifting lock, stock and barrel



The new Bombay Stock Exchange building

The Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) has finally been rewarded for its various functions in the last 100 years It has now aquired a different look altogether after shifting to a new building on May 8 this year All the commercial sharpies, speculators, finan-cers and stock brokers of Bombay moved into the 32storied structure regardless of the fact that it had no lift and no water supply either. Apparently, they were too eager to occupy the building which was officially sanctioned in 1972. It took eight years to complete after several months of inactivity. First, there was a stay order from the court which was moved by the Save Bombay Committee on the grounds that the structure had exceeded its stipulated height by two floors. When that was settled and a sanction procured for the extra floors, internal wrangles between the contractors and the BSE caused further delay. So, considering what the BSE has had to suffer in the last eight years, the lack of amenities in the precious new building does not seem to bother the inmates.



Biju Patnaik's award

Indonesia honours a friend

If happened in those first heady days of freedom. The year was 1948 and the place the hall in Delhi where independent India was host ing its first international conference Mingling with the delegates was a tall young pilot who had 'saved' Simagar by personally air lifting the first batch of Indian troops in his Kalinga Airlines air craft to fight off the Pakistani intil trators Pandit Nehru took the young Biju Patnaik aside and gave him another assignment similar in na ture but infinitely more difficult The daredevil pilot would have to rescue two leading revolutioneries of the then Dutch Fast Indies, Sultan Sjhariai and Mohammad Hata, who had been virtually surrounded by Dutch troups If those two leaders were captured then the fight for the birth of tree Indonesia would suffer a severe setback

Biju flew into the British colony of Singapore in his own aircraft accompanied by his wife and another pilot. They checked into a hotel and soon Biju left for a false destination with the pilot while his wife stayed behind for the time being. Their real destination was of course Jogjakarta. The Dutch had an inkling but no specific information about their rescue bid. The freedom fighters in exile were however in close touch with their compatriots The Kalinga Airlines craft correctly located the grassy stretch, landed and made off with its precious cargo amid gunfite Sultan Sihariar and Mohammad Hata next turned up in Delhi to tell the world all about the Dutch atrocities which created the international opinion paving the way for tree Indonesia to emerge The most innocent and unwitting beholder of the drama was the un wary Mrs Patnaik who took a routine flight back home not knowing why she had come in the first place

This debt to Biju Patnatk a grate ful Indonesia has never been able to forget. They have now made him Bhumi Purta which literally means son of the soil. This automatically makes him an honorary citizen of the country. He has also been awarded the highest civilian decoration of Indonesia, the Royal Salute, the first non Indonesian to do be so honoured. These decorations in 1980, in fact, came as a culmination of the gestures the Indonesians have



showered on Biju over the years Soon after independence the In donesian government invited him and his wife and presented them with a vast rubber plantation and a palace. At the presentation cere mony the gracious Indian couple presented the gifts back to the Indonesian people. In 1973 the Indonesian government awarded Patnaik with a scroll of appreciation at a special function in Delhi.

India has benefitted in no small measure from Biju Patnaik's special relationship with the Indonesian people. In 1965 during the Indo Pakistani war it became known that Indonesia had agreed to give the Pakistani navy berthing facilities. Prime Minister Shastri immediately sent Biju off to Indonesia. Even though the Pakistani ships were already anchored in the Indonesian waters by the time he reached Jakarta, the Indonesians could not turn him away and thus Indonesian neutrality in the conflict was en sured.

SWARUP JENA, Bhubaneshwar

Now, a Sanjay Forum

PROMINENT section of the Bihar Youth Congress(I) has called for the creation of a forum to project and promote the ideas and work of Sanjay Gandhi, to be called the Sanjay Forum The idea is to make this into an all-india ginger group on the lines of the Nehru Forum

Kumud Ranjan Jha, the vice-president of the Bihar Youth Congress(I) and a Deputy Minister of the State explains "Mr Gandhi had some definite lines of thought of his own, and a concrete programme His main idea was to rebuild the collapsing structure with millions of youth. His five-point programme was an indica tion of the fact that he was trying to create a young social force rather than a young political army He had clear ideas and preferred to adhere to them rather than follow any left or right cult, like the outgoing older generation A section of the Press and the opposition created confusion that Mr Gandhi was masterminding a grand youth coup within the Party and the government, The fact is, he only wanted to equate the old guards

and the new guerillas."

Tariq Anwar, MP, a close associate of late Sanjay Gendhi and the president of the Bihar Youth Congress(I) is another person in favour of the forum. He points out: "A fear psychology has been purposely created by those opposed to Mr Gandhi that the posi

tion of the youth cadre in the Party and the government will now suffer. Is not this a sabotage of the Sanjay school of thought? Neither we nor Mrs Gandhi will tolerate this A Sanjay Forum to protect and propagate his new ideas among the youth of the present and future is the need of the time. We may discuss this with friends in UP, MP, Delhi, Rajasthan, Karnataka and other states after proper clearance from the high command We hope to be blessed by Mrs Gandbi too. Now, the responsibility to strengthen the youth force has once again fallen on her shoulders."

The Youth Congress(I) has already made plans to start work once the forum comes into being According to Panka; Kumar Sinha, MLA and the general secretary of the Bihar Pradesh Youth Congress. "Meanwhile, as a first step the Bihar Youth Congress has decided to begin implementing Sanjay's five-point programme with immediate effect. The Youth Congress(I) has asked the government of Bihar to organize the adult education scheme through "Sanjay schools". Mr Karuneshwar Singh, a young Deputy Minister, has already announced his plans to plant twenty million trees in Bihar We are also determined to see that the prestigious Ganga bridge of Patna is named Sanjay Bridge."

ARUN RANJAN, Petne

False certificates

Ways to rob reserved jobs

IN the wake of the Andhra Pradesh government's efforts to intensify work on development schemes for the tribals, an increasing number of ineligible people have been acquiring bogus certificates declaring themselves to be members of scheduled castes and tribes According to the government note: "The removal of area restrictions in respect of many scheduled tribes by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Order (Amendment) Act of 1976, has led to the misconception that anybody belonging to castes similar to the names listed in the scheduled tribes list for Andhra Pradesh are eligible for scheduled tribe certificates." A number of people belonging to higher castes thus obtained false certificates and queued up before employment exchanges to compete for job reserved for tribals.

The government note said that of the 174 job-seekers under the tribal quota, the certificates of 53 were doubtful and of the 51 post-graduate job-seekers, the certificates of 15 were doubtful. Again, in March last year, both candidates sponsored by the employment exchange for a vacancy reserved for tribals at the Directorate of Tribal Welfare, held spurious certificates. In a medical college in Hyderabad, the eligibility of six out of eight scheduled tribe students admitted this year was doubtful. In the SV Engineering College at Tirupathi, 50 per cent of the scheduled tribe candidates admitted in this academic year held bogus certificates. And at least one person managed to get into the LAS in this manner.

According to a white paper on fraudulent activities issued by the Andhra Pradesh government, the modus operandi of these false certificate holders varies. An offender might first lure gullible tribals with liquor and money into acting as accomplices. Touts then work out the finer details. Once the deal is settled, all transactions are swiftly completed. The touts then wash their hand of the whole affair, leaving the illiterate tribals in the lurch.

Other methods of fraud involve tampering with official records of notified castes and tribes. In Narasipatnam, in the east Godavari district, school records showed obvious anomalies. Some persons who were admitted to the school before 1950 were registered as members of the Kapu caste. But their sons and daughters who had joined the same school were registered as Konda

Kapus, which is a scheduled caste. The government white paper also said that the municipal officeof Guntur town was burgled and records indentifying residents and their castes were removed. In Srikalahasti the relevant registers were destroyed for the same purpose by soaking them in water. In some other places the records were stated to have been destroyed in 'accidental fires'. Another group of bogus certificate-holders claimed to have lost their parents, and feigned ignorance about them, their past and even the names of their villages. All they claimed to know was that their parents were tribals.

Rackets in false certificates were found to be increasing in bilingual

border areas of the state. The offenders, taking advantage of the fact that they are bilingual, obtained false certificates from officers in villages situated in the neighbouring states, with the help of relatives living there.

In an attempt to check these malpractices, the Andhra Pradesh government has streamlined the procedure for issuing tribal certificates. Rules have been framed for the punishment of certifying officers as well as false certificate-holders. A vigilance cell has been set up for detecting offenders, who are to be prosecuted under the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code. The government, however, is yet to decide how to deal with those who have already secured jobs reserved for scheduled tribes only.

KALYANI SHANKAR, Hyderabad

A bloody meal

CANNIBALISM lived and not too far from home either. On 5 June, 1980, Basudev Nayak, a 35-year-old miner of the Barbil mining area, Orissa actually turned into a maneater and died not long after partially devouring his first and only victim.

Basudev and his wife were living in the village of Nalada on the Orissa-Bihar border since 1974. Both man and wife started work in the Barbil mines. Soon, however, Basudev became the chowkidar of Sagar Saw Mills. Basudey's five-year-old son and nine-year-old daughter were also employed and worked in the mineowner's family home. It is reported that while Basudev worked during the day, he spent his evenings chanting verses from the Puranas. In the course of the six years since 1974 Basudev is reported to have been through spella of insanity.

On the morning of the fateful day. S hane, Basudev's wife and son left for Joda to make religious officiant. The daughter was at the ministeriner's house. Around much Bandley was seen dancing in the streets with a pair of axes and chating whoever crossed his path. The terror stricken villagers ran into their huts. Frustrated, Basudev returned to his hut and began breaking the wooden wall that separated his hut from a neighbour rang to the malice station. But the real

tragedy was yet to come.

Devilal a resident of the xillage had returned for his midday meal. On his way back to work he found Basudev demolishing his own house. He stopped to ask him: "Bete ye kya kar rahe hai?" (Son, what are you doing?) Hearing what Devilal said, Basudev ran for him with his two axes. Devilal, who was in a drunken stupor, remembered his wife's account of the morning's events' and ran for his life. But it was too late. Basudev caught up with him, brutally murdered him and began devouring the victim.

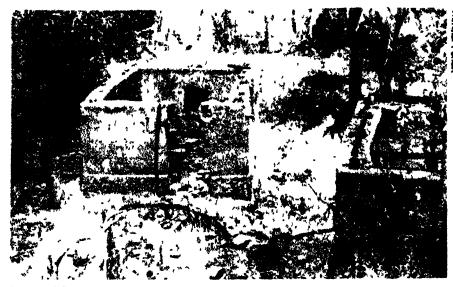
Meanwhile, a crowd had gathered around the scene. None dared to come too close to Basudev. Finally, two tribal youths Mangulu Munda and Shbu Munda came forward and threatened to kill Basudev if he did not surrender. Basudev gave in. He was firmly tied and brought to the police station around 6.30 pm, three-and-a-half hours afterwards, Basudev fell ill and threw up flesh and blood. At 7,15 pm he died in the police station.

Basudev's wife returned around 8 pm and fainted after hearing the gruesome story. Doctors have conducted a post mortem on Basudev, but the cause of his death is yet to be ascertained.

DUSHASAN DEO, Keonjhargarh

Tripura continues to burn

Memories keep the flames alive



N 28 June, a passenger arrived at Agartala airport from Gauhati. The name under which he was travelling was not his real name. He was later arrested in Agartala city, when, according to the police, he was found moving around in a "sus-picious manner" His name was Hirendra Goswamı, and he was saıd to be treasurer of the North Eastern Regional Students' Union, NERSU. He was remanded to police custody.

While the government and responsible people in Tripura are trying their best to douse the disastrous communalism that swept across Tripura in early June, playing havoc with lives and property (SUN-DAY, June 15), obviously certain vested interests are keen to see that the sparks remain, that the anger intensifies, so that some ulterior motive can be fulfilled. The extremists obviously would like to continue their programme of terror to drive away the Bengalis. But what is more unfortunate is that a political Party like the Congress(I) is choosing this occasion, according to the Chief Minister Nripen Chakraborty, to play politics.

The Bengalis, enraged by reports of the massacres, are now seeking revenge, and the tribals are fighting back: so the war of attrition con-tinues. News has trickled to Agarta la from the interior of another mas-sive attack at a village called sive attack Barkhatal. Groups of Bengali youth have been making counterattacks to avenge Mandai and Barkhatal. And the administration, already harried, is hard-pressed to maintain some semblance of law and order. The army, one of the few institutions in the country still with its reputation for integrity intact, has had to be

used repeatedly.

And the refugee problem is becoming even worse. Towards the third week of June, some refugees had started going back to their homes, thinking that peace had returned, but the fresh spate of violence after 28 June had driven them right back to the camps. The tribals are facing another serious problem. Since there was no commerce in their hands, and they had to rely on Bengali traders for their essential supplies, they find themselves unable to buy anything - no one will sell them goods. On occasions the army has had to dole out rations from their own supplies to starving tribals in interior villages.

On the night of 28 June, two persons were killed after groups of miscreants attacked each other and set fire to houses in Kalyanpur village in the Khowai subdivision of West Tripura. One person was killed when the army fired one round to disperse two warring groups, while the other was killed when mis-creants burned down 25 tribal huts and five non-tribal huts in the village. The next morning, according to police sources, agitated tribals set ablaze 50 huts of non-tribals in retaliation. Altogether 104 persons were arrested in connection with the violence at Kalyanpur and the near-by Teliamura village and two countrymade guns were seized. About 25 huts, including three abandoned houses, were also set on fire on the

night of 28 June at Kalpaniya, in the Sabrum subdivision of south Triura. Six persons were arrested. The otal number of huts burnt in the iolence which affected Raidasbari, Jakimbari, Kshetramohanbari, Amar Colony, Dwarikapur, Bairagitala, Jhaskalayanpur, Kunjabari, Hillatoli, and Gourangatila exceeded 200.

Trouble erupted in the Kalyanpur area again on the morning of 30 June, when miscreants set houses on fire in the Totabari village, situated on both sides of the Teliamura-Kalvanpur main road, according to preliminary official reports reaching Agartala. There was large-scale arson in the Kalyanpur tehsil only the previous day, rendering hundreds of men, women and children homeless. The situation was brought under control with the army and paramilitary forces opening fire. After a lull of about 15 hours, the miscreants struck again at Totabari, five kilometres south of Kalyanpur. Hundreds of people took shelter besides the road from Dwarikapur to Totabari, while the school buildings in Kalyanpur were already cram-full with refugees who arrived earlier. Art official spokesman said that polythene sheets were being rushed to the roadside refugees to provide them with temporary shelters. The district magistrate of West Tripura Mr R. Sankarnarayan had himself gone to the spot to arrange for relief. Meanwhile 106 persons were arrested in connection with these incidents and produced before the chief judicial magistrate at Agar-

On 2 July, eight people, among whom was a 23-year-old woman, were brutally killed and 35 injured when 35 armed guerillas ambushed a bus on its way from Amarpur, a southern subdivision, to Agartala. According to reports the ambush took place about 72 kms south of Agartala, at Sandhari. The attackers, armed with choppers, knives and guns, shot dead the driver of the bus when it was climbing a slope. There were 51 passengers in the bus. As soon as it came to a halt, the miscreants stormed the bus, hacked six of the passengers and fled when they saw another bus approaching from behind. The six passengers died instantly, and another died on the way to hospital. No arrests were made till late in the evening when the army combed the area. The very same day, 25 houses were burned at Champlai, near Teliamura. The violence continues.

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. Agartala

, Beastly treatment

Hot irons on a child labourer



A minor girl weaving

A. I. (a small stove) till it became red hot They took me to an adjacent room where Mushtaq along with his partner Majid branded me in several places and left me there with a warning not to try to escape This is just a namoons (sample)", said a tearful Bilal. Bilal Ahmed is a minor carpet weaver of Srinagar. The brutal branding of this young child recently has removed the lid from the deep-seated apprehensions about the propriety of going ahead with the Government-sponsored "prestigious" handicraft expansion programme in the Kashmir valley. How a well-meant effort could be turned into a virtual horror is reflected in the Io-year-old, emaciated, frail and profusely scarred-body of Bilal Ahmed. He bears the branded marks of the iron rod in more than seven places

Even savagery sounds mild if one has to define the treatment meted out to Bilal. I met him a few days after the incident. He is a fatherless child and is one of the breadwinners for his family which includes his mother, sister and a brother. His earnings are meagre. What caused the branding of little Bilal? He had been absent on May 5, 1980 as he had hurt his finger on May 4. When he reported for work he was asked to explain his absence by the factory-owner, Ali Mohammad Waza. "That was followed by a barrage of blows on my face



Bilal

by him and his son, Mushtaq. In spite of the pain I took my job", said Bilal

A case has been filed and two of Bulal's co-workers, Mohiuddin (15) and Ashraf (6) are the prosecution witnesses Bilal had been virtually imprisoned for the whole day (May 6). It was around dusk that he jumped out of the window and run to the safety of his house. Asked whether after his recovery he would resume working for his employers, both he said his mother replied with an emphatic "No". He had joined the carpet-weaving factory some years ago on a wage of 25 paise a day, which had gone up to four rupees a day

Bilal's case has shocked the entire valley, attracting wide publicity through the media. As a result the state police have requested the court to hold day-to-day hearings. Apart from the indignation the case has caused, eyebrows have been raised as to the compatibility of the "massive handicraft development programme" within the stipulated requirements. Doubts were expressed about it right from its inception. Bilal's case has also given rise to some very important questions. The number of child labourers in the state are around 1,08,000 with most of them in the private sector. In spite of its best intentions and sincere efforts, the state Government has not been able to evolve a pattern that would answer the academic and physical needs of the child labourers. Ironically, of course, there is a statute that forbids the employment of children below 14. Reports also mention that factories employing children do not meet the statutory minimum requirements of hygiene, lighting and ventilation. Most of the children are suffering from eye and chest diseases, Bilal's plight should not be seen in solution. It is an indicator of what might be the fate of a whole generation driven to extreme poverty

G. R ANDRABI. Srinagar

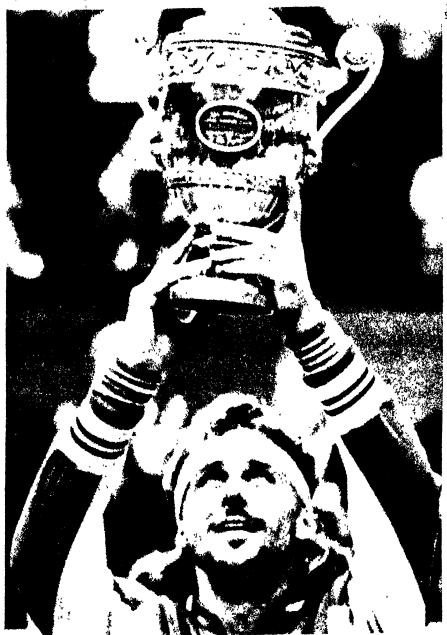
WOMEN: RAPED, ABUSED, BURNT, EXPLOITED

With monotonous and awful consistency, each day's newspapers carry one more story of yet another horrible crime against women, A bride is burnt in Delhi one day; a wife is publicly stripped and later raped in Baghpat on another day. And in a million untold stories, women are harassed every day.

SUNDAY focuses on these problems, and on the current fight for dignity launched by women.

The king remains king

Bjorn Borg makes it five in a row



THERE have been all sorts of moments at Wimbledon Poignant, like the time an ageing Ken Rosewall, in a desperate bid to capture the one title that had always eluded him, was steamrollered in straight sets in the 1974 final by a brash young American named Jimmy Connors Humorous, consider the championships of 1979, when a beautiful Californian named Linda Siegel popped right out of her dress in mid-match And historic Like the time Bjorn Borg knelt on the hallowed turf of the centre court earlier this month after overcoming a determined John McEnroe to win There had never been anything like 1t

The legend of Bjoin Borg, monarch of Wimbledon, was born in 1973 A 17-year-old Swede made his first appearance at the Mecca of tennis and promptly caused a riot. Wherever he went he was followed by an army of teenaged schoolgirls who screamed enthusiastic encouragement at the handsome newcomer. And Borg? He took it in a unique manner. A photograph published in several papers all over the world that year showed the young sensation being escorted away from the court after the match, protected from his shrieking young admirers. On the Swede's face was a look of deep disgust at all the fuss.

Borg didn't win that year; Jan Kodes did. But the Swede, who was promptly dubbed The Viking by the world Press, had left his mark. He would be back, and so would the hysterical girls who worshipped the ground on which Borg thumped his topspin Came 1974 and Connors swept all opposition aside. 1975 and Arthur Ashe took home his first and last Wimbledon title. No one realised it then, but after that there was going to be only one more champion till 1980. The era of Borg was to follow

In 1976 the blonde wonder faced Rumanian Illie Nastase in the final. The latter had reached the 1972 final as well, only to lose to Stan Smith and was determined to be the champion. Borg demolished Nastase systematically. So devastating was his game that even the great Fred Perry admitted he had never seen tennis like this. In 1977 and 1978 Borg flattened his old adversary Connors in the finals, in five sets the first year, three the next. The 1979 Borg-Tanner final was expected to be carnage but the story of that match is too well known to bear repetition Borg had to fight every inch of the way, with the big-serving American from Lookout Mountain taking him all the way to five sets before bowing out. Four in a row and Borg had broken Fred Perry's record of three consecutive Wimbledon singles titles. Perry took Borg out for dinner, but first stipulated that the Swede would have to shave his annual Wimbledon lucky beard.

The beard was not the only un usual characteristic the champion possessed. His on-court calm is incredible. Opponents could swear, argue with officials and throw tantrums, but the champion wore a steady stony face. He was promptly nicknamed "Iceborg". Whether he is winning or losing, it is always the same thing:Borg, his shoulders almost imperceptibly hunched and his eyes on the grass, will walk back to the baseline with that curious stiff-legged gait of his.

Only once has Borg dropped that mask. In an exhibition match against Vitas Gerulaitis, his closest friend on the professional circuit, the Swede did the unthinkable. He missed a shot and uttered a brief oath. The spectators, incredulous, rose to their feet and responded with a deafening burst of applause. Gerulaitis, astounded, dropped his racket.

Borg has five consecutive wins under his belt, and it is quite conceivable that there might be more. But when Borg is an old man he will be referred to as the monarch of Wimbledon. The monarch who refused to abdicate.

INVESTIGATION

Date May 29, two days before the Assembly polls Time after sunset Place Zarmundi Assembly constituency of Santhal Parganas, a backward adiva si-dominated district in Bihar The young SDO of Deoghar, Mr Sanjay Shri vastava with his patrolling party finds a je p near Chitapoka village. The jeep is searched A country-made pistol, dozens of cartridges and Rs 6,500 in cash are recovered along with some election publicity material. The banner of an Independent candidate is prominently displayed on the jeep The SDO seizes the jeep and the illegal arms. The jeep's occupants, eight persons including the driver, all supporters of a powerful Inde pendent candidate are arrested. On May 30, at 3 45 a m-another raid is conducted at Sonaraithari village in the same constituency Huge stocks of illegal arms and explosives, 20 bombs two Rampuri diggets rifle carttidges and chemicals including bottles of acid are recovered Seven persons all hired pahelwans along with an advocate from Deoghar Mr L N Mandal are arrested During interioga-tion one pahelwan says "We were brought here by an independent candi date to capture booths

The Independent candidate in ques tion is a resident of Bihar Sharif. But who is he? Mr U D Choubey the deputy commissioner of Dumka, identified him is Mr R Lal the powerful ex inspector general of police Bihar According to Mr Choubey after the raids Mr Lal was absconding A massive statewide hunt to arrest him was on. A warrant of arrest was also issued against Mi I al who was tighting the Assembly elections from Zarmundi as an Independent candidate His main rivals were Mr Stikant Tha of the Congress (I) and Mr Jawahar Prasad Singh another Independent Mr Lal's election symbol was the Kursi (chair) According to the election office Mr Lal was also engaged in a 20 cornered election battle at another nearby constituen cv- Porasyahat From both places he lost At Zarmundi he polled only 4,147 votes against the winner Jawahar Prasad Singh's 14 935 who later joined the Con gress(I)

During the 1977 Parliamentary elec tions, Mr R Lal was IG vigilance Just before the polling, he somehow per suaded the then Congress Chief Minister, Di J N Mishra to appoint him to super vise the elections for which he got a special plane. The bureaucratic circle had then branded him as the "super IG" The Congress debacle in 1977 did not harm him Before President's rule started in Bihar, he managed to become the IGP When the Janata appointed Governor and his advisers came, they sent him back to the vigilance depart ment and reinstated Mr A P Mishra as IGP In the meantime, Mr Lal was busy impressing Mi Karpoori Thakur After the 1977 elections, when Mr Thakur became the Chief Minister, Mr Lal once again became the IGP When Karpoori Thakur launched his backward move ment and enforced the reservation for backward castes in government services, Mr Lal as IGP openly supported the backwards. He liked to be branded the

The case of the absconding ex-IG

ARUN RANJAN investigates

"backward IG He virtually divided the entire police machinery from the rank of IG to ordinary constables along back ward forward lines. This distinction was shortlived as Congress and Janata MLAs openly attacked him in the Assembly on corruption charges Meanwhile, several Janata MPs led by Mr Digvijay Narain Singh approached the then Prime Minis ter Morarji Desai to institute a CBI inquiry into Mr Lal's 'misdeeds' Mr Desai agreed and directed Mi Karpoori Thakur to start the inquiry Mr Lal then made a volte face. He left Karpoori Thakui and joined hands with "Chote Saheb", Mr S N Sinha, MP, the state Janata chief Now Rajput MLAs who had earlier attacked Lal in the House, were seen defending him on the same floor I al continued as the IGP despite the controversies. When the upper caste lob by installed Mr Ram Sundar Das as Chief Minister in April 79 Chote Saheb Lal's new protector, became the de facto CM All moves against I al were discour and There was a political crisis in the state when Das started turning down 'Chote Saheb's ' orders But I al some how managed to remain in Das's good books. Whenever a proposal to oust I al was initiated, several backward caste and Raiput Ministers threatened to res ign. Then came the Intelligence Bureau's 'source money scandal - Mr Sudish Na rain Singh the then chief of state intelli gence showed some courage in prevent ing I al and his friends from swallowing huge amounts of source moncy' mediately Lal arranged a coup A story was circulated in the Press claiming that Sudish's pet cat was given a state functal when it had died Ram Sundar Das ordered the transfer of Sudish Sinha to the so called 'Andoman Nikobar of top police officials - the Police Building Construction Corporation (PBCC) A powerful Bhumihai state Minister Mr Ram Jatan Sinha resigned in protest Ironically at the same time another state Minister, Mr Mithilesh Kumai Singh, engaged himself in serious conflict with the then chief secretary Both 5 N Sinha and Ram Sundar Das wanted to sec the chief secretary out. At an important Cabinet meeting this proposal was dis-cussed. The anti-Lal Ministers told the Chief Minister that if he wanted the chief secretary to leave, the controversial IGP (R Lal) should also be removed. The CM had no option In December 1979, conse quently, Lal saw himself in the PBCC On March 31, 1980, he retired after a 25 year police career as the Chairman of the

Before the Assembly elections Mr Lal called a Press conference at a posh hotel in Patna. The journalists had seated themselves but Mr Lal was anxiously waiting for Dr Jagannath Mishra, the Congress(I) thief He did not come but two of his heutenants did At this Press conference R Lal announced that he had

joined the forward castes dominated Congress (I) He was shocked to find himselt attacked by pro-Congress(I) jour nalists who asked "Are you joining the Party to stop the CBI probe against you? What is your opinion on the reservation issue now?" A mollified Mr Lal's answars shocked the Pressmen "Gentle men, the CBI probe is suspended now The reservation in services was a calculated move to fool the backwards" With in a week, a rumour gained ground in political circles that Lal had offered a huge donation of over lakhs of rupees to the Congress(I) He was likely to get a Congress(I) nomination His name was put in the Congress(I) candidate list sent to Delhi with the backing of a strong lobby He also went to Delhi According to a source, Mrs Gandhi herself struck off his name from the list Sanjay Gandhi was also not in a mood to spare him Disappointed, 'Lal immediately con tacted the Tharkhand Mukti Morcha, the Congress(I)'s ally in the Assembly elec tions but he was turned down. He was ultimately forced to fight the elections as an Independent He selected two back ward adivasi constituencies where mus cle and money could perhaps yield the necessary result

"Mr Lal is in Patna at his Patliputra colony residence, mentioned Patna dailies, one morning after the elections Inquiries proved the news to be correct Next morning, local newspapers, published his contradiction" The contradiction emphasised "No such police case or warrant of arrest has been issued against me, nor am I evading arrest I was at Zarmundi till the election was over All that happened through a section of the Press and the lobby opposing me, was a political stunt" However, Lal did not comment on the seizure of illegal arms and the arrest of pahelwans

Before his contradiction was carried in the papers, the Bihar Governor told reporters that the three policemen found in Lal's election camp had been suspended The Governor also gave an ultimatum that if within the next two days, Lal did not surrender, his properties would be attached

In Bihar, bureaucrats are divided on the Rajeshwar Lal issue One group says that no case was filed or warrant of arrest issued for Lal The other group, whose spokesman is the Dumka DC, argues that police cases were filed and a warrant of arrest issued Meanwhile, pictures of illegal arms recovered from Lal's election camp appeared in a section of local Press. In addition, there were rumours that the explosives and acid bottles were smuggled out of the State Lorensic Laboratory Since firm action was not taken against Lal during President's rule the new Congress(I) government in Bihar will re examine the case which has now been handed over to the CID Lal's fate, therefore, hangs in the balance

37

Sign of the Marathon Runner



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REVIEW books

Marxism and Islam

By ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER

THIS is a collection of 12 essays written intermittently on the Muslim world-more specifically, the Arab world and the problems faced by it because of Islam. Rodinson is an unorthodox Marxist and does not ignore realities vis-a-vis abstract ideological positions. "For me", he says, "there is not just one Marxism, but several Marxisms, all with a common core, it is true, but also with many divergences, each version being as legitimate as any

The study of the Muslim world, in view of the current turmoil, is as fascinating as challenging. It requires great clarity of thought and mind to understand the complex socio-economic problems, specially when ideological confusion prevails. Rodinson possesses the necessary competence as he has a firsthand knowledge both of Islam and the Muslim world However, these essays were written much before the current turmoil started and hence serve only as a useful backgrounder

to understanding it. In the introductory chapter the author raises some pertinent questions. Formulating one such, the author says: "Indeed, I think that all religious people should ask themselves the following question; why do religions in their traditional forms no longer inspire the great movements formed round other ideologies?" By these other ideologies the author very clearly means nationalism, Marxism, etc. No doubt, those who assign a central role to religion for tackling the complex problems of our day have to think coolly over this poser by the author. But, and now this too must be carefully taken note of. In view of the uprising in Iran led by an orthodox mullah Ayatollah Khomeini, this question has to be considered again. It does not necessarily follow that the current developments have invalidated the author's contention. In my opinion, while what Rodinson says is by and large true, his formulation may have to be only slightly modified in order to put the Iranian upheaval-in which religion has

The reviewer is the author of The Bohras (Vikas Publishing House, Rs 95) and The Origin and Development of Islam (Orient Longman, Rs

played, a substantial role-in proper perspective.

Rodinson is fully aware, of the role religion can play in mobilising third world societies, especially in the Muslim world. Many communists and fellow-travellers in the Arab world today realise the importance of this role. Raif Khoury, a Christian Arab fellow-traveller had, as early as 1942, emphasised this. "How often", Khoury then said addressing a conference in Damascus, "we have heard the call of the muezzin from the minerats of this eternal Arab city: Allaho Akbar! Allaho Akbar... Bilal's call (the Prophet's Abyssinian freed slave) was a summons, a fanfare sounding the beginning of a struggle between an epoch which was drawing to an end and an age whose sun was just rising... that Allaho Akbar means, in plain language: Punish the greedy usurers! Tax those who accumulate profits! Confiscate the possessions of the thieving monopolists! Guarantee bread to the people! Open the road of education and progress to women... let the stars of freedom, of free counsel (shura) and of true democracy shine forth!"

Islam, in its Meccan period, was, undoubtedly, a stirring call for struggle and change. However, its revolutionary elan soon petered out after its stormy conquests. Islam, after overthrowing the great feudal empires of Byzantium and Sassanids in its revolutionary thrust, was itself feudalised. For more than 12 centuries thereafter, Islam and its teachings remained under shadow of medieval thought. It was only under the colonial impact of the West that rethinking started and a few political activists and intellectuals like Jamaluddin Afghani and Mufti Muhammad Abduh in late nineteenth century launched a concerted attack on the internal decay and emphasised the importance of the reconstruction of Islamic thought. However, even today, industrially and technologically speaking, the Muslim world, stretching across Asia and Africa, still continues to be relatively backward. In many of these countries a sizable section of population is still in a primitive and tribal stage. In such a backward milieu, at least sociologically speaking, the significance of religion cannot be ignored. It will

continue to play an important role in the foreseeable future.

Even in a relatively backward European country like Italy where the influence of Catholicism is obvious, Marxist intellectuals like Gramsci, Togliatti, etc had to come to grips with this problem. Thus Rodinson, in one of the essays Islam and the Modern Economic Revolu tion tells us that a man like Palmiro Togliatti recognized that some peo ple could be motivated by religious faith in struggling for justice alongside those who found inspiration in a more secular ideology For the Mus lim Marxists this has become a chall lenging question and it would tax their ingenuity to evolve a creative synthesis of Islam and Marxism if they want to enhance the appeal of their movement. It does not necessarily have to be, as often alleged by certain quarters, a mere clever stratagem or a political chicanery. It has to be an organic synthesis, as Islam's earlier thrust was undoubtedly revolutionary in its orientation The organisation called Mujahidin-i Khalq in Iran is engaged in this serious task. A series of articles recently appeared in their mouthpiece Mujahid attempting an interpretation of the Koran in keeping with the revolutionary aspirations of the masses of Iran. However, this is just a beginning In the coming days in Iran a decisive struggle will take place between the Islamic right which, in view of the social and religious prejudices, has an initial advantage, and the left, including the Islamic left If the Mujahidin can work out a viable synthesis between Islam and Marxism, it would prove a very effective weapon in their struggle against Ayatollah Khomeini who, despite his anti-imperialist phraseology, is essentially anti-left

The author, in his essay "Relationship between Islam and Communism" rightly points out that there is no single Islam or Marxism. There are many 'Islams' and 'Marxisms'. Islam as well as Marxism have gone through a series of stages of evolution. Communist ideology, Rodinson maintains, is something more than a catalogue of dogmas to be unearthed in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin or Mao Tse Tung. It is made up of a series of very complex ideological layers. The ideology expressed in the works of Marx and Engels has itself undergone an evolution, even during their lifetimes. Another important dimension of working out a meaningful alliance between Islam and Communism is flexibility of control which is often lacking. The author says, "one of the main causes underlying this admittedly partial failure of the communist parties in the Arab countries is the implacable subordination of the struggle in these countries to the world strategy of com-

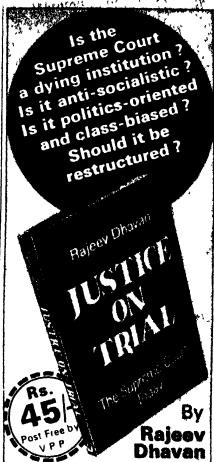
munism."

Many eminent Muslim thinkers have maintained the mystique of Islamic culture as eternal and unchangeable. Rodinson in his article "Islam and Modern Economic Revolution" dismisses, and rightly so, this as nonsense. "A culture is treated," he says, "as a reasoning being, a more or less specific, intangible whole, built-up over the centuries around the same particular idea, the same values, the same sentiments. In short, there is supposedly a 'soul' of Muslim civilization which has remained fundamentally unaltered over the ages " This is, needless to say, an unhistorical view No culture or civilization, over a period of centuries, can escape the influence of historical changes Not only vertical (temporal) changes but also horizontal (spatial) changes deeply affect a culture Rodinson says, "The Muslim world has constantly taken new forms, it has constantly accepted foreign inputs, whilst, at the same time, influencing other cultures It has constantly created new cultural forms and forever modified itself "Rodinson also makes the point most emphatically, ... Insist on the point, it is at the time when the Muslim world has been most receptive, most open to the outside world, that it has been most prestigious, most imitated, most taken up as a model by others, and most powerful. There is thus nothing to fear from the outside world, or from change.'

This is highly valid. The ulama,and even the modern Muslim intelligentsia, fear change apprehending an obliteration of their identity This is, however, far from logical. A dynamic and creative identity is far more fructifying than the stagnant one A process of demedievalizing Islam, under the impact of modern technological changes, cannot be long avoided. Accepting purposeful change, with a strong thrust for social justice will be far more appealing to the miserystricken masses in the Muslim world. It also has the added advantage of preventing hyperconcentration of riches in a few hands in the oil-rich countries causing explosive social tensions and pushing the society down the precipice of decadence, as is happening in the countries like Saudi Arabia Marxism can provide, of course if shorn of certain trappings, such a strong thurst of social justice.

Rodinson's book, although, dated in certain respects, will serve to stimulate thinking in this direction

(Marxism and the Muslim World, Maxime Rodinson, Orient Longman, Rs 80)



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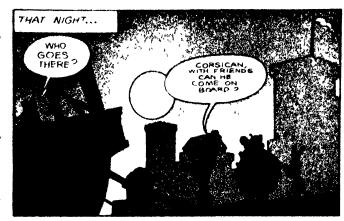
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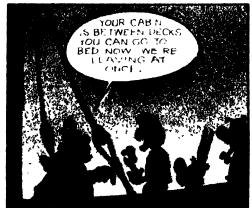


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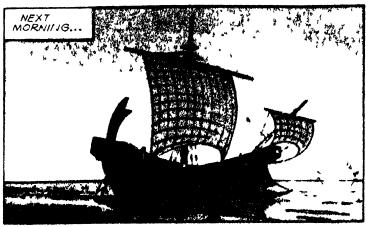


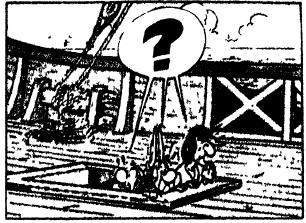




























INVESTIGATION

Thankar Ghosh

UNE 4, 1980 The incessant throb of a tomtom stops several people in their tracks as they try and identify the sound.

It is coming from in front of the SDO's court, Jhargram, in Midnapur district, where about 500 adivasis of the Jharkhand Party have gathered. Along with their huge boarskin tomtoms (dhamsas),most of the men carry traditional bows, arrows and even tangis(axe-like wapons)with them Their purpose to present a 25-point charter of demands, heading which is the demand for the creation of a separate Jharkhand state

Mid-June, 1980. "Bengalis, leave the land of adivasis" say posters appearing in Jhargram and a few other places in the subdivision "Remember Tripura": the whisper spreads like wildfire but worries only a few non-tribals. The rest are still confident that nothing will happen, for they have lived in Jhargram for years in peace and friendship

June 18, 1980. A Bengali house about two kms away from Jhargram is attacked in the evening. In Jhargram rumour spreads that the tribals are on the rampage, that many houses have been burnt and a number of Bengalis have been murdered. But the truth is different. The culprits are a bunch of dacoits from Bihar who looted the household Fortunately, two of the dacoits are caught and another one is killed on the spot Suspicion no longer rests on the tribals.

June 19, 1980. Word has reached the administration that the adivasis are going to attack Jhargram's Jubilee Market CRP and police personnel pour into this small subdivisional tribal town which waits with bated breath Shopkeepers pull down shutters and the mood in the market is one of apprehension But nothing at all happens and the day passes off peacefully.

June 20, 1980: Some well-known citizens of Jhargram receive post cards which have been sent from within the town the previous day. The postcards all bear the same message inscribed in red: Jai Jharkhand/Santhal-Mahato bhai-bhai, Bangalir rakta chai. (Long live Jharkhand/Santhal and Mahato brotherhood/Bengali blood must be shed)

JHARGRAM Another Tribal Revolt

So far, the real culprit has been rumour. And despite tensions between tribals and Bengalis, reports TIRTHANKAR GHOSH



Jubilee Market

Rumours spread again: among them that Jhargram station is supposed to be crammed with people evacuating the town. The rumours are again false.

A month of rumours, fuelled by panic and newspaper headlines, has not led to any eruption of violence in Jhargram; it is still as calm as it has been since 40 years ago when Bengalis first started settling down, buying lands in bits and pieces from the tribal king.

Twenty years ago, Jubilee Market was built. Legend has it that it was built to celebrate the jubilee of some royal personage; but people are vague about who exactly this personage was. Anyway, it was a major presence in the economic life of the tribals, who now had a market for their trade. Today, the Jubilee Market consists of 300 rusty tin sheds crammed suffocatingly close to one another. In the monsoons, the entire area is awash with mud, filth and slush. Also, a market built by the tribals today hardly has any tribal shops in it. According to the secretary of the Jubilee Market Kalyan Samiti, Subhas Chandra Saha, out of the 315 plots, roughly 25 are owned by Marwaris, hardly five to seven are owned by tribals, and the

rest are owned by Bengalis.
Thursday and Sunday are haat-days when the villagers, mostly tribals, flock in to sell what little they

have produced a piece of handwoven cloth, sometimes sal seeds, generally a few kilograms of rice. Today the tribals have to sit in front of the regular shops, wherever they can find some place. And even this is resented by the shopkeepers, who don't want the tribals around. The tribals are constantly abused; in one incident, boiling water was poured over a tribal.

The Jubilee Market has become a classic symbol of tribal grievance The Jharkhand Party has taken up the cause two of the 25 demands placed before the SDO deal with problems in the Jubilee Market. The SDO asked for a month's time to find a solution But here comes one of the main paradoxes of the situation there is little the government can do even if it wants to, because the shopkeepers cannot be legally removed The fact is that, in most cases where the tribals have been deprived of either their land or their sources of livelihood, it has been done legally Through ignorance, or deceit, or bribery, or hunger, the tribals sold their rights to settlers. But the tribals are demanding a place in the market, as they have nowhere to go for the pitiful commerce that means the difference between life and death for them. It was this which largely led to rumours that the tribals would raze the Jubilee Market to the ground.

Tribal leaders hotly denied that any such plan existed: they equally fiercely deny that there is any Bengali kheda andolan (i.e. a movement to drive out Bengalis).

It is true that a small militant section of tribal has been active. I saw only one inflammatory poster, about 20 km outside Jhargram town, which said "Bengali hatao, desh bachao" (Remove Bengalis and save this land). Some threatening letters have also been sent to some prominent Bengalis. The government's agencies are investigaing the matter. Perhaps more than anything else, the violence in the north east has frightened the authorities; nobody wants another Tripura.

There is no doubt that quite a few of the grievances of the tribals are justified. Their continued impoverishment is an extraordinary tragedy. Their cultural traditions and their language have been neglected. They

have lost their land. The number of 5 educated tribals is minimal. If one & goes to the Natu Moirar Chowk in Jhargram, one can see the poverty of the tribal who wait there to be hired & as labourers at giveaway wages. Find the sand twigs from the sal trees in the forests to sell them — and here too they are harrassed by forest guards, (of course the forces of law and order in our country do not seem to be able to see massive deforesta tion by rich contractors willing to pay bribes). A tribal boy does receive a stipend of Rs 75 a month if he goes to college, but since he has no other source of money (that is, his family cannot afford to supplement this), he obviously cannot survive in a college on the sum — and definitely not in a city like Calcutta to which he must come if he wants a good education Even in Jhargram, which is a tribal area, the government college, Raj College, has only tive per cent tribals on its rolls

The demand for a separate state put by the Jharkhand Party envisages a contiguous area taken from four states, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh From Bihar would come Singhbhum, Ranchi, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Giridih, Dhanbad and Santhal Parganas, from West Bengal would come Puru lia, Midnapore and Bankura, from



"Bangalı hatao, desh bachao"

Orissa, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Sambhalpur; from Madhya Pradesh, Sarguja and Raigarh In such a state, claim the Jharkhand leaders, the tribals would be able to concentrate on both their social and economic development — and there would be no exploitation by non-tribals. Jharkhand leaders point out that the officers who rule Santhal area simply do not know Santhali, so how can they expect to know what the tribal problems are? There are demands for a tribal interpreter in Jhargram

court, a tribal doctor and nurses in Jhargram hospital. Genume cases have been lost by tribals because they could not express themselves in court. Patients have died because they could not explain the nature of their sickness.

Jagannath Mukherjee is an exception. He has lived for nearly 40 years in Jhargram, and is so identified with Santhals that he is often called Jagu Mandi or Jagu Santhal He organises Santhal cultural programmes and trains singers and dancers. He did not believe that the Santhals of the region would resort to mass communal violence against Bengalis. But he told me of a Santhali song. Sitting in the dark Pulak Radio Store on Jhargram's main road where Jharkhand Party members and leaders get together, Jagu Santhal recited this song.

Nootakan, nootakan Abon disham dao Bohela akan, tohela akan Abon jati dao Eben eben ebeno pai, aho adiyasi Abna daratay chandwa sobattay

Abna daretey, chandwa sohottey, Debon kurumutu.

It means, 'Our land is growing dark, we are becoming poorer, or people are leaving their homes and going astray, awake, adivasis; with our work good work and God's blessing we will be able to rise and triumph'

Bihar's tortured tribes

Besides famine, poverty, local landlords and contractors, the tribals of Bihar are victims of government policies, say ABHIMANYU SINGH and NEERAJ ROY.

"Over the past three and half decades the greater Indian civilisation has crept into every nook and cran ny of this land and its original society. The result has been a systematic exploitation of its people (tribals) and their gradual but certain strangulation."

-A senior Bihar civil servant.

LITTLE less than half the total land area of Bihar, the Chotanagpur-Santhal' Parganas belt Hazarıbagh, Gırıdıh, Ranchi, Dhanbad, Sıngbhum and Santhal Parga nas) houses 46 out of Bihar's 50 lakh tribals. Nearly a fifth of India's total public sector investment is in industries located here. Ever since the railways linked the region with the Jharia coal-fields around the turn of the century, it has become an El Dorado of industrial optimism: steel plants at Jamshedpur and Bokaro, the Damodar Valley Corporation, Sindri Fertiliser Plant, the heavy enoineerino factory at Ranchi have

been at the forefront of an unprecedented industrial boom. But one group of people has had to pay a heavy price for this. For the tribals, this has meant the end of an eta

There are several basic aspects of the tribal tragedy. The adivasi is being exploited on a vast scale, by a variety of methods — savage destruction of forests, usurpation of his land, and slavery in labour markets

Sangjhori, a village to be razed



For the last two and a half years, CRP forces have been rushing into seasons, areas fore in the diagram tations against the planting or teak tree Tribai blood sound aranghada on November 25, 1973. Three adivasis were killed in the police firing A month earlier in Ichapur, Maheswar Jamdi, succumbed to a police bullet In fact, as early as August 1978, irate tribals launched an agitation against the plantation of teak trees in the areas of Nakhas and Kara, 30 kms from Goilkera. The situation was tense Taken aback, the forest department abruptly stopped its teak plantation programme, waiting for the anger to die down

The plateau region of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas contain the bulk of Bihar's forests Stretched over 23,150 sq kms, it constitutes 29.1 per cent of the land Around 4.6 million of the five million tribal population of Bihar live in this tribal belt. For the tribals, teck symbolises the outsider For the this control is the only wisher the this control is the only wisher the this control is Ranchi, was frank "We need fore produce for the coal industries, steel industries and the HEC. Sal trees take 120 years to mature whereas teak takes 20" for the tribals sal is the king of the forest "What has teak got to give us? Leak means more contractors, more outsiders. We worship the sal trees, we use its flowers for food. It is this tree which the forest department wants to destroy," explained N. E. Horo. Pandey, however, is quick to point out its political significance. "No political agitation in the region can succeed unless the forest is made into an

With official connivance, unscrupulous contractors have made millions out of the forests. Recently a former Chief Conservator of forests showed slides where illicit distillation of liquor went on along with indiscriminate felling of trees in the Dalma forests of Jamshedpur. The contractor concerned had violated his permitted limits, but an official in the forest department complained helplessly. What can we do? His armed men patrol the areas and threaten the rangers.

In the name of the Kutku Dam irrigation project in Betla, in the Palamau district which contains one of India's Figer Project areas, about 3,000 acres of forest have been wiped out Here, too, private con tractors have run amuck far beyond the allotted area. A broad metalled road has sprung up. The forests have already been cleared. And despite the ruthless exploitation of the forests, little money has been ploughed back into the area. In 1978, Singbhum forests alone contri buted around Rs four crores to the state exchequer and in return the forest department ploughed back only Rs 14 lakhs as "development fund" Chotanagpur alone contibuted Rs 12 crores to the exchequer that year and the reinvestment was meagre

The Forest Development Corporation, which was created in 1975 with the avowed intention of promoting development work in the region, has done precious little. In forest division I, Rs 8 90 lakhs was sanctioned for the construction of wells, schools, roads, houses and health centres. Nothing has emerged so far.

AGANATH LOHARA, 45, a rickshawpuller, went mad the day he discovered he had lost his land to a professor of political science at Ranchi University As his wife wept and begged him to be patient, Jaganath destroyed his own hutment in a fit of impotent rage. They took him away to the lunatic asylum at nearby Kanke where he was kept for several years.

His wife was left to fend for herself and their three children. Jaganath is back to his rickshaw today, but his four acres are still in the clutches of the influential non tribal professor Jaganath's tragedy resulted from a mistake committed by an officer while putting down the names of tribes under the purview of the Chotanagpur Jenancy Act The trib al list mentions 'Lohar' and not 'Lohara This minor flaw in spelling has been used by the learned profes sor to his advantage. Akhauri Ran jan Kumat, an advocate of the Voluntary Legal Aid Centre, Ranchi, who took up the Jaganath Lohara case said "The professor who took over the adivasi land tried to fall back on the plea that the Scheduled Area Regulations Act does not en compass the municipal area. The Additional Collector had on this point ruled in favour of the nontribal Now Section I of the Act has been amended and the municipal area does not get the exemption



Lig in tilt Lohn i

Jaganath is lucky to have got free legal aid. Other tribals do not and hence lose their land rather fre quently Around 12 kms away from Lohardaga is a village, Bhaigaon, which has a magnificent farm, called Nandgaon, after the owner Mr Nand Lal Sahu The tarm, spread out over 230 acres, is built mainly on adivasi land Among other things, it boasts of a swimming pool, a landing strip for a two seater, a luxurious rest house, a seed farm and other mod ern irrigation facilities. The Sahus are a family of multimillionaires who deal mostly in liquor The faim was created with the gradual acquisition of tribal lands.

Recently the Sub Divisional Officer (SDO) of Lohardaga restored some of the land to the adivasis against great opposition from the Sahus Subsequently, a case of theft was instituted against the SDO by the Sahus While the SDO was personally supervising the transfer of the land at Nandgaon farm, armed men attacked the official party.

Tribal land alienation, despite the laws to prohibit it, is very common In Ranchi district alone, there were 24,121 cases of land alienation under the Schedule Area Regulation Act registered till 31 January 1980 "The greatest problem is the incapacity of the tribals to maintain documents as they are not so clever. The non tribals excel in this (keeping documents) because the courts rely on documents Also, the people sitting in the courts are too legalistic and this helps the non tribals too," lamented a senior officer.

HILL private alienation of adivasi land has been widespread and largely unchecked, the govern ment itself paradoxical-

ly, is by far the most frequent usur per of tribal land. An exasperated official of Bihar's irrigation depart ment in Patna, asked "Do they (the tribals) want a green Jharkhand or a barren one?" Over Rs. 500 crores worth of development work, chiefly in the irrigation and the power sector, is alleged to have been grounded by tribal intransigency. The official lamented over gran diose "development" schemes, all held up due to the irritating attachment of the "primitive" tribals for their land.

More than 10,000 scheduled castes and 50,000 scheduled tribes families were rendered homeless during the first three five year plans in order to make land available for the construction of public sector industrial projects, particularly in the coal mines area. Even after that, the displaced continued to multiply due to the massive superthermal power projects like Patratu and Tenughat, or Bokaro Steel Limited.

Koel Karo hydel project, a Rs 250 crore undertaking, is yet another tale of tribal misery Approved in 1977 with a proposed capacity of 732 megawatts of electricity, Koel Karo intends to compensate the power shortage in the eastern sector The project will also submerge 48,000 acres of land, destroy over 200 villages, uproot 15,000 families and displace about a lakh people The problem is not the building of an essential project, but the rehabilitation of this large number of people who will be directly affected. Their past experience does not give them any confidence in the state And development itself has no meaning for them, since they have never tasted the fruits of development, but have only suffered from the vices that tend to accompany industrialisation.

Besides Koel Karo, there are 13 medium irrigation projects which have created a lot of tension. In Paras, one such irrigation scheme was opposed by 200 families in a

charter. The issue: problems relating to the arrigation schemes in Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. The committee rejected the demands that the rates of the land be decided in advance, and fixed at five times the market rate. It also rejected the plea that the minimum price of land be fixed at Rs 10,000 an acre Acting according to tradition, the committee decided that only those jobs which required no special skill should be reserved for the displaced tribal - jobs like soil and stone-cutting. "Our past experience has shown us that after displacing them, the government has left the people totally in the lurch," said N. E. Horo To the tribals the loss of land has always meant the entry of the outsider According to Kuzur "The government as a whole, is taken by the tribals as the biggest exploiters"

GET away you scoundrels, you junglees! You are blocking the way to the shop." The owner of the Uday Mistan Bhandar at the Lalpur Chowk in Ranchi is frequently seen hurling such abuses and buckets of cold water at groups of adıvası men and women waiting for contractors to pick them up These people who are treated as stray animals, are daily wage-earners.

A middle-aged woman is approached by a man She looks around hesitantly. Her friends coax her into taking the work.

"What time chutti?" she asks. "The usual and regular," replies the man.

Silence

"We will give you food as well," the man adds

The woman looks around. Her friends nudge her to "go ahead" The man takes the woman or reza, as they are called, along with him. It is 8 30 in the morning, and a deal is over.

Clara is a young Catholic girl from Simdega. She waits for the contractor, with patience and an empty stomach For the last two days, it has been bad; there has been no work either for her or her husband. She has been staying in Ranchi in a rented house at Kumhar Toli for the last two months. They pay Rs 30 a month as rent. "My husband also works. We did not have any work in Simdega. There was no kheti bari (agriculture). So we came to Ranchi, she explained.

Such scenes are common enough in the many labour markets in Ranchi that remain open the whole year. The labour market has its own rates. These are, of course, open to bargaining. Women are paid seven rupees a day, a rupee less than the men. In periods of distress, as famine, the chances of their securing work every day are very low. Clara, for instance, gets work for

fifteen days in a month on an average during normal times. Said Sukhram Munda, a young man of village Puttidag at Maranghada of Khuntı sub-division. "We filed a petition to the Block Development Officer for the nahar ka kam (canal work). We waited for many days. But there was no response. When we were on the point of starvation, we came here " Sukhram has rented a room in one of Ranchi's slum areas for Rs 15 a month The room, incidentally, is shared by as many as eight persons

The labour markets cater mainly to the brick kilns and other small jobs Apart from these markets, where adivasis come from as far away as fifteen miles in the early morning and wait till noon for luck to smile upon them, there are others which operate on a larger scale. And these are more vicious in their functioning. Every year by the end of September, agents of contractors fan out all over the region They herd men and women in groups and lure them away to distant regions with promises of decent wages and living conditions Recently, the horrifying tale of 208 such labourers being kept as slaves in the brick kilns of Tripura hit the headlines The men and women were rescued after a seven-month captivity in the brick kilns The women were raped, their men beaten up Four women, Rani Marsha, Mangi and Aanchi Munda of the Torpa area in Ranchi were repeatedly raped by the 'sardars' or the labour bosses "It was like a harem The sardar used to sleep with as many as five to six women at a time," an official who

said Pattan Bhagat had a tragic tale to narrate about his enslavement in Tripura. He was weary but he was happy to be home Along with the other labourers he had been lured away from his home in Lohardaga division in August last year "We were asked to work as many as 14 hours a day At any time in the night we were asked to get up and work in the kiln My two-year-old son died for want of medicine," he said Balo Oraon, a woman labourer broke down and wept as she recalled that they used to get Rs 20 a week as wages. Karma Munda of Khuntı subdivision said: "We were barred from moving even in the market When some of us wanted to come back, we were beaten up ruthlessly."

accompanied them back to Ranchi

These are not isolated cases. Hundreds of such groups are lured away to far away states such as Punjab and Kashmir and then treated as slaves (see SUNDAY, May 18). The sale of women is also a common practice, especially younger ones. In November, 1979 about 20 goodlooking women left Bizara village of

Kuchai, Singbhum for an unknown destination in search of a livelihood. In the same month, around 40 boys and girls were lured away by a contractor for employment in Calcutta. But the boys were left midway and had to return. The girls were taken away to some unknown destination. Six girls, however, returned to reveal that they were taken for prostitution. Sinni Gorin and Uma Gorin of Gua village in Singbhum were taken to the brothels of Punjab where they were rescued by the Bihar police recently.

Members of the Adivasi and Harijan Cell, Bihar, have recently demanded that the government keep track of the migrating women labourers, and national permits to private buses be immediately withdrawn. These buses are used to take the labourers to distant places, they allege As it is, the migration is a common feature in the region, even when the crops are good

Throughout the recent history of this region, tribal agitations and the sporadic revolts against the gradual destruction of the tribal society have taken place. Often these revolts have been brutally suppressed and on other occasions the leaders of the agitation were won over with compromises. Today a very potent force exists in the form of the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha led by the Member of Parliament from Dumka, Shibu Soren. There are other organisations like the Birsa Seva Dal and Jharkhand Party which are active in organising the tribal population.

Whatever the leadership or the leader, the tribal reawakening is a fact. An awareness of it is also growing among an as yet small but determined section of the bureaucracy "Everyone who has worked in this area, politician to social worker, is drawn to the Jharkhand movement and has to support it in some way or the other if only for their own survival here," explained Nirmal Sen Gupta of the A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna, and an economist who is an authority on the

The tragedy here is a peculiar form of Indian colonialism which differs from its British predecessor in that at least the British respected their own law. Along with this is the utter contempt of most outsiders for the tribals. Said a social worker in Dumka: "The contradiction is ethnic-tribals versus non-tribals. The harijans who form the other section of this land-exploited community are part of the Indian culture. The harrian knows what is happening to him Hence, he has to be subdued by force. The tribal on the other hand does not even know what is happening to him He can't even fight back. He is heading fo<u>r</u> extinction." 45 .



NEXT time you see a prigni young girl in a secondary role in a Hindi film and start wondering what she is doing, you shouldn't be surprised if a friend tells you that the bright girl is doing very well in region al films Remember the smart kid Gayatti who did an impressive job in Tapasya? Did you think that she was hibernating? Well, certainly not She's busy in Kannada films And with Dr Rajkumar as her hero!

THE aftermath of the Dharam-Hema marriage was more interesting than the event According to one of the film industry's bigwigs, Dharam has flown off to USA with his legally wedded (first) wife for a month-long holiday. On the other hand, Hema is dutifully turning up at the studios for shooting. Strange couple, this

Besides, Hema's marriage can have a disastrous effect on her career. Years ago, when Vyjayanthimala married a "married-man-with-kids", her popularity plunged downwards. Only Amitabh and Raakhee have actually flourised after getting married, proving to be notable exceptions to an unwritten rule. In Hema's case, one already hears her old, dear friends saying nasty things behind her back.





SUNJAY DUIT, who starred in Rocky, has turned a new leaf Initially, he was known as Tina Munim's boyfriend but now it is going to be the other way round Sunjay has been oftered a fantastic role by none other than Gulshan Ray The film will be directed by Sub hash Ghai and Tina had got really pally with this young director during the Ooty stint of Karz Sunjay has however opted for Poonam Dhillon, the latest good luck charm avail able in Bombay This may widen the rift between Tina and Sunjay - or bring them closer, depending on Tina's handling of the situation Tina is clever enough to know on which side her bread is but-

DEEPTINAVAL is busy on two fronts she is consolidating her hold on films and Shekhar Kapoor Shekhar drops in regularly at Deepti's place and spends hours with her Both have however refused to comment on their relationship. At the moment of writing Deepti is shifting to another home as a paying guest. Come to think of it, she is on the move in more than one way!

tered

 $\mathbf{F}_{ ext{most fantastic film pre}}^{ ext{INALLY}}$, we come with $\mathbf{F}_{ ext{most fantastic film pre}}$ miere I have attended in recer years. The absence of the Bom. bay film Press was ecrospengor though I tound two educes, among the inviter 51 a c (1) m's opening reght at A, see which is located in the house of Bombay I feel that the streen ing of the film was a last minut decision. The invitation cards reached us on the day of the function itself. The show was supposed to begin at 7 pm an many of us received the card a 4 p m Those who unfortunatel reached the theatre in time, had to wait for nearly two hom for the show to begin Outside the theatre, the police had to resort to a lathi-charge to disperse the crowd The Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr A R Antulay and Mr Gundu Rao Chief Miffister of Karnataka were joint chief guests beroze Khan, Vinod Khanna Zeenat Aman and Amjad Knar deh vered short speaches during the 20 minute interval. The most interesting aspect of the show was however the large number of gatecrashers who squatted on the carper and watched the film Quehant. likely to be a super but

number of glamour boys are desperately trying to make it to the top in famil films. Despite the failure of Suman's first film, Neechal Kolam which was directed by Ramanna, Suman is expected to be another Kamalahasan And Shah Nawaz, son of Prem Nazir (with 540 films to his (redit) is acting in four Tamil films. And then there is Pratap Pothen, well informed and alert who is doing quite well. And he's certainly in good company K. Balachander, Balu Mahen dra and Bharatan figure among his directors. But some "in luential people" do not seem vo like him. Rumour has it that he's a lazy, carefree person who makes his producers and costars wait for hours. Mind you, none of his producers have complained though. Not are his co stars complaining Suman is cast opposite Zarina Wahab, Stidevi and Srividya in some of the forthcoming films

THIS columnist rarely gets letters from film stars but the other day a registered letter arrived. From Jayalalitha, superstar of yesteryears, whose recent efforts to stage a comeback proved unsuccessful. And she did not like the expression I had used in an

earlier despath "struggling to stage a comeback" "I am real ly no longer interested in a film career", her handwritten note said "By god's grace, I am extremely well off financially and I will continue to live like a queen for the rest of my days' She however informed me that she would accept a tempting offer if it came her way Fine, Jayalalitha, but did the couple of films you accepted last year really tempt you? Jayalalitha however deserves kudos for her successful literary career "My first full length novel Oruthi ke Sondham has sold 1 30,000 copies", her letter said "And two novels of mine, in serial form, are due to be published in Kalki and Aswini Tam also contributing articles on a regular basis to Cho's Thuglak and Sava's Suratha" Her fans must be hoping that one of her novels will be made into a film starring the author Surely and touch wood, she's one of the tew well-preserved heroines of her times

A NTHIKADU MANI launched his first Tamil film nearly two years ago it was to star Shoba. After doing the spadework Mani nearly went "broke" He sought to revive the film with the help of a

cousin in the Gulf-But the cousin, not knowing the mechanics of the film industry, was impatient with the film's progress Thus Mani was again forced into hibernation And then in April, Shoba met Mani soon after her Pasi award was announced and offered to help him to revive the film "I also met a couple of friends who promised to help me, and distri butors were also showing interest in the project, thanks mainly to Shoba. But tragedy struck on May 1", recalls Mani However he's determined to complete the film He is reshooting some portions featuring the new star, Menaka Vi-Jaybabu, the upcoming hero has been retained Y Vijaya has been replaced by a greenhorn, Sharmila, "purely to cut down the cost'

WHO likes Roja Ramani's pimples? Balu Mahendra does. And he ought to know, he photographed and directed her in Kokila. Well, Roja did not have too many pimples then but Balu who's allergic to make up would rather have Roja with all her pimples.

RATHI AGNIHOTRI is thrilled that her second Telugu film Punnami Nagu is doing

excellent business all over Andhra in sharp contrast to her first Telegu film which flopped at the box-office. She's looking forward to the release of Jaga Mondi, another Telegu venture in which she's paired with Shoban Babu. And then there's Sahhas, a Hindi film in which she's cast opposite Mithun Chakrabarty.

A FTER a couple of dull weeks, Jayasudha is busy once again She's doing Rekha's Khubsoorat role in an upcoming Telugu film being produced by Manian She is also playing the lead role in Chesina Baasalu, a remake of Kasme Vaade, opposite Shoban Babu Besides she has recently completed two films Good work, to say the least

IS it true that Rajnikant got Rs eight lakhs for Murattu Kali and its Telugu version? Producd by AVM, which is known to be very frugal, the heavy remuneration was paid to Rajnikant as the AVM unit wanted dates at a stretch Rathi is his heroine in the film which is nearing completion

PIOUSJI





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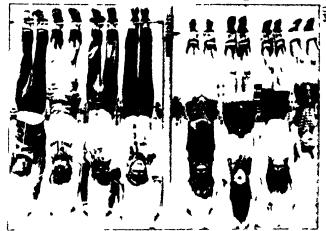
The pain in Spain

Times are hard for Spain whose relations with the Muslim countries cannot be described as altogether warm While President Gis card is opposing Spanish membership of the EEC, the British and the Italians are trying their best to stop Spain's agricultural produce from entering their markets This became amply clear from the suggestion for a ban on Spanish potatoes by British Prime Minister, Mrs Ihatcher But Spain is bent on joining the EEC and is now trying to get the USA to support her And how can Spain succeed? For one thing, not too long ago, the Spanish I oreign Minister, Mercelino Oreja announced his country's intention to ioin Nato Some of Oreia's own countrymen see this as an attempt to win the USA over to the Spanish side In fact, Oreja himself said "It would be absurd" to join Nato if Spain was kept out of the EFC Membership in Nato will certainly solve some of the country's in numerable proiblems, but it is still uncertain whether USA will support Spain's entry to the EEC

Signs of a craze

"Mon cheri, J'ai pense daat you would wish a leetle snapp shott of mee I mees you "This is what Brigette Bardot had allegedly writ ten in a postcard to Malcolm Agnew And the postcard is a part of a huge collection of Raw Rawlines who is author of The Guiness Book of World Autographs and Four Hundred Years of British Autographs He was only 13 years old when he took up the hobby of collecting sign atures And today his collec tion has turned out to be the biggest private collection of autographs, letters and documents signed by every sovereign in Britain since Henry VII, by every British PM, most American Presi dents and some remarkably obscure figures Among 1,247 items exhibited in Southeby's, London one is the list of the collection in 11 volumes

Back to the hangman



Dr Robert Martin hanging with his family

No, it is not a concentration camp of the 1980s — just another method of physiotherapy that cures backsprains Dr Robert Martin, a physician of Santa Monica, California has recently developed this method to cure backaches he hangs his patients by their heels for five to 30 minutes a day According to him, the cause of back

problems is the constant downward pull of gravity on the spine. The cure is to reverse this process hang them by their heels and let gravity pull the spine up wards. A natural sort of traction—that works For the 70-year old physician joins his sons, daughters and grand children to hang low on the Santa Monica beach

Sightseers' fears

Foreigners have recently been taking a keen interest in visiting the countries behind the iron curtain But the country behind the bam boo curtain China is ex tremely expensive Further, the tour is poor qualitywise The travellers have no choice but to depend on Peking's China Internation al Travel Service (ITCS) and its affiliate the China Travel Service (HK) Ltd for their lodging, fooding and even for providing the guides Over the 'past two years a journey to Peking for a dozen days costs around HK \$ 2,000 (or US \$ 407) Moreover more tour groups are being booked, in fact more than the Peking hotels can afford to accomo date Peking's 2,300 hotel beds have to tackle with 2,500 visitors daily. The sur plus is shuttled to neigh bouring Tianjun which is around four hours from the capital China does not seem to be in a position to handle 800,000 travellers streaming intothe country annually

Marshall art



Henry Marshall Senior and junior

Not everyone follows one's father's footsteps these days But this young Champlet Henry Marshall Jr of San Antonio, Texas, does His father, Henry Marshall, Sr's name appeared in the Guiness Book of World Records as the champion who did 9,000 pushups in five hours Papa still does

his pushups and so does junior Though only three years old, he already aspires to become a champ himself, and on 16 June this year, completed 1,000 pushups Tired? Surely, the smile, though a trifle toothy, doesn't show it Both father and son smile, to leave us guessing

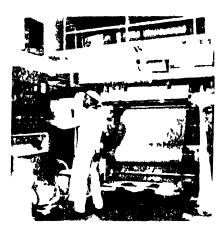
Smokewithout a fire

For many smokers who are trying hard to kick the habit Nicorette is the answer This pharmaceutic al substance, developed in Sweden, and sold in the form of chewing gum, contains nicotine and unlike tar, smoke and other irritants, nicotine does only a small amount of harm to the smoker. The purpose of Nicorette is to maintain the smoker's blood while he weans himself away from cigarettes.

Although it has been tried for over ten years in Sweden, Finland, Britain and the USA, Nicotette has not been much of a success, perhaps because of its un pleasant taste A more palat able gum base is now being used and in a recent experiment 40 out of 100 persons have been able to give up smoking The gum does not taste altogether pleasant—in order to deter children—and is available only on a doctor's prescription

When we say "Made by HPF" we mean every little speck of it.

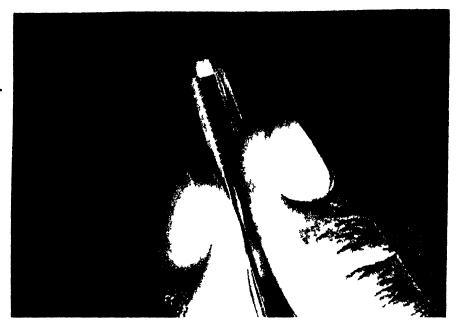
That's right, HPF is a fully integrated film plant- a rare achievement in the world of film manufacture. Which means HPF makes a wide range of photosensitised products, from raw materials through processes to end products.



India takes up the challenge of film manufacture an area where few succeed

Film manuacti in quie such highly sophi e i i i roiogy intri ite più e i i red know ho viand qui vici i systems in tilli i i i i i i sitions i i tie i i i i succeeded ii i i i i

More than the ty of the mar ufacturing i hat poses an almost insure in table problem. for potential film it anufacturers is the secrecy that surround levels the basic technology of this industry. Most of the processes have been developed by mustinationals through their own research and they have exclusive pater is for them. Consequently a new manufacturer has nothing to fall back on. He has to break new crour d



From total darkness to the light of day: HPF at work

HPF has evolved its own processes, and has shown that Indian scientific genius is second to none in this complex industry—where some 90—of the entire manufacturing piocess is done in almost total darkness in an atmosphere which is dust free

Marketed under the brand name "INDU" the HPF product range comprises:

Rull Fill Borto Faper Cine
Ports e Cint Sold I Regative
CTA A Pool Inclustor X-Ray
Diaposito Cia, File Arts and all
Procession Electric

PPF ques globe frotting

TOTAL CONFORM TO

TO COUS QUARTY STANDARDS

TEXTS IT BY EXPORT ORDERS FROM
all over the world

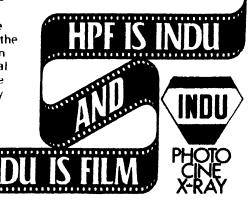
X Rays Black and White Cine Positive Bromide Paper and in the past Silver Nitrate too have been exported to USA Europe Central America Bangladesh Singapore Iran East Germany and Hungary

HPF: A box office hit

HPF today presents a picture of a well managed company having mastered the intricacies of one of the most complex manufacturing processes. Its activities touch the lives of millions of our countrymen And HPF is intensely aware of its responsibilities. A growth of 500 on sales turnover between 1973-79 with good operational profits speaks eloquently of its dynamic management team progressive policies and constant introduction of the latest techniques in manufacture and marketing Yes that's HPF your company

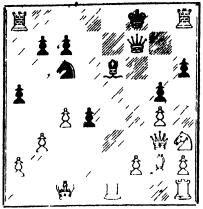
Hindustan Photo Films Mfg Co Ltd

(A Government of India Enterprise)
Indunagar Ootacamund 643 005



chess

Sax (Black)



Portisch (White)

Position after White's 21st move

The Interzonal in Rio de Lineiro was in the true tradition of Interzonals a closely run aff air. With the top three players qualifying for the Cindidates Series the final scores were 1 Hubner (W. Germany) Portisch (Hungary) and Petrosian (USSR) 11) (out of 17) 3 Timman (Netherlands) 10 The lead ing quartet was 1 points clear of the rest of the field. The re-ult was a tragedy for the young Dutch grandmaster Jan Timman tak ing part in his first World (hampionship cycle. He had been widely tipped as a possible challencer for the world title but made a nurvou i start and was never really in touch with the leaders for most of the tournament. A storming finish though brought him neck and neck with Petrosian. in third place going into the last round. With everything depending on one game. Petro sian's greater experience came to his aid He exploited his opponent's mistakes to extract a win from a dubious position against lykov of Yugoslavia while Timman winning comfortably against Gulliermo Garcia of Cuba allowed a piece sacrifice which forced a draw So Petrosian was through and Timman will now have to wait until 1984 at the earliest before he can hope to challenge for the World Championship

The other two qualifiers played with great assurance and authority and their places in the top three seemed certain from quite an early stage I give a typical example of Portisch's powerful play against his com-patriot Sax Incidentally if a few milligrams of Petrosian's solidity could have been injected into Sax's play the young Hun garian might too have been in at the death

White L Portisch Black G Sax Interzonal Tournament Rio de Janeiro 1979 Irregular Opening 1 P—QB4, P—KN3, 2 P—K4, P—K4 A

Hungarian speciality designed to avoid the main lines of the Kings Indian Defence

main lines of the King's Indian Defence good for surprise value but hardly the ideal line to play against Portisch

3. P—Q4, N—KB3, 4 N—KB3, B—N5+
Apparently not consistent with his first move but the check is generally accepted as Black's best line here

5. B—Q2, B x B+ 6 Q x B, N x P, 7 Q—K3, P—Q4; 8. P x KP, N—QB3, 9. N—R3! B—B4;

10. N—B2! Portisch had evidently done his homework on this variation White

Tu. N—B2! Portison has evidently done his homework on this variation White threatens O—O—O winning the OP
16. . N—N4, 11. N x N, B x N, 12. P—K8!
B—B4; 13. P x P + K—B1, 14. O—O—O, P—O5; 15. Q—B4, Q—K2; 16. P—KN4, KR3. 17. N-R3. B-K3; 18. R-K1

-KN4 19 Q-N3, QxP, 20 P-N3 P-QR4 21 B-N2 DIAGRAM

21 Bx Pl The only chance If 21 P R5 then 22 Bx N Px B 23 Q -K5 wins a piece for nothing

22 BxM Better than 22 PxB QxP+ 23 N1 N N5 when Black s counter attack is very dangerous

PxB, 23 PxB, QxP+ 24 K-N1, 22 PxB, 23 PxB, QxP+ 24 R-NI, P-Q6 25 Q-K51 The only good way to protect his king but good enough 25 R-N1+ 26 K-R1, R-R2, 27 R-K4, Q-B7 28 KR-K1! With the idea 28 P Q7 29 Q-B6 R-B2 (29 K N1 30 R KB+) 30 Q-R8 mate 28 K-N1 29 Q-B6 R-B2 30 Q-N6+ and Black lost on time

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

That ingenious problem setter Eddie Kantar discovers hands that are a test of technique not of dull mathematical calculation. Wit ness this example from the ACBL Bulletin

South plays in Seven Hearts after West has shown long clubs and East has sup-ported West leads the King of clubs. What is vour plan?

Clearly there will be a problem only if East them you can do nothing) You must imagine that West will show out on the Queen of hearts. You will still have chances of a trump coup but how do you prepare for

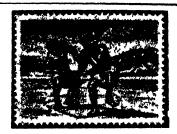
Against one particular distribution you must discard the Ace of spades on the Ace of clubs at trick one! This is necessary when East has two spades as here

Having discarded ♠ A on the first trick you lead ♥ Q and follow with a low heart East splitting You cross to dummy with a spade and lead another low heart East again splitting Now you hold \$\mathbf{A}^2\$ over East \$ 10.6

You cash one high diamond (leaving yourself with possibly four discards on four winning spades) cross to dummy with a spade and continue spades until East ruffs Note that if you fail to cash one high diamond early on East can defeat the grand slam by discarding his diamond on the third spade and discarding clubs when spades are continued

TERENCE REESE

stamps



Cricket matches in the Tokelau Islands, in the South Pacific are friendly and uncon ventional Whole villages may participate so that teams of 150 are not uncommon Everyone has a turn to bat and only the women are allowed to play defensive strokes A new series of stamps from the Tokelaus features cricket and the other popular local sport rugby on the sand Formerly known as the Union Islands the Tokelaus were part of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands colony until 1925 but are now a New Zeeland dependency. They began issuing their own stamps in 1948 and a complete collection of the 20 series since then can still be bought in mint condition for about £20. As the population of the Tokelaus numbers fewer than 2 000 the amount of mail is small so that commercially used stamps are scarcer than mint

C W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- 1. With the icb of a jobber, you will have to go all the way to London. What is a jobber ≥
- 2 The Expressionist movement in the arts began toward, the beginning of the twentieth century. What movie marked the beginning of the movement in film?
- 3 Leon Uris novel Exodus was screened as a Super Panavision 70 mm Technicoloui movie in 1960. Who played the roles of Ari Ben Canaan and Kitty Fremont ?
- 4 Apart from the direction in which the earth moves round the sun what is the carth's way ?
- Aye aye would be a close relative to wh at
- 6. Where would a title creep on you?

known as creeping title si siqi pear bulaq si ji se naarrs aqi uo spapement a fille moves upwards AIIICA

the forests and mandrove swamps in al baudi lemmem sign e zi il iumi ju e direction of the star

the earth's motion and the apparent t The 11gle between the direction of 3 Paul Newman and Eva Mane Saint

Wiene stiln Die Cabinett der Dr Caligari 2 German director actor Robert

with prokers acting on behalf of inves securifies but transacts business only change who is the actual dealer of 1 A member of the London Stock Ex



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or cooked or in capsule

form. But to derive the

maximum medicinal

most effective way

benefits from garlic, it

should be taken in the

garlic in correcting

known from earliest

properties 'Medical'

authorities have

Why not raw Garlic?



Raw garlic cloves have to be chew ed before the extract acts inside the

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Why not cooked Garlic?

On cooking, the effective medicinal properties of garlic are lost

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this india



MADRAS A 30 year old woman passenger who managed to board a bus in motion snatched away the conductor's bag while getting down. The woman it is stated was enraged at the failure of the conductor to signal the bus to stop for her to board it as it started from Mint. She took away the conductor's bag while alighting at the Samiai madam stop at Ashok Nagar However, some passengers and the conductor recovered the bag and handed over the woman to the police - The Hindu (S

Venkatesan Madrás)

BOMBAY Taw students of Bombay Uni versity were baffled at a question in their paper asking them to write a short note on the Advocate General of India. The paper on constitutional law was set for the first Year LLB students. The Advocate General Courses only at the state level while the Attorney General at the national The question reflects sadly on the legal know ledge of the paper setter who could not distingush between the two -TheSunday Standard (A Ramavog nah Proddatur) BAHRAICH A young shepherd was ex ecuted by hanging till death on having been found guilty of killing a rat in the village Mokla under the Hazurpur police station. The death sentence was passed on him by his colleagues after a hectic eleven day 'mock' trial According to the details of the case available here, the shepherd was made to stand on the back of a buffalo and his neck fied to a branch of a free with rope. When everything was set, the buffalo was made to run leaving the

shepherd hanging which ultimately resulted in his death. The colleagues of the shepherd are now in the custody of the police-Northern India Patrika (Noel Francis, Varanasi)

JULLUNDUR Hundreds of people collected outside the house of Mr Jai Gopal (67) in the Model House locality here to witness his death. Mr. Jai Gopal had de clared about one and a half years ago that he would take "samadhi" this year on June 25 at 9 pm. When the expected death did not occur the crowd became icstive and shouted slogans against Mr Jai Gopal A few persons also stoned his house resulting in injuries to his son. When tension grew in the area the police were called in They had to use force to disperse the crowd. I wo persons were arrested on a charge of rioting. Mr. Jai Gopal is a wholesale cloth

merchant and has seven sons and two daughters. The Iribune (R. N. Sullhan, (handigarh)

MYSORE Ingenious indeed are the methods employed by students to hood wink invigilators at examinations! The latest comes from the first grade college at Hassan A student appearing for the BA examination there recently was caught copying answers written of all the things, on his rubber Chappals. The invigilator seized the "evidence" and sent it to the authorities for action—The Times of India (N.S. Shenoy, Jabalpur)

MADRAS Newsmen here, busy covering the death of the former President, Dr V V Gitt were harassed by a flood of telephone calls, checking on rumours of several other "deaths". The rumours involved half a dozen celebritics including politicians, musicians, a cine artiste and at least one

internationally reputed sportsman. The reporters contacted the celebraties and in some cases rushed to their residences to make sure they were just rumours. Once such celebrity when contacted had a hear ty laugh, but did not fail to check on the other rumours she herself had heard. Simi lar reports of telephone calls were received from Hyderabad, Bangalore,

Madurar and Combatore-- The Hindu (C V Rajagopal, Hyderabad)

india abroad

NEW YORK Vadakedath Prabhakatan says he spent six years in virtual bondage on Long Island, New York, estate, working 17 hours a day seven days a week and his total earnings for the six years came to 315 dollars. But he thinks America is "still a great country" with very honest courts Not only does the 32 year old native of India now have a much better paying job as a cook's helper in a Manhatten res taurant, but a comfortable financial cushion if a federal judge's award of 64,666 dollars in backpay and damages is upheld Prabhakaran told judge Eugene Nickerson in Brooklyn that he came to this country in 1974 expecting to get 200 dollars a month working for Ramesh Dutt, who owns a pistachio nut packaging business in Huntington station on Long Island He said he lived in the basenent of Dutt's home and when he was not dyeing and roasting pistachio in Dutt's garage or at the Huntington Station factory he was a houseboy preparing the family's morning tea and breakfast, cleaning the house, and washing dishes. The only pay he ever got, he said, was money for the movies and small sums he sent home to India, totalling 315 dollars. He also told the court he was given a day off about every two months Dutt also an Indian, testified that Prabha karan was his house guest and that, in addition to providing him shelter, he had paid him about 140 dollars a week. But he said he had lost the wage records—Amrita Bazar Patrika

MY biggest ambition is to be remembered as the greatest player of all time— Bjorn Borg

WE have shared Mrs Gandhi's grief as a mother but Mr Sanjay Gandhi's death has no political significance for my Party—Devaraj Urs, president of Congress (U)

I AM not a Marxist-Laldenga

JOIN Surya and come to Parliament-Bhupesh Gupta

LEI me make it clear to you (Bhupesh Gupta) that what Marxism means to you, Gandhism means to me-Khushwant Singh

PERHAPS, this is the first (Union) budget of its kind which is going to unsettle the settled law since independence-Nani Palkhiwala

NEXT only to Indira Gandhi, Nani (Palkhiwala) has political sex appeal-MINOO MASANI quoted in Debonair

WL WANT to get rid of their (Janata) thetoric and slogans—Arjun Singh, Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister

POLITICALLY I am not unimportant This is evident from the way the Janata government tried to prosecute me-V C Shukla interviewed in Weekend Review

RSS means Ready for Selfless Ser vice-Headline in Organiser

We did not make tall and false promises-Ivoti Basu, about the Left Front Government's performance

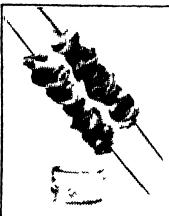
I have not come here (India) to make a speech. I have come here for treat ment-Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan

CRIME often pays So why should a man hesitate to commit a crime?-Kiran Bedi, deputy comissioner of police, Delhi

1HE NEWSPAPER is much more credible than the politician who talks about our credibility Look at Mrs Gandhi, she consciously lies!-Arun Shourie, Executive Editor of The Indian Express interviewed in This Fort

IF YOU hire people to he for your country, you shouldn't be too surprised if now and then they lie to you as well-John Le Carre

I CAME back (from the Cannes Film Festival) not without success Besides it was wonderful that I was in good company-Mrinal Sen quoted in Con-



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Leonard chills masala milk in Madurai



Leonard keeps Gracie smiling in Goa

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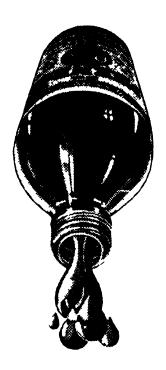
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Beginning July 27

This week the Sun and Rahu are conjoined in Cancer Mars and Saturn are in Virgo Uranus is in Libra Neptune in Scroppo Kethu and Mars in Capricorn Jupiter alone is in Leo Venus is in Taurus and Mercury the only planet is in Gemini The Moon will be moving through Aquarius Pisces and Aries from Capricorn

ARIES (March 21—April 20) Your health will continue to improve this week. You should keep a close watch on your expenses and do not include in xtravagancies under any circumstances. Those with artistic and literally tent of mind will make rapid progres in their pursuits. Time is the follower affairs and matrimonial liances. Use tact on the domestic tent to avoid unpleasantnesses. Good dates 27–28–29 and 2 Lucky numbers 1,5 and 9 Favourable directions.

TAURUS (April 21—May 22) The health of your family and yourself will show a marked improvement this week or time employed there will be involvable changes. For those yet to time apolitimes are good for finding upob. A pleasant journey awaits you in remight be windfall gains. Success of your children are likely to come about Good dates. 28, 29, 30 and 31 Lucky numbers. 4, 9, and 7 Favourable direction. North-west

GEMINI (May 23—June 21)This week will pre sent you with a series of opportunities. Take full advantage of them.

Your financial position will improve,

Your financial position will improve, but you will be required to exercise caution. Guard against speculation. Travel and make changes if you think they are necessary **Good dates** 27 29 31 and 2 Lucky numbers 1 8 and 10 Favourable direction. West

CANCER (June 22—July 22)A mixed potion is in store for you Success awaits you on the business and employment he health of your family will

froms. The health of your family will deteriorate substantially causing you a great deal of anxiety and expense. You will be separated or even estranged from a loved one. Do not lose heart and prepare for your journey to the south west **Good dates** 29, 30 and 12 **Lucky numbers**. 2, 7 and 9 **Favourable direction**. South west

LEO (July 23—August 22)A very successful week lies ahead of you Your undertakings will bear fruit and bring you praises from relatives and friends You will acquire some new friends. The health of an elder might decline slightly but there will be no anxious moments. The time is ripe for a love affair Good dates 27 28 31 and 2 Lucky numbers 3 4 and 6 Favourable direction. North east

virgo (August 23—September 22) You will be wise to exercise caution in your professional affairs. Avoid erratic changes and seek the help of elders when it comes to taking decisions. Be careful of new acquaintances and the women folk. Watch your words for quarrels might break out easily Financial improvement will be attended by only minor losses. Keep an eye on the health of the members of your family Good dates. 29. 31 and 1. Lucky numbers. 7. 5. and 4. Favourable direction.

LIBRA (September 23—October 22)Your financial position will show a marked improvement this week A promotion is not unlikely Your own ideas in business will prove successful Be careful when it comes to writing letters for business and personal matters. Keep an eye on your health A good week for financial agreements and matrimonial alliances Good dates 29 31 1 and 2 Lucky numbers 10 7 and 2 Favourable directions.

SCORPIO (October 23— November 21)The early part of the week will bring financial gains Employers and those in

higher places will be especially helpful. Do not indulge in lethargy and put your plans into action. Do not allow those of the opposite sex to hinder your work Good dates: 27, 28, 30 and 2 Lucky numbers: 7, 4 and 8 Favourable direction.

SAGITTARIUS (November 22—December 22)A very lucky week lies ahead Most of your domestic problems will be solved

Some may have a change of residence. You will make some new friends who will help you in your business activities. Some of you may inherit some property. This is a very good week for matrimonial alliances and writing letters to your beloved. Do not worry about your health Good dates. 27, 28, 30, and 2 Lucky numbers. 5, 3, and 1 Favourable direction. North

CAPRICORN (December 23—January 20) Your problems may remain unsolved and drag on Politicians and busiessmen will face a period of trial problems and he a trille

nessmen will face a period of trial Try to keep your word and be a trifle careful in your dealings with your superiors. Your journeys will have to be postponed due to unavoidable reasons. Good dates. 31.1 and 2 Lucky numbers. 2, 3 and 7 Favourable directions.

5000 T

AQUARIUS (January 21— February 19)An auspicious week for matrimonial negotiations There will be peace and calm

in the family Any new venture you undertake has a good chance of succeeding Professional corres pondence will prove favourable, transfer are likely **Good dates** 28 29 30 and 31 Lucky numbers: 2 4 and 9 Favourable direction East



PISCES (February 20— March 20)You will be drawn into new ven tures You will have to meet more business

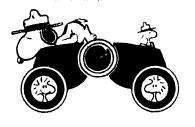
magnates Your financial crises will be resolved easily Your financial and professional status will gradually improve. A new friendship will yield new ideas that may prove helpful Good prospects for love and matrimony Good dates. 27. 29 and 31 Lucky numbers. 3. 6. and 9 Favourable direction. South east

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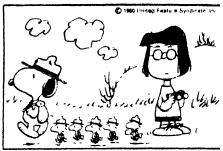


















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PRODIGALS START TREK BACK



D. P Chattopadhyaya

NOW that Sanjay Gandhi is no longer there a lot of people, both within the Congress (I) and outside, are trying to get closer to Mrs Gandhi. One such

person is D P Chattopadhyay, who was the Union Minister for Commerce in Mrs Gandhi's Cabinet during the Emergency After Mrs Gandhi lost the elections in 1977 D P Chattopadhyay decided to switch camps and when the Congress split in 1978, he joined the Congress (U) He even testified against Mrs Gandhi during the Shah Commission hearings. His present term in the Raiya Sabha expires in 1981 and he joined the Congress (1) just before the 1980 elections. He was accepted back in the Congress (1) because, it is believed, he had a large amount of party funds with him, held over from the previous elections. At ter the Assembly elections, however, he did not get any post either in the Cabinet or the Party Now, after San jay Gandhi's death he has written to Mrs Gandhi and has sent word through his emissaries that he should either be inducted into the Cabinet or given a Party post as he is a very capable person Chattopadhyay has always maintained very good relations with the idustrialist lobby, as a result of which they are now backing him and putting in a word in his hehalf

Apparently, the death of Sanjay Gan dhi has only helped some people, who never were very close to him, to shed crocodile tears and make political capital out of the situation

TEARS OF MANY COLOURS

ON Sunday, 29 June, Jagdish Tytler, MP, organised a condolence meeting for Sanjay Gandhi in front of his official residence at 24, Gurudwara Rakabganj Road The road, in the heart of the capital near Parliament House, was blocked, a podium erected and the New Delhi Municipal Committee was seen active with its water vans, though that was not the only thing the NDMC did for the occasion The change in the political weather was apparent Veteran Congressman Deepchand Sharma was asked to preside over this meeting, organised on behalf of the Delhi Pradesh Youth Congress (I) The word had been spread that Rajiv Gandhi and Maneka would be present at the meeting So the attendance was considerable Home Minister Gyani Zail Singh led the galaxy of Ministers who attended and addressed the meeting. The defector ('M of Haryana, Bhajan Lal, made a fervent appeal for bringing Rajiv Gandhi into politics, leaving people wondering if a condolence meeting is the right place for such appeals Another speaker, J K Jain, who used to publish a Hindi eveninger form Delhi sometime ago, went on to demand that 12, Willingdon Crescent be turned into a Sanjay museum

UNBUDGETED SLIP



THIS year's Union budget package was unique in more ways than one Apart from being a cleverly disguised bundle of new taxes, it was perhaps the first budget which had been leaked prematurely on the floor of Parliament itself A day before Finance Minister R Venkataraman presented the budget, in reply to a question on radio licence fees, the Infor-

mation and Broadcasting Minister, Mr Vasant Sathe, made an unwitting faux pas He told a questioner on 17 June that the government was actively considering a proposal to abolish the licence fees on one and two band radio sets. The Finance Minister reportedly pointed out this slip, on the part of his colleague, in the prebudget briefing of the Cabinet, which is held moments before the budget is presented to the Lok Sabha Mr Sathe was apparently unaware of the fact that Mr Venkataraman was going to announce the concession in his budget speech on 18 June, for, when asked by the questioner the previous day as to when the fees would be abolished, he replied "Only god and the Finance Ministry know" Appa rently, there was a communication gap between the officials of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry who drafted Mr Sathe's reply and the officials in the Economic Affairs De partment of the Finance Ministry. who drafted the budget

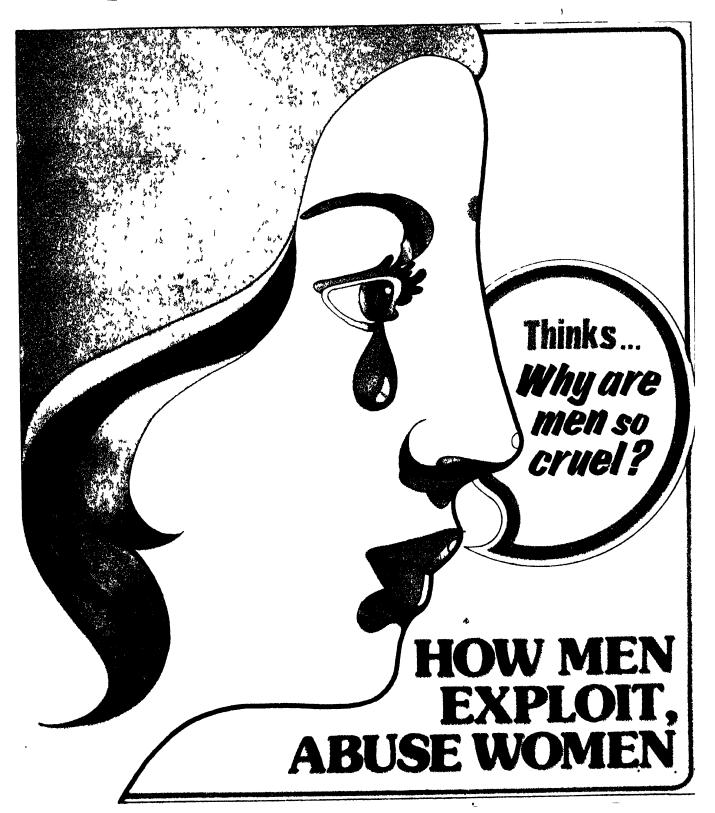
SECRET PAPER BAGS

TALKING of faux pas by the Informa tion and Broadcasting Ministry, an item recently published in the weekly column of a daily from the capital takes the cake A journalist who pur chased some fruits was intrigued by what was printed on the paper bag in which the fruits were sold On scru tiny it turned out to be a cyclostyled circular issued by the director of news of All-India Radio to his colleagues on 1 May 1980, pointing out the mistakes in writing the news bulletins and urging AIR's news staff to "think for a moment before you write or broadcast" The circular read "In the even ing pool yesterday (30 April), an item on Buddha Purnima (E P I /63) had the following sentence 'The day coin cides with the 2524th birth, enlightenment and Maha parinirvah day of Lord Buddha' Obviously it cannot be the 2524th anniversary of all these events It was only after I heard the bulletin that I asked the E-in-C to say that it was the 2524th anniversary of Buddha's birth as also the anniversary of his enlightenment and death ' The director of news did not stop here. He further pointed out in the note that in an earlier bulletin, AIR had said that in a reception hosted by the Chief of Army Staff, "the three service chiefs were among the guests" Obviously, "only two service chiefs could have been the guests", the note points out. But how the secret circular found its way to the raddiwala within a month still remains a secret

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

47 JULY 1980 AN ANANDA BAZAR FUBLICATION Re 1

SINDAY



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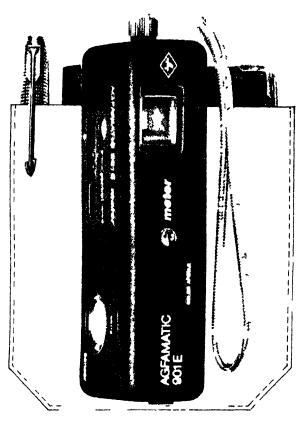
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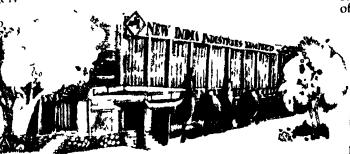
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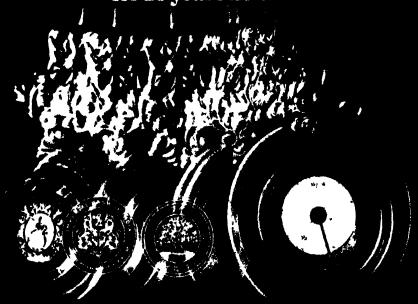
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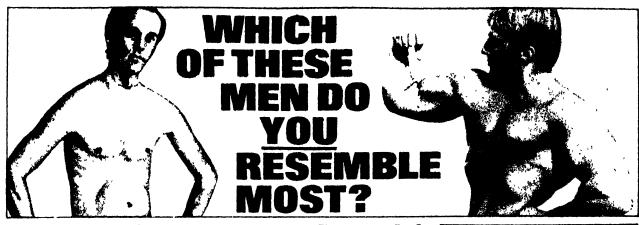
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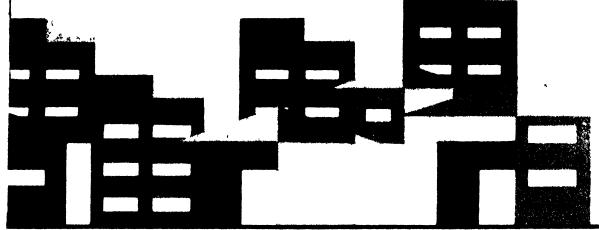
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Exploited, humiliated, raped Sometimes burnt because of insufficient downes. All over India, women are suffering. A team of reporters highlights the many kinds of crimes against women.

Page 14



Workers seem to have forgotten their revolutionary role in social development, points out a slightly disillusioned GEOAGE FERNANDES They now seem to spend most of their time protecting their vested interests rather than helping others still deprived

Page 26



India's current problems can be traced to the absence of a national consensus - a fallout of the India-China war of 1962 which destroyed Nehru's credibility. Mrs Gandhi has a chance to restore that consensus now that everybody is the wiser after the twin experiences of the Ernergency and Janata Rule, thinks Rasheed Talib.

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The Assam tragedy

IN its excellent get up, extensive Loverage and wonderful treat ient, your special issue on Assam (8 une) marks a watershed in the ealm of journalism The issue rings into sharp focus the goings on a Assam

nigdha Ghatak, Kokrajhar

VHII E reserving my opinion about our role in presenting the facts egarding the present mass movement in Assam, I would like to larify the following points. In a equisitioned general body meeting f the Gauhati University Teachers' issociation held on 24 September 979, no decision was taken against orming a separate Sangram samiti the meeting unanimously decided authorise the executive commit se to review the situation and deide on the plan and programme as deemed fit.

Within a month the movement ecame intensified The active partipation of the members of the UTA was felt necessary But the xecutive committee headed by Dr

Sarma remained inactive which roused dissatisfaction in the minds if the general members. In another equisitioned meeting and under the ame presidentship of Dr Sarma, a ommittee named as the Cordination Committee of GUTA was simed on 24 November 1979 just to epresent GUTA in the movement

The torchlight procession was not iken by the road leading to the ouse of Dr Hiren Gohain in the ampus 'As such I am surprised to ead from your report that "the

procession stopped before his house and those of some of his colleagues of similar persuasion, and slogans were raised against them "It may be mentioned that such wrong information may lead to unnecessary provocations

T D Goswami, General Secretary, Gauhati University Teachers' Association, Gauhati

SUBIR ROY'S comment on the for mation of Assam Bidyut Karmi Kar ma Parishad (not Karmi Sangha) in his article. Did the local administration listen to Delhi or AASU? is baseless, misleading and motivated All unions, associations of em ployees and officers of ASEB have extended their full support to the present inovement of the people of Assam to save the country from the invasion of foreigners. The employees and officers of ASIB, irres pective of their unions and associations, formed the Assam Bidyut Kar mi Karma Parishad to stand unitedly for the cause of the nation Subir Roy should have known that no union or association of the ASEB is affiliated either to the CITU or the INIUC Further the remark that the Karma Parishad has the blessings of the ASFB\chairman is, to say the least, a figment of his fertile imagi nation

B P Das, General Secretary, Assam Bidyut Karmi Karma Parishad, BY bringing out a Special Issue on Assam you have done a commendable service to both sides In April I went to Assam and visited Nalbari, Gauhati, Nowgong, Dimapur, Golaghat, Jorhat, Sibsagar, Dibrugarh and Tinsukia by car, travelling even at midnight Nowhere did I come across any disturbances except for a few processions and picketings ın Gauhatı Hotel bearers, taxı driv ers, rickshaw pullers, vendors, shop keepers and the men in the streets all seemed to be ignorant of the real causes of the agitation except for a general impression that all this was being done because the Bengalis were bad In Nowgong I was sur prised to see that the so called fore igners were actually members of the steering committees of the agitation In fact, no one, not even the leaders of the agitation know what precisely they want

R K Gulati, Siliguri

The north eastern region is certainly sitting on a powder keg with irres ponsible people playing with fire, hardly realising that even a small spark can rip apart everything to pieces Thanks to M J Akbar and Tooshar Pandit for highlighting the injustice and cruelty perpetrated on the minorities

Momtaz, Silchar

Caste Hindu plot

WE refer to the profile of Nibaran Bora published in your paper and resent his derogatory remark that the Ahoms were sold out to the British in 1820 The Ahoms had been ruling Assam for seven centuries and the caste Hindus are reluctant to acknowledge this till today Mr Bora has only given vent to caste Hindus feelings He conveniently forgot that it was through the treachery of the caste Hindus that Ahoms were defeated by the Burmese (Mans) and it was also because of their betrayal that the British could occupy Assam peacefully Is it not a fact that though the Bengalis came with the British to help in the administration, it was the cumulative support and help of the caste Hindus which averted any uprising against foreign rule? What does history say regarding the rise and prosperity of the Assamese caste Hindus throughout the Brahamaputra valley during the British rule? What are the antecedents of the big, prosperous and aristocratic caste Hindu families of Assam?

History points out that during the latter part of Ahom rule, the king had become a titular head and the real power vested with the Brahmins and caste Hindus of the royal court These caste Hindus have been ruling the roast since then and they were thoroughly shaken by the reemergence of the Ahoms and the launching of the OBC movement headed by Sarat Sinha and Hiteswar Saikia. To counter this rise of Tribal Assam the caste Hindus have invented the "foreigners" issue and have succeeded in coming out at the top in Assam's affairs again by hoodwinking the people into believing in the impracticable and rising hopes which have no chance of materialising

This viewpoint is vindicated by the fact that all the top-ranking leaders, think tanks, advisers, etc, of either the AASU or the AAGSP are caste Hindus, and all the tortured persecuted, socially boycotted free thinking opposers of this caste Hindu game are either Ahoms or 'Other Backward Classes'.

Sunil Madhav Saikia, Dibrugarh.

Just a fan

In your Assam Special Issue you have published my photograph along with my answers to some questions relating to the present movement in Assam. I have nothing to contradict in the text you have reproduced. But unfortunately you have confused me with Mr P. G. Barua. Your confusion has put me into a very embarrassing situation.

into a very embarrassing situation.

Further, I told your correspondents clearly enough that I have nothing to do with the AASU except being one of its millions of supporters. As such, to be the AASU's "think tank" is beyond my capacity and audacity I hope you will agree with me that to support the players of the East Bengal football team from the gallery, one need not be Mr P. K Banerjee, their coach.

Pradip Baruah, Gauhati

Tooshar Pandit replies. Advisers do not always use formal letterheads I, however, stand by my story

You have thrown light on the problems not only of Assam but of the whole north-east. This in-depth study will be helpful to the people of other states in grasping the situation prevailing in the area. It is no doubt an open secret that a large number of Bangladeshis have come over to this part of India. The suggestion by Mr Pradip Baruah is noteworthy I hope the leaders of the movement will take this into consideration. A lot of time, energy and money have flown down the Brahmaputra. The movement has been able to project the grievances of the Assamese and the nation has heard them. It is high time they should sit across the table with the government and thrash out a solution in the best interests of the nation.

Sudip Kr. Dutta, Silchar

SUBIR ROY's report was billed as a "detailed on-the-spot" one. But his remark, "Dr D. P Baruah is probably the only communist not only supporting the current agitation but actively participating in it," does not prove his firsthand acquaintance with the agitation. There are in fact scores of communists or, to be more precise, Marxist intellectuals parti cipating actively in the movement. May I ask the author to consult the April 80 issue of Anik (a leftist Bengali magazine) containing an article by Prof. Udoyon Misra, a noted leftist intellectual of Assam? Besides, the recent issues of Angikar, a leftist Assamese magazine edited by Prof. U. Misra, adequately prove how strong the role of Marxist individuals is in the present mass movement in Assam.

Abul Hasan Rafique Ahmed, Dibru-

Reason wounded

YOUR reports upon the present movement remind me of Winston Churchill's words, "Truth is so precious a thing that it should be escorted with a battalion of lies" What amuses me most is your innocent looking designs at lowering the dignity of my Party and my person before the public eye. But this sort of falsehood, which you are building with painstaking care, is very badly managed.

Allow me to draw your attention to the article "Assam. Bloodshed" (1 June) Such a writing could no doubt hit the newsstand like a bull, but only at the cost of reason and truth. Here the writer held me responsible for starting the process of deleting the names of "Muslims" from the voters list of the Mangaldai Lok Sabha constituency, as I "felt" that "there is no earthly chance" of my Party retaining that seat. Here he found it convenient to forget the public statement Mr S. L. Sakdher, Chief Election Commissioner, made at Ooty on 24 September 1978 Sakdher stated: "I would like to refer to the alarming situation in some states, specially, in the North-east region wherefrom some disturbing reports are coming regarding largescale inclusion of foreign nationals in the electoral rolls. In one case, the population in the 1971 census recorded an increase as high as 34 98 per cent over the 1961 figures and this increase was attributed to the influx of a very large number of persons from neighbouring countries. The influx has become a regular feature. I think that it may not be a wrong assessment to make on the basis of increase of 34 98 per cent between the two censuses, the increase that is likely to be recorded in 1991 census would be more than 100 per cent over the 1961 census. In other words, a stage would be reached, when that state may have to reckon with the foreign nationals who may in all probability constitute a sizable percentage, if not the majority of the population in that state."

He also ignored the significance of the circular no. 14011/26/75-F(c) issued by the government of India in 1975 directing the state government to screen the illegal entries of foreign nationals' names in the voters list. I failed to understand how the government run by the united Congress Party in the state at that time could sleep over this circular. I simp-

In Sunday dated 29 June Mrs Amteshwar Anand, the late Mr Sanjay Gandhi's mother-in-law, was inadvertently referred to as Begum Abida Ahmed on pages 11 and 14. The error is regretted —Editor.

ly tried to execute the directions, and the revelation shook the state as well as the whole of the country. Was it my crime as the Chief Minister of Assam to check these illegal entries?

Another example of total tabrication of facts was in the article "What are Assam's politicians doing now? (8 June). Here the writer discovered me "in a cushy bungalow . living very uncomfortably" and all alone. as even my colleagues in the JLP seldom meet me nowadays" and that I "refused for some time to vacate the CM's residence" after my "unceremonious" departure on 4 September 1979. Would he be kind enough to check up with the departments concerned at Dispur or with me how prompt I was in applying for an alternative accommodation? When my government resigned, perhaps not so "unceremoniously" my immediate concern was where to lodge my family, as I do not have a permanent dwelling of my own. Till I assumed the office of the Chief Minister of Assam, my family lived for years at a rented house at Tinsukia. Now that too slipped out of my grip Neither was it possible at that time to obtain an accommodation at the MLAs Hostel, Dispur. Thus, I had to wait for some time at the CM's residence against my will as I found it humanly impossible to drag my family out to the open street.

However, his statement that the Assam ILP now has 29 members in its fold is very true, and I do not blame him for drawing the reader's attention to the fact that once upon a time it had 61 members. But the rapidly changing reading of the political barometer of our country makes it rather difficult for one to forecast the weather The whole climate is so notoriously confusing that one cannot be sure how long he can bask under a glorious sun. But, please note, the 29 JLP members still treat me as their leader and they are kind enough to maintain. very cordial relations with me.

I humbly request you to equip your reporters with a microscope, instead of a periscope, while dealing with the ailing political situation of Assam. They may locate the patients no doubt but the diagnosis would be impossible for them

Golap Borbora, Gauhati

KUDOS to Tooshar Pandit for his interesting as well as informative article "Assam: Bloodshed" (1 June) which presents a correct and balanced assessment of the current situation in the strife-torn north eastern state. However honest the leaders of the present agitation may have been initially events have apparently gone out of their control.

Suvobrota Sarkar, Dhanbad



'Made in India' by Grindlays: banking professionals for India. And, the world.

Every oak it is and must have been an accordant ome point in its life. The Gardlay's International Transplanting (GRIT for short) is a part of exception.

It started acor i like as a Credit Analysis framm, Unit in India hack in 1959. Its raison dente? To edicate the Grindiays managers in India on the job in the crucial banking function of lending money.

By 1974 however the acome had already deve sed into a more than usef sapling. The training course now combined practical experience

with classroom instruction on all areas of banking GRIT as it is today was formally inaugurated in New Delhi in January 1976 Then on it devoted itself to the task of well rounded management education of Grindlays executives from the world over United Kingdom Africa South Asia Middle and Far East and of course India In 1979 for instance 198 Grindlays executives graduated from GRIT under the guidance of a faculty comprising of training managers assisted by on line managers from the Grindlays India operation

as well as visiting lecturers
Today the oak that is GRIT
offers its shade to budding
Grindlays professionals no
matter where they hail from

The acorn sown in India has given a creditworthy account of itself for the benefit of Grindlays worldwide network of branches/offices



Powerful analysis

PRAN CHOPRA's "The burden of power" (8 June) is a good analysis of the election results in Tamil Nadu He has pointed out very clearly how rivalry in politics between MGR and Mr Karunanidhi is going on in Tamil Nadu Perumalsamy, Madurai

ARTHUR PAIS in his article "A check on Mrs Gandhi" has given an almost correct picture of the prevailing political situation in Tamil Nadu The unceremonial dismissal of MGR's honest and stable Ministry by Mrs Gandhi has not only earned the sympathy and support of a large number of enlightened people but also provoked anger and displeasure against the Congress (I)-DMK alliance The election has proved that the people of Tamil Nadu could not be taken for a ride. The AlADMK never promised a kilogram of sugar for a rupee. It only promised to bring down the price of essential commodities. No one can now say that MGR's success in the polls was due to his popularity as a film actor Incidentally, Kalaignar means artist and not world poet as Arthur Pais has stated

ARTHUR PAIS has clearly brought out that the relaxation of prohibition and the premature dissolution of MGR's Ministry led to his spectacular victory. Not only that, MGR's false promises like a kilogram, of rice and a rupee per head for the poverty stricken people, sarees, money and free medical treatment of pregnant ladies, writing of agrarian loans to the tune of Rs 440 croies were also the major factors V A Poonkodi Selvan, Thir uvaivaru

K.P. Andavan, Gobichettipalayam

An apology

THIS refers to the aritcle "Engineering trouble at Bombay IIT" by Olga Telles (13 April). So far as the affairs of the Institute in general are concerned, I take the strongest objection to the following statement. "The Director appointed his own man as head of a committee, Prof Hira Lal, but the students objected as he was recently removed by a no-confidence motion by the faculty members as Head of the Chemistry Department since he was found guilty of financial impropriety."

I wish to state that I am one of the seniormost members of the faculty and my own man; that at no stage did the students express any lack of confidence in me as convenor of the enquiry committee; that there had

Freedom of ** the Press?

ALLOW me to congratulate S. N. M. Abdi on his excellent article, "How question papers are bought and sold" (8 June). He has pointed out that the question papers for only three Higher Secondary subjects— Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics were printed at the Pearl Offset Press in Delhi. Whether Mrs Anila Devi, the president of the Higher Secondary Council admits it or not, it is commmon knowledge that the English II questions leaked out at least two days before the date of examination Both the Government and the Council have tried to prove that the Delhi press is responsible for the leakage If what S N M Abdi writes is true, some other press must be held responsible for the question paper leakage.

Rathindranath Chattopadhyay, Cal-

The widespread leakage of the Higher Secondary question papers in Calcutta have caused a lot of inconvenience to students throughout West Bengal.

Anjana Maitra, Rourkela.

Silent policemen

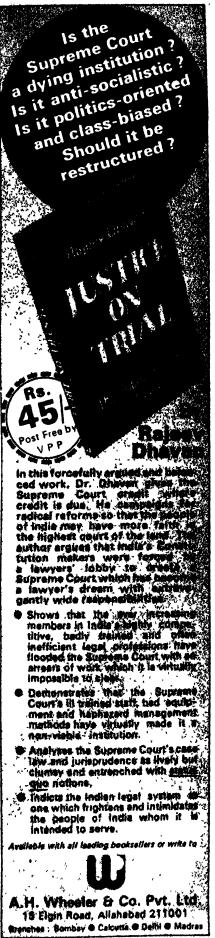
D E NIZAMUDDIN in Delhi Diary (8 June) records the nuisance of musical horns and the complacency of the traffic police. Not only these, but there are other maladies also afflicting the traffic situation in the capital. Nothing is done to the killers on the roads, the reckless drivers and the traffic offenders. Police quietly watch people break traffic rules.

Sanjay Bhatia, New Delhi

been no financial impropriety committed by me during my headship of the Chemistry Department or in deed at any other time, and that I have been head of the Chemistry Department on three separate occasions. On no occasion have I been removed from headship by a vote of no-confidence.

I am surprised that a responsible editor should allow publicity of defamatory remarks against me I wish you had verified the information so far as it relates to me. However, now that the facts are brought to your notice directly by me, I would expect you to publish this letter and express regrets for allowing publication of the defamatory article. Prof Hira Lal, IIT Bombay

Our sincere apologies to Professor Hira Lal. We have already published letters contradicting the newsitem he objects to.—Editor



A compendium of specific reports of atrocities against women, views, analysis and suggestions on how the law can be altered to better protect the exploited half of the human race.

UNE 10 Lok Sabha A debate on rape is in progress. The first speaker is Jyotirmoy Bosu, who is also the mover of the motion "There has been inhuman torture of women. They have been taped, gang-raped, and paraded nude in the streets. This has very few parallels in the history of this country "There is a reference to an incident of a woman being raped in Durg. Other speakers follow—Rajendra Kumari Vajpavee, Rajesh Pilot, Chandrajit Yadav, Mohsma Kidwai and Gita Mukherjee Similar words are mouthed References are made to incidents of rape and molestation in Baghpat, and accusations are hurled at one another

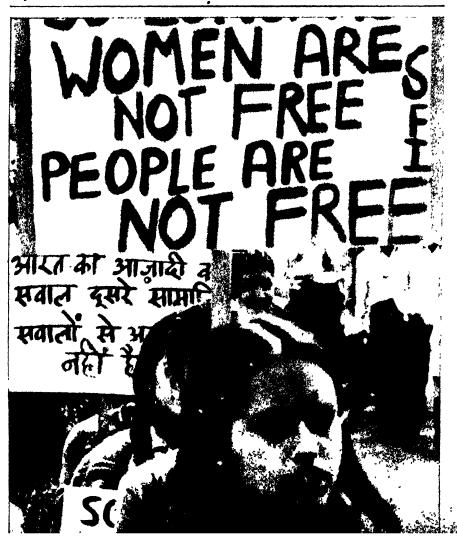
This is not the first time that atrocities on women have been discussed in Parliament. But what has been the net result? In 1972, 2562 cases of rape were registered. In 1973, 2861 cases in 1974, 2862 cases and in 1975, 3283 cases Peter Layton, an official of the Marie Stopes Society recently said that two million Indian women were victims of rape every year. Zail Singh denied this figure and said that in 1976, 3611 women were raped, 3821 women the following year and 3781 in 1978. These are astronomical figures in themselves. As the rate of rape rises, 48 per cent of the nation's population becomes increasingly insecure

Only two days before the debate in Pathament, members of the Bharatiya Janata Party and the CPI had staged a walkout in the Madhya Pradesh Assembly in protest against what they called the apathetic attitude of the Government in dealing with an incident at Morena, where a woman, they said, was raped by five men According to reports with the police, woman was held by five persons in Morena who "stripped her and stuffed chillies into her private parts" Bur rape is not the only act which has . . . coming to light. There are various other atrocities against women which go to show how severely they are oppressed

Two months after Prem Kumarı of Delhi got married, she died due to severe burns, on 9 May this year "Ever since she got married hei husband and her in-laws kept com-

HOW MEN EXPLOIT, ABUSE WOMEN

By SAUMITRA BANERJEE



plaining that we had given an insufficient dowry," Padmavati Khanna, Prem Kumar's mother told me. "They complained that we had not given a fridge, a television set, a fan and various other things. The doli went at eight in the morning and two hours later they had started telling us how bad we were and kept insulting us. After that we were not allowed to talk to her or meet her. It was only when her health became very bad that she was allowed to come over to our house. She told us how badly they treated her and how they beat her because we had given an insufficient dowry. The next time we saw her was when she was burnt. At once I suspected that her husband and her in-laws had committed foul play "She stopped to wipe the tears from her eyes and then continued, "We went to the police to complain about this but initially they refused to even register the case I suspect they were bribed It was only after a long time that they decided to register our case" Mrs Khanna is still trying to get justice, but her case is not an isolated one

On 8 December, 1977, Nur Jahan of Nangloi, on the outskirts of Delhi, got married to Mohammad Salim Eight days after she got married, Nur Jahan received her first beating at the hands of her in-laws The situation persisted for one and a half years On 21 May, 1979, she died of burns under mysterious circumstances All through she had been harassed by her in-laws for bringing an insufficient dowry Said Shah Jehan Begum: "My daughter's mother-in-law kept saying that she would get her son married elsewhere, to people who had money, not to poor people like us. Occasionally they used to send word that they needed some money, say Rs 500 or 600. Now, where are we poor people to get that kind of money from? We earn enough to feed ourselves for the day and we have no savings We had borrowed to get our daughter married. So obviously we could not pay and the torture of our daughter continued until she died. Even the police showed no interest in the case. All they said was that this sort of thing just occurred. We are help-

Jaswanti's mother is also helpless. Jaswanti, who was married four years ago died of burns earlier this year. She too had been harassed until she left her in-laws and returned to her parents, unable to bear any further torture. It was only when her mother-in-law threatened that she would get her son remarried that Jaswanti returned to stay with her husband. But she remained there only a short while, dying as a result of burns shortly afterwards. "We do not regret that we sent

Jaswanti back to her in laws, but it does not look good if a girl stays away from her sasural for so long,' said Raji, Jaswanti's aunt "I am sure the girl did not commit suicide, though her in-laws had made life hell for her," she added.

Dowry deaths are now an accepted phenomenon. According to statistics provided by the Delhi Police, in Delhi 69 women died due to burns in 1979 while in the seven months of this year, 65 women have lost their lives because of burns. In 1975, which ironically was International Women's Year, 350 girls were suspected to have been burnt for providing insufficient dowries. In India, according to the Home Ministry, 2670 women died of burns in 1976 and 2917 in 1977.

"In our society everything has become so commercialised, that even marriage has become so It is also a case where ostentatious living has become more important than human beings," said Mrs Vimla Farooqui, general secretary of the National Federation of Indian Women "Women have now come to be treated as property Husbands demand downes and they can even burn their brides if and when they want to. The police do not do anything either to check this menace or to punish the guilty," said Shubhadra Butalia, a social worker dealing with dowry deaths. "Bride-burning has become so common because it is difficult to prove that it is murder and all evidence can be removed The attitude of the police is such and the legal procedure so complicated that no one wants to give evidence and the case does not proceed. The police are totally unsympathetic."

THE police, however, think diffe-I rently "The police can only take action on the basis of evidence and law," said Dr K. K Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Police (Crime), Delhi. "People complain that the police are unsympathetic But the people expect too much from the police They expect us to hang people for crimes not proved. In such a case my question is, 'Are the courts sympathetic?' Besides, the law is so weak that there has not been a single case of conviction for a dowry death in Delhi Besides, I think that most cases are those of suicide, not murder There is maladjustment between the husband and wife and the wife decides to commit suicide. Such things happen mostly in the lowermiddle classes where values are restrictive and not at all permissive. The woman feels helpless. She has no other outlet, and after getting harassed, decides to commit suicide Only in three or four per cent of the cases is there any suspicion of murder."

Facts about women

The World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women revealed that an average, woman works twice as hard as an average man. This is because in many cases the woman takes care of the domestic chores in addition

to going out for work.

• In Europe and America women constitute 40 per cent of the paid labour force and contribute 40 per cent of the gross domestic product. But women's wages are lower than men's-25 per cent less in the UK and 40 per cent less in the USA.

◆ In Africa women do 60 to 80 per cent of the agricultural work, 50 per cent of all animal husbandry and 100 per cent of the food processing. Against 1,800 hours a year for men it is 2,600 hours per year for women in agriculture.

 In India, the average working day for the woman is between 15½ and 16 hours in agriculture. In cases of younger women the workload is often combined with frequent pregnancies, childbirth and breast-feeding This has resulted in the world's most neglected health problem of the 1980s: millions of women are suffering from chronic exhaustion.

Modernisation on the agricultural front has increased the workload for women and lessened that for men. In Africa it has increased women's share of agricultural labour from 55 per cent

to 68 per cent.

• In the rural areas, only 15 per cent of the population have access to modern health care facilities and during pregnancy and childbirth more than half of the world's women have no trained help.

• In South Korea's electronics industry, 90 per cent of the workforce consists of women aged 18 to 23. They work eight to ten hours a day, six days a week On one assembly line, 95 per cent of the total workforce developed severe eyesight problems

Research and advice on family planning is usually directed towards women. Decisions on family size are usually taken by men.

Almost all the training and technology for improving agriculture is given to men Women are responsible for 50 per cent of the agricultural production and all' the food processing

Jessica Mahadevan of the Stree Sanghaish, an organisation dealing with women's rights, thinks other wise "There is definite, active con nivance on the part of the police in rape cases and both dowly deaths and rape are part of the same phenomenon oppression of women Rape is not a crime by one individual against one woman, but crime against womanhood "You don't even have to look around to find cases of rape these days," she added

An eight-year-old girl, Kamlesh, of Delhi, was raped and strangled to death on 24 April this year, when her parents were away from home in Tejpur village in the Alipur block of Delhi Her body was found next morning when her parents returned home. They had gone out to the fields to work all night since it was the harvesting season. No one had been arrested till a fortnight after the crime and according to her parents, the police did not show much interest in the case

In New Delhi, on 8 April this year, Ashrafi Lal was awarded two years imprisonment for raping an eight-year-old girl. He had picked up the girl who was sleeping along with her parents on the road, taken her to a nearby hotel and raped her.

RAPE is not just an ex pression of a man's lust, it has also become an instrument whereby workers can be intimidated in a management-worker dispute On 20 February this year, when the workers of the Hansi textile co operative were launching a struggle to press for their demands, 80 workers were



Lennart Dahlgren, Sweden's champion weightlitter appears on a series of posters encouraging men to take up their parenthood rights

Calcutta:rape-free

alcutta is a comparatively rape-free city. In the first six months of this year only four cases were registered with the Calcutta Police which exercises its jurisdiction over a 35-square mile stretch (pop 31,50,000) through a network of 32 police stations Last year the number was 23 (as against 58 in Bombay) the year before 22 Obviously, the statistics do not reveal all In shame or fear of social ostracism, many victims prefer to stay away from the police More so in a predominantly middle class socie ty as in Calcutta Nevertheless, rape is one area of crime where the city lags behind almost all other major cities in the country Seen against an almost 115 per cent increase in other major crimes like murders, dacoities and robberies over the last five years in the same city, this is

quite surprising and poses a brain teaser.

Why is this so? There is no clear cut answer "It is the middle class composition of the city Old taboos are not altogether dead", says sociologist Police officials too, tend to agree "The people here have greater respect for the sanctity of women presumably because women here are objects of worship Durga, Kali, Lakshmi, Saraswati-all important deities are women. It is also likely that men in Calcutta stand a better chance than say, those in Bombay, of finding a mate of their choice because of a better male female ratio (636 women for every 1000 men against 531 women for every 1000 men in Bombay) In the marriageable age group 17 30 the ratio is even better (850 women for 1000 men) The inference men in Calcutta

are less starved

Not just Calcutta The entire state of West Bengal is safer for women than most other states Statistics with the police show that on an average some 4000 women are raped every year in the country only 250 of these rapes occur within the state of West Bengal Considering the weight of the state's population, this is comparatively low

Even the police in West Bengal, who are often accused of all kinds of strong-arm methods and atrocities, do not carry the stigma of rapists. In the first six months of this year the West Bengal police have been implicated in just one case of rape. The allegation is that some policemen picked up a Bangladeshi girl on her way to Bombay at Sealdah railway station, took her to a police station on the fringes of the city and raped her. Generally, however, women are better off in West Bengal.

arrested and warrants issued against a number of others. According to affidavits filed in the court by Mrs Kauci d Hiramati iya, Ran 🕆 know ig that the r Fouses, book Lorted c'e, attik ditlini a a t'ree ve en said the t! took place at a coffee plantation at Chikmagalur, on 15 March this year A short while before the incident occurred, the workers of the coffee plantation enrolled as members of a labourers' union This was resented by the management and the workers were asked to vacate their houses on the plantation The workers re sisted On 15 March, at night, five policemen accompanied by some local hoodlums entered the workers' colony and in the presence of the police, beat up the workers sleeping outside their huts. The clothes of a number of women were torn off and the women paraded naked in the colony A woman was then dragged

into a room, later she said that she

had been raped "You will notice that there is active connivance of the police in most of the rape cases reported, and therefore it is very difficult to take any action against the culprits Again the police themselves are in volved in a number of rape cases, said Vimala Farooqui "Besides, the law is too weak and it has a number of loopholes According to section 375 of the IPC," A man is said to have committed rape who has sex ual intercourse with a woman under circumstances falling under any of the following descriptions firstly, against her will Secondly, without her consent Thirdly with her con sent, when her consent has been obtained by putting her in fear of death or of hurt Fourthly, with or without her consent when she is under 16 years of age "But there are certain anomalies with regard to this law, for there are a number of instances where the victim is theatened, but this threat cannot be proved Again, there have been cases where under threat of injury to a near and dear one, the victim has been subjected to rape Besides, the desire of the woman and her aversion to the act are not taken into account under the law Also, the onus to prove that she has been raped is on the woman

The dowry prohibition law of 1961, too, has its loopholes. It begin with, it does not define dowry and makes both giving and taking of a dowry an offence. It therefore makes it extremely difficult for a person who has given the dowry to complain to the police. Various women's organisations are now suggesting that dowry be, made a cognisable and non bailable offence.

"Laws discriminated against wonten

Gita Mukherjee, CPI MP, tells SAUMITHA BANEHJEE

] Why do you think atroci ties on women are in creasing so alarmingly? A It is not just that atrocities against women are increasing I think more and more cases are being reported now that we have started agitating The origins of crimes against women he in the fact that women are treated as interiors not just in this country but all over the world ex cept in the socialist countries. Miltreatment of women is more prevalent among poorer sections, because they do not have the power to trike back Besides in our capit dist socie ty it is the antisocial elements who with the backing of viste interests combine to commit attact con women. Look at what happened in Chikmagalur women were raped to crush the workers movement. The most dangerous thing is the fact that all this was done with the backing of the police

Q What about the attitude of the Government with regard to strocties on women

A The Government is prevested interests and proble money unless the attitude of the Government changes nothing can be done to uplift the condition of women in this country.

Q What role do you think the mass media can play in the uplitt ment of the condition of women it India?

A. If the mass media decires the policies and attitude of the Govern ment then it can help in this direction. The mass media is divided between the private sector and the public sector. As far is the Govern ment sector is concerned I have always said that the Ministry of Intormation and Broadcisting should do some homework Program mes on radio and television foster the attitude that women are inferior As far as the private media is con cerned. I think that films and magazines portray women in a very poor light Most films show how when a woman is raped she is condemned by everyone. This influences the audience and they are sure to adopt such attitudes

Q. What work have women's organ.

isitions been doing? What are the limitations?

A Women's organisations are doing a lot of good work. It I is taken some time because we did not have a national focus for a long time. But the work we have been doing does not touch even a fraction of the women in this country. When news teaches us that a certain attocity has taken place somewhere we have to rush to the spot to in estignte. This is not always possible because we do not have sufficient tunds. Besides of course there is the hostility and the artipathy of the pe

O How according vou can the condition of women in this country

be improved?

A I don't believe that a full olution is possible in capitalist in it are certain countrie short te i isuics that can be tak a cially in the legal field. The car lots of laws where discri mination against women exists Liws need to be reexamined. In our control ware passed but not executed like to introduce law le We t Bens il it eit this law was pas ed be ax years ugo but I do not thint i igle complaint his been it the economic field is HILLINE unless women are more import econemi + ! equal to men, little can be don. And of course, the attitude of the Government has to change

- Q. Do you think politicisation of

tl e issue will help?

1 I is t, it depends on what poli ticisation means. In a sense the wonien's movement is political. But in the sense of political Parties, I think I will take the example of Baghpat What happened in Baghpar was a serious dereliction of duty. No member of the culing Party had visited Baghpat for a long time People from various other political Parties went there to find out what had happened. Our country being a democratic one there is a natural tendency on the part of the various political Parties to exploit the situation. If the ruling Party does nothing it will face stiff opposition. In that sense it becomes a political issue But I personally think that all diffe tent Parties should come together and try to solve this problem. We are looking to: broad co-operation

Ordered to have intercourse with his mother

The situation was classic. A man claimed he had lost ornaments worth Rs 6,000. Typically, he went to the police and named a maidservant as the suspect Without much verification the police caught an aunt of the maidservant, Rukmini, and tried to make her "confess". When she protested that she was innocent, she was beaten and tortured in an unimagınable manner. A pencil was stuck up her vagına, and she aborted. And then, her I4-year-old son was ordered to have sexual intercourse with his mother! When he refused both mother and son were beaten even more. Most shocking was the fact that Rukmini's principal tormentors were two policewomen! And despite a thorough search of Rukmini's house (her courtyard was dug up too) the missing ornaments could not be found. The case would have remained yet another footnote in the overwhelming list of cases against the poor in general and women in particular were it not for the vigilance of a Hindi newspaper from Raipur, Nava Bharat

UKMINI'S nightmare started on the night of 19 June at the Nandini police station in the Durg district of Madhya Pradesh, Nandini is a small industrial town The two uniformed policewomen in the station house officer's room that night were hellbent upon forcing Rukmini, a 34-year-old Oriya harijan woman from a nearby slum? to confess that she had stolen gold ornaments worth Rs 6,000. When Rukmini pleaded innocence, she was tortured. First she was slapped across the face by the lady subinspector. The lady constable struck her with the police baton and ordered her to remain standing on one foot. Then, she was ordered to take off her blouse, petticoat and sari and the lady constable caned Rukmını's behind.

The harijan woman kept telling her interrogators that she was not a thief. This irked one of the police women who picked up a pericil from the SHO's table and pushed it violently into Rukmini's vagina. Then, one of the policewomen struck Rukmini's slightly protruding belly (she was three months pregnant) with the baton and, according to Rukmini, said "There is another devil grow thighs were clearly visible and fes-

ing inside you. We will punish it too." By now Rukmini was bleeding profusely; her vagina, back and face were red with blood. During the course of the ruthless beating, Rukmini suffered a miscarriage. For the policewomen this was not enough.

When Rukmini asked for a glass of water, she was told to go to the latrine and "drink her own urine". When Rukmini went to the bathroom to relieve herself, she collapsed due to the pain and the loss of blood. She was dragged back to the



From left to right Treenath, Khusro and Rukmini. In the foreground stand two of Rukmini's children

SHO's room. This time her 14-yearold son Treenath, who had been asked to wait in another room while his mother was being interrogated, was called in. He saw his mother, totally nude. Then, he was ordered to mount his mother and commit sexual intercourse. Shocked, Treenath refused to deal this savage, humiliating blow to the poor woman who had given birth to him. Treenath's refusal sparked off another bout of beating; both mother and son were repeatedly struck with batons.

"I don't remember anything more, because I had probably fainted", Rukmini said in broken Hindi when I met her on 8 July. "Babu, I also lost my three-monthold baby. The pain and shock killed it in my stomach. My unborn child died at the police station," she confinued, her voice choked by the swelling tears. The wounds on her back and the deep bruises on her tering. Pus had gathered in the wounds on her back and she could walk only with great difficulty. Treenath's hands and legs were plastered with medicinal herbs.

After the ruthless beating, Rukmini fainted at the police station. Her two interrogators, sub-inspector Mrs Edna Montis and lady constable Naseem Begum, who had used every conceivable means of torture to bring out the "truth" were finally convinced that Rukmini was innocent So were the station house officer of Nandini police station, S.D.Bisne, head constable Ghulam Mohammed and constable Shiv Shankar who were present at the thana that fateful night. Next morning, a bruised and battered Rukmini was ordered to return to her village, a mile or so away Rukmini who had been tortured and wrongfully detained, left quietly, without asking questions, because she was poor and



Rukmini's back scars from a ruthless

ignorant. Will anybody in the system eventually pay any penalty for torturing and humiliating a nobody?

WHY was Rukmini brought to the Nandini police station? What was her "crime"? The chain of events started when M L. Maity, a general foreman in Nandini mines run by the Bhilai Steel Plant, lodged a complaint at the Nandini police station on 19 June complaining of the theft of gold ornaments worth Rs 6,000 According to the first information report, Mr Maity suspected Phoolmati, his maid servant, and her minor daughter, Pushpa, of having stolen the ornaments. The SHO of Nandini police station, Mr S.D. Bisne, personally took up the case (number 72/80 under section 381 of the Indian Penal Code) for investigation. Since the case required interrogating a woman and her minor daughter, SHO Bisne requested the adjoining Bhilai kotwali for police-women. The two policewomen, subinspector Mrs Edna Montis and constable Naseem Begum arrived on the same day and interrogated Phoolmati and Pushpa at the Nandini rest house.

Both Pushpa and Phoolmati told this correspondent on July 9 that they were slapped by the policewomen during the questioning. 11-year-old Pushpa said: "The policewomen told me that if I didn't name the thief, they would hang me from the ceiling fan". According to the police, Pushpa said that the stolen ornaments were with her maternal uncle's wife Rukmini. Pushpa later told this correspondent that she did not mention anybody's name.

The two policewomen summoned Rukmini and her 14-year-old son to the thana for interrogation where third degree methods were used. But the exercise proved futile. Rukmini's small courtyard was also dug up but the ornaments were not recovered. When a seriously injured Rukmini returned home along with her son, her husband, Khusro was intensely agitated. He set off for the police station "to know the details". There, Khusro alleges, he was beaten severely and detained for eight hours. When Khusro's sister, Apporva, went to the thana with her brother's meal she was also beaten up by a male constable.

In spite of all this, the missing ornaments could not be recovered So Maity reportedly decided to take the law into his own hands. In Phoolmati's words. "On the night of 22 June, Maity along with Dubey (garage superviser at Nandini mines) and his other friends came to my house in a jeep. They picked me and my daughter up and took us to a shop selling country liquor. I was forced to drink liquor. Maity and his friends also drank. Then we were taken to Maity's house and severely beaten up by Maity and his friends."

Neelamoni, Phoolmati's husband, said that when he heard that his wife and daughter were being brutally assaulted at Maity's residence, he rushed to the Nandini police station." But the SHO refused to accept my first information report. He however sent a constable to Maity's house to bring my wife to the police station. While I waited at the thana Maity brought Phoolmati and Pushpa to the thana in his jeep. Phoolmati was badly injured. Instead of enquiring how my wife was in Maity's jeep, the SHO asked me and my wife to return home. Saheb, do you think they would have acted in this way if we were rich?" asked Neelamoni as we prepared to leave his village, Ahiwara.

The officers' colony at Nandini township is only a mile away from Ahiwara. M.L. Maity, general foreman at Nandini mines is dark complexioned and of medium height. He is a Bengali. When we met him for his version of the story, his reply was ingenious, to say the least. "This is a planned campaign against outsiders in Madhya Pradesh. I am a Bengali, so they want to throw me out on this pretext Local Hindi newspapers have painted me as a villain. I have been described as a drunkard and a compulsive gambler and some people hinted that I lost my wife's ornaments in a gambling spree. But the facts are different.

"On 17 May, I accompanied my

"On 17 May, I accompanied my wife to Calcutta. I returned to Nandini on 26 May to resume duty. My wife had left her valuables in an almirah in our bedroom. On 2 June, when I got my salary, I opened the almirah to keep the money. I found that the ornaments were missing. I did not pay much attention to this as I thought that my wife may have hidden the gold ornaments some-



Harrjan workers torling at the Nandini limestone quarry

where else. I however asked her to return to Nandini as soon as possible. She reached Nandini on 18 June. We were now sure that the ornaments had been stolen. I suspected Phoolmati, our maid servant and her 11-year-old daughter, Pushpa. In the first information report which we lodged with the police on 19 June, I named Phoolmati and Pushpa as the suspects, as they were looking after the house during our absence

absence
"I did not beat up Phoolmati or Pushpa. These are concoctions. If I had to beat them up, why would I lodge a complaint with the police? Tell me, if you lost your ornaments, wouldn't you go to the police? What the police did to the suspects is not my business. I am the loser. I have lost ornaments worth Rs 6,000 and people are also calling me a bully and a thief. Why should I be held responsible for the actions of the police?"

Maity's brazen-faced explana-

SENSING the hostility of police. men at Nandini police station, Khusro, Rukmini's husband, sent a petition to the collector of Durg district, Mr Anand Kumar Bhatt on 26 June, In his petition, he recounted his harrowing tale and demanded action against the thana oficials. No action was however taken against the policemen, who in fact came to Khusro's house again on 28 June and demanded the stolen ornaments. However on 30 June, a copy of the petition reached Mr. G. L. Vora, the editor of Nava Bharat, a Hindi daily published from Raipur. Mr Vora took two days to confirm the report and after being convinced of the petition's authenticity, the Nava Bharat published the story of police brutality in its edition dated 2 July.

Its impact was immediate. The administration woke up. On 2 July itself, Mr B.K.Mukherjee, DIG Raipur division, instructed Mr Pastaria, the city superintendent of police, Bhilai, to conduct an enquiry. Mr Pastaria's report confirmed the truth: harijan men, women and children had in fact been beaten up at the Nandini police station. The CSP's report also noted that Rukmini may have sufered an abortion due

to the beating.

On the basis of Mr Pastaria's report, Mr Vohra, SP, Durg district, immediately suspended S.D.Bisne. the lady sub-inspector, Mrs Edna Montis, and the lady constable, Naseem Begum On 3 July, a case (number 78/80) was registered against Bisne and the two police-women under sections 330 and 342 of the Indian Penal Code for torturing the suspects during police interrogation and detaining them illegally Mr S.D.Sharma, an inspector from Bhilai kotwali was named as the investigating officer. Two days later on 5 July, a magisterial enquiry was instituted by the district magistrate, Durg. This enquiry into the shameful episode at Nandini police istation will be carried out by Mr. D.P.Gupta, the deputy collector of Durg district.

Inspector S.D.Sharma who is investigating the charges has a difficult task on his hands. Until 8 July, Mr Sharma had arrested ten persons connected with the case: S D Bisne, Ghulam Mohammed, constable Shiv Lakhan, Mrs Edna Montis, Naseem Begum, M.L.Maity, Ganga Ram and Dhiraj, two drivers working for the Bhilai Steel Plant, Shambhu Nath, a driver's son, and Ashok Dubey, a garage supervisor employed with Nandini mines. Ten persons were subsequently released on bail.

S.N.M.ABDI

Terror at Banda

THE Government that

works" is at its dubious

best in Banda district of Uttar Pradesh where village women were criminally assaulted and raped by armed miscreants on the night of 23 June. But the local administration denies this and police shelter the gangs that operate near Karvi Kasba of Banda. In addition, the district administration has become so callous that its officers do nothing about these terror stricken villagers The local dailies, Karmayug, Prakash and Madhyayug have pub-lished detailed accounts of villages raided by violent armed gangs but the administration has so far taken no steps to apprehend the rapists.

On 23 June a gang raided the koiri village of Kolgadaiyya (Korin Purva) which is about five kms from Karvi and raped seven girls Shortly after dusk, when all nine families of this small village were preparing to got to sleep after a day's hard work, the raiders, masquerading as a police party with a handcuffed man, approached their huts. They entered the house of one of the villagers, Jagannath, and announced, "You are in possession of stolen goods. We will search your houses." Scared, the unwitting villagers agreed to the search. After a few minutes all of them were forced to walk to Rasia Pahadi, a place not very far from the village, where the young women and girls were separated. The men were beaten brutally and were forced to stay away, with two riflemen keeping watch. Jagannath suffered most. The gangsters chose his three daughters and daughter-in-law along with four others, all of whom were raped Rajkishori, Jagannath's youngest daughter, was raped by four persons and the terror continued until four in the morning.

Later, the villagers were beaten up and before leaving Rasia Pahadi, one of the gangsters told them, "Report likhane kal thana ana," (Report the incident to the police station tomorrow). The next day, when the villagers went to Karvi thana, local police refused to listen to their complaint and they had to return without any police help. Besides the policemen told them specifically that they were not supposed to tell anybody about rape and beating by gangsters.

Mr Ramnihore Rakesh was the first MP to visit Kolgadaiyya. When he visited the spot the koiris seemed very afraid of the police. One of them was weeping bitterly. Along

with others he told this correspondent, "Police hamein majboor karti hai ki ham sabse kahen ki kuch nahi huya. Police ki pratidin ki puchtach say ham bahut dar gaye hain aur dar ke mare ham roz sham ko-din chipne se pahle—apna purva chor kar pas ke shahar Karvi ya Siddhapur gaon main bhag jate hain. Hamara sab kuch lut gaya hai Bahen beti ki izzat lut gayı aur police bhi daratı hai." (The police force us to say that nothing has happened The police questioning forced us to go away to Karvi or Siddhapur before sundown We have been looted The women have been raped and the police scare us.) Strangely enough, though there are seven local MLAs and an MP, no one bothered to visit the area.

Only three days later another gang with police protection struck at Gond village in Bharatkup which is famous for its stone-crushing mills. The bhil tribal workers of the Ganga Stone Mill were fast asleep when terror struck. It was after midnight when twelve gangsters attacked the first dafayi (group of huts) They surrounded all the huts, dragged out the men and kept them at gunpoint. Their hands were tied and the raiders asked for Rs five each from everybody. Then the beating began The young bhil women were ordered to dance and some of them stripped

naked. Meanwhile the miscreants chose three young beautiful women Prembai, Sonia and Chandrakali, and the bhil men stood helplessly as the women were raped repeatedly. Then the gangsters took away clothes and money from the labourers. Their wages are meagre enough.

After looting the first dafayi the gangsters attacked the second as well. Here they raped about seven women and looted as well. However, they fled when several armed villagers from Gond started running towards the huts Early the next morning the terror-stricken bhils and their women fled and took shelter in nearby Bharatkup. The tribals tried to report the matter to Badausa thana, but the police did not take any action. Instead, four policemen went to Bharatkup and abused the bhils. According to one of the raped women, "Kya hua tha tumhare ghar mein? Eisa mat kahana Kahana daku ja rahey they Jab unko tok diya to sirf mara. Koyi bhi aye to yahi kahana." (Do not ask what happened in my house? If you are asked say that while the dacoits were going they were abused. Tell this to whoever asks.) An old bhil told me, "Police ne kaha hai ki kuch bola to chori main band kar daingay." (If you say anything we shall lock you up, said the police.)

The state government still insists that nothing happened at Gond village. But anybody who goes to meet the bhils can see terror and pain on their faces.

UDAYAN SHARMA

"I wish she had died"

N the evening of Friday, '11 April two police constables-Kalpunde and Borekar came to collect their weekly payoff from a woman named Gangubai who runs an illicit liquor joint in the slums of Tharbe, a stone's throw from the Thane railway station. As usual, they were entertained with drinks on the house. After a few drinks, the policemen sought the company of Goshia, a pretty little girl, barely 15, who had come only recently from a remote village in Karnataka to live with her father and stepmother in a neighbouring hut There was nothing unusual about the policemen's request, although reportedly they normally relied on Gangubai and her 17-yearold daughter, Baby. Since Goshia's arrival, however, the policemen had set their eyes on her. Gangubai was ordered to fetch her.

Goshia was alone in her hut, a

dingy, stinking place with a rickety door barely four feet high and a roof with a yawning gap. Both her father, a meat seller, and her stepmother, a construction worker, were away on a trip to Andheri. Gangubai coaxed and cajoled her but Goshia refused.

Gangubai left and some time later her son Prakash accompanied by three plainclothesmen came to Goshia's hut. They kicked open the rickety door and pounced upon the girl. Goshia was gagged to prevent her from screaming. At about the same time, the two police constables who had come to collect the payoff raided an adjoining hut where Goshia's uncle lived. Pulling out a knife, they ordered him to move. "Just disappear and disappear fast", they said. To make sure, they escorted him to a place some distance away from the slum and left him there warning him not to return to his hut too soon.

Prakash and the three plainc-

lothesmen brought Goshia to a rice field some 50 yards away from her hut. "They carried me like a corpse. I was wearing a salwar kameez. They stripped me. Then all four of them, in turn, raped and raped and raped me till I felt numb", Goshia says They also threatened, that if she made any gadbad there would be more trouble for her.

After raping her, they asked her to put on her clothes and pushed her against the rim of a well before leaving the area. "I must have fainted. For when I came round it was dawn. Limping, I headed for my hut and collapsed as I reached the door I was still unconscious when my mother returned around 8 30 in the morning She asked what had happened but did not wait for my answer. She knew. My clothes were stained with blood; deep scratches at the bottom. The evidence was glaring", recalls the girl. Her stepmother was forced into silence by Gangubai who threatened to burn down her hut if she dared to make any noise. However, Goshia's father who returned three days later was enraged when he was told what had happened He went immediately to a local social worker, Dwarkabai who took the girl to the Dalit Panther group and finally to a police station to lodge a complaint Reluctantly, the police registered the complaint and directed the girl to the Thane Hospital where the doctors too seemed equally indifferent

"She is not a virgin. Neither is she bruised", the doctors declared The Forum Against Rape—a social organisation which had by then taken up the cause, were not satisfied. "Even as late as on 29 April, we could see bruise marks on her buttocks," says Flavia d'Mello of the Forum. On 18 May, the Forum took out a rally to record its disapproval of the slipshod manner in which Goshia's complaint was being treated and to demand an investigation into the matter by higher authorities.

And Goshia? Her life is in a mess. She is mortally afraid of Gangubai and wants to leave the slum area. But there is nowhere she can go. No one is willing to marry her One youth had volunteered but he wants Rs 3,500 as the price for his magnanimity, a price which Goshia's parents can never pay. To her parents, Goshia has become a burden."I don't care what happens to her. Even if she dies I won't bother so long as she is out of my sight", says Goshia's father. Her stepmother constantly derides her for not being a virgin." I wish she had died the day they raped her", she says of her young stepdaughter.

The case for reform

HE Mathura case has demonstrated how inadequate the lega definition of rape is. The Supreme Court held that it was no enough for a woman to prove that she has passively submitted to the act of sexual intercourse as lack of consent meant something more than passive submission. In other words, the woman would have to prove that the man put her in fear of death. Or hurt, and that it was such fear that caused her to consent. I however it was any other kind of fear, threat or exercise of unduring influence that caused her to submit to the sexual act, she will fail it proving lack of consent, and a man who obtains a woman's "consent" it such circumstances will not be convicted of rape. There is an obvious need for law reform here.

In almost every rape trial the lawyer for the accused will attempt to prove that the victim was a woman of "loose" morals. Quite apart from the fact that a woman's previous sexual history has no relevance to helpeing raped, it is almost as if her past is used as an extenuating factor for the act of rape. The humiliation of having to be subjected to cross examination about one's sexual past, is one of the factors that prevents women from reporting rape and prosecuting the rapist. The law must herefore provide that it shall be illegal at a rape trial to go into a woman's sexual past. The prejudice against premarital sex is, in any event, so great, that if evidence of a woman's sexual experience is discussed, it is presumed that she must have consented to sexual intercourse. And this is a great injustice done to woman.

To avoid adverse social comment and encourage women to report cases of rape, it must be made illegal to publish the name of the rape victim or any information likely to identify her. The definition of rape must clarify that it is possible for rape to take place without any externation violence. The Mathura case has illustrated that the fact that there were no marks of resistance on her body led to the inference that she did not resist.

The law does not recognise marital rape for it presumes that a womar gives herself body and mind to the man she marries. Implicit in this presumption is the fact that a man has the right to sexual intercourse with his wife, with or without her consent. The presumption is baseless particularly in Indian conditions where marriages are arranged for young girls, without their consent, by their parents. Countless women become victims of sexual assault by their husbands and the law gives them no protection. The law must be changed to make such sexual assaults, rape. It is also necessary to amend the divorce laws and provide that compelling a wife to submit to sexual intercourse will be a ground for divorce

The law relating to rape has remained static for over 100 years. Its functioning has shown that it does not protect women and is often biased in favour of men. Recognising this, the Lawyers' Collective, a Bombay-based group of lawyers and law students, has made the following demands for changes within the law

- The definition for rape must clarify that consent given on an apprehension of fear of death or hurt is no consent.
- Consent under undue influence or coercion must be no consent.
- If the person alleged to have committed rape is a police functionary, once it is established that sexual intercourse took place in a station with a policeman on duty, the burden of proving that the woman consented will be on the accused, i. e. the policeman: (The amendment is being suggested because of the many shocking rape cases by the police that have come to light in recent times, such as the case of Rameeza Bee in Hyderabad, Mathura in Maharashtra, and of women in UP, Bihar, MP, Karnataka etc.)
- When a woman reports a rape to a police station, she must be questioned by a woman police officer.
- The definition of rape must make it clear that the crime can take place without overt violence, or when the man does not care whether the woman consented or not.
- Once the woman has reported rape, it must be illegal to publish her name or give any information that is likely to identify her
- The woman should not be questioned in court about her sexual reputation or sexual experience with men other than the accused, nor may the accused man give evidence about this

INDU JAYSING

Rape and the laws of Manu

WHEN half of India comprises women why are they so helpless?" shouted 800 women as they marched through the crowded streets of Chandni

the crowded streets of Chandni Chowk, Delhi on International Women's Day. Seventy years ago when Clara Zetkin declared 8 March as Women's Day all over the world she could not have visualised such fury. Women of all age-groups and social circles had got together under one banner. As they marched past, people in the bylanes looked on in amazement. Some giggled and passed remarks; others were moved and joined the protest.

The protest march, though demanding a review of the now-famous Mathura rape case, was more an angry reaction against the increasing number of atrocities on women. Mathura's case, they shouted, was symbolic of the apathy of the powers-that-be. The criminal and legal system was time-consuming, complicated and heavily biased in favour of.

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The protest march, though demanding a review of the now-famous Mathura rape case, was more an angry reaction against the increasing number of atrocities on women Mathura's case, they shouted, was symbolic of the apathy of the powers-that-be. The criminal and legal system was time-consuming, complicated and heavily biased in favour of

the accused.

In 1978, Ganga, a 70-year-old widow was raped and strangled to death by a 35-year-old married man. The accused was awarded three years rigorous imprisonment for rape and three years for culpable homicide. Hansa, a young housewife from Jamnagar, was burnt to death while she was asleep in her motherin-law's house In her dying statement Hansa said that her mother-inlaw had burnt her because relations between them had been strained since her marriage. She was asked whether she actually saw her mother-in-law pour kerosene over her. She said that she did not as she was asleep The Supreme Court gave the benefit of doubt to the accused and acquitted her Kalawati was beaten up on the very first night of her marriage because she had not brought a motorcycle as dowry. She was denied tood and ill treated by her in-laws. When her father went to see her one day, he tound her locked



At the protest rally against rape

up in a room, bleeding and hungry, She begged her father to take her away so he brought her home. One year later Kalawati's husband came to see her. He apologised, promised to treat her well and took her with him. A month and a half later he informed Kalawati's father that she had died of snake bite. Two years later, in 1978, the husband was acquitted for lack of evidence.

Rape, molestation and wifeburning are all crimes committed by men, or with the connivance of men. Ironically, men themselves sit in judgement over the perpetrators of these crimes. Even if they suffer atrocities, it is the women who are always put to shame: If a woman is burnt there must have been 'something wrong' with her; if a girl is molested it must have been due to her 'sexy dress' or 'immodest behaviour', if she is raped she must have been a woman of 'loose morals'. The rape victim's past is probed. If she is not a virgin, rape is not the word, it was a peaceful 'affair'.

"We probe the past history of a girl(allegedly) raped", said a senior member of the judiciary because if she has had a past affair then the

possibility of her having given consent is greater." It did not strike the honourable gentleman that there is a greater possibility of a man having had a past affair. If a man is a compulsive womaniser there is a greater possibility of his being a rapist too. But men do not accept that. The fault is always the woman's. And if a man rapes her, it is she who has to live through the stigma. In 1979, 13-year-old Poonam of Karol Bagh committed suicide because she had been raped and could not bear the shame any more. In April 1980 a young man killed himself because his wife had been raped and he could not face the

A raped woman becomes an outcast. On many occasions the raped or abducted woman is rejected by her own family and left to the mercy of pimps and prostitutes. The only alternative for her is to hush up everything, not talk about it "lest her family be put to shame!"

Indian social history provides no statistics on rape or allied forms of violence on woman Even the oftquoted Susan Brownmiller, author of Against Our Will, is silent on rape in India. In the Indian ethos rape is not rape; it is a form of marriage. Of the eight forms of marriage approved in the Grhyasutras, Rakshas is a form of marriage in which the bride is taken away by force, generally causing physical harm or even death to her guardians Paisach is marriage by rape. Though such forms of marriage were said to be contracted among the lower castes, the 'books' did not condemn them Little wonder that men in responsible positions in this country have the temerity to say"to rape is human".

Indian culture has relegated women to the most subservient position in society. According to the traditional philosophy, while a man marries, a woman is merely taken in marriage. The Dharamsutras sav that of the three major debts that a man owes his ancestors begetting a son is one. By the law of Manu, of the ten sacraments associated with regeneration marriage is the only one allowed to 'women and sudras'. The famed law-giver goes on to say that a man may deprive his wife of all enjoyment and comfort and make her live on bare necessities as a penalty for ill-temper and misconduct. A man could even desert his wife if she failed to produce sons, if she was barren or if all her children died within 15 years of her marriage. As far as a woman is concerned she must serve her husband. This crude logic of the owner and the owned is responsible for the total subjugation of women. It manifests itself in the silence with which women take their own victimisation, in the agressiveness with which men assault them and transfer the shame and guilt to them with complete impunity.

Violence is an act of intimidation to keep women indoors, unseen and unheard, always at the mercy of men. Article 19(1) of the Constitution which assures all citizens of "the right to move freely throughout the territory of India" is evidently for men only. Section 509 IPC prescribes imprisonment of up to one year for anyone who "says or utters anything which offends the modesty of a woman." In actual practice no effective punishment is given to a person who is accused of harassing or molesting a woman. In Delhi the culprit is booked under the Delhi Police Act for apprehension of breach of peace and let off with a minor fine of Rs 10, 20 or at the most

Since there is no effective punishment which can be a deterrent, crime on women is ever on the increase. In 1978 April, a special squad was supposedly created to deal with complaints of harassment and molestation of women. Apparently, it never got off the ground; it was not publicised and nobody knows if it exists. How serious the authorities are about stopping violence on women would seem clear. The number of dowry deaths and incidents of wife-burning in Delhi alone is alarming—they occur at an average of one death per day

Though the evil custom of sati was declared illegal as far back as 1829, cases of it are still found In February 1980 Sugan Kanwar of Neemdi Kothariya, in Nagpur district burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband while the entire village watched and swung in ecstasy to the chanting of mantras; Saraswati Devi of Shahapur district burnt herself with her dead husband while the priests read from the holy books. Even if these were isolated cases—which they are not—how many of us have expressed a sense of outrage? Even the government officials, from the Governor downwards, treated the incidents with callous indifference.

India has a woman Prime Minister who is aware of the problems of her sex. On 26 April while inaugurating the Sarojini House for the All India Women's Conference she said: "...in my concern for the underprivileged how can I ignore women who, since the beginning of history have been dominated and discriminated against?" Will she provide the much-needed solution to women's suffering? Women seek no charity. Dignity and equality are their birthrights. If they are denied them, they will fight.

Wife beating: violence in the middle-class family

wailing. A quiet moaning. Through the closed door I can hear the silent cry of a woman who is being beaten. It is a comparatively affluent family.

Wife beating is probably one of the most accepted crimes committed against women. We all know that it exists in the slums and the working class. But slowly now we are beginning to realise to what extent it also exists in middle class and rich families. Behind the closed doors of the middle class household a woman writes: "Many are the times I attended parties, or entertained at home after a good thrashing, dressed in fine silks, with a nicely madeup face...A battered woman is like a rape victim, accused often of being the culput rather than being sympathised with as a victim of circumstances beyond her control. So the middle class values had to be kept up and the facade of marriage retained at all costs.

Violence in the family exists generally in a situation where the woman is totally dependent on the person who harms her. Economically, emotionally, for shelter, for food, for everything. It is a situation in which the woman, and often the children too, live in fear and terror every day of their lives. "Today, will he beat me/her?"

Neighbours, family, rarely help "It is up to a woman to make or break a home," one woman was told. She had got beaten for asking for money to buy the children's milk and was complaining to a friend. "Why do you provoke him?" another said. "After all it's a family matter." And so it goes on. The effect is that psychologically the woman keeps herself totally isolated from the other women in her ambit. At best a few may listen patiently—usually they will make the victim feel it is her fault.

She could go to the police and lodge a complaint. Sometimes the police say, forget it, it's a family matter. Sometimes, if the beatings have been severe enough to break some bones (and this happens; a friend of ours has had her hand fractured, and twice had to have stitches), the police will accept a complaint. But then what? A woman

has to go back to the same place, her home, with a cruel husband in it, and if the man knows that a complaint has been made he may get even more violent. Then there are the children, who may become a husband's target if the mother protests too much. And women would rather accept cruelty against themselves than see it perpetrated on their children.

Most women remain quiet about the battering which they receive. Some feel embarrassed. Another said, "I never believed it could have happened to me." For another, the shame that she had not spoken about it for two years made her reluctant to talk about the beating: "In my own eyes I wondered what sort of woman was I to have stood for such an action." Said another, "I felt helpless. There was just nothing I could do"

Why do these women accept? Often because there is little alternative. For a woman today to get a house alone is problem enough; to earn and support her family is even more difficult. Interestingly enough, more women from the poorer section walk out leaving their husbands over the issue of wife beating. The middle class woman, inhibited by values, by the fact that her social level may drop, is inclined to stay.

The life of a beaten woman: isolated, in constant fear; so far this has been an unspoken problem, hidden behind shame and embarrassment. A problem for which there is as yet no solution: no place for the woman to go to, no understanding, no legal support. It is about time that illusions are shattered, and the truth of the pain and humiliation felt behind the closed doors becomes known.

MIRA SAVARA

Some women are taking up a study on wife-beating. If you are a victim, or know of someone who is—write in your experiences so that the truth can get known. One woman's story "Violence in the family—a woman cries out in Agony" is available for Rs. 1.50 from Feminist Resource Centre, 13 Carol Mansion, 35, Sitladevi Temple Road, Bombay 400116



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The lies about rape

A report in The Statesman (5 July 1980) "Bhopal; July 3: A series of rapes, no less than 20 in the past few months, has rocked Raipur, but police sources are maintaining that most of them concern 'women of loose character'"

A young businessman, swilling whisky, quoted commenting on the Mathura rape case "Nonsense, that girl had lost her virginity long before the policeman is supposed to have done it" (New Delhi, 12 May 1980)

Rape is an exceptional crime, a product of a sick and perveited mind 'Normal' men do not rape women

Rape is often considered to be a phenomenon which is unconnected to (male) society's ideas about, and attitudes to, women. The truth is that eveteasing and rape are two manifestations of the same attitude, which is one of contempt towards women, an attitude which treats women as objects "up for grabs". If



A child displays a poster saving rape should be condemned for a better future.

inspired myths about rape These misconceptions disguise the fact that rape is essentially an exercise in power, an act of hostility and contempt perpetrated on those who cannot retaliate. The crime is a product of the power and property relations that govern society Rape itself, or the threat of rape is sufficient to keep women in a state of permanent subjection; as Susan Brownmiller in Against Our Will puts it "To simply learn the word rape is to take instruction in the power relationship between men and women." Thus social conditioning, pressures towards feminity and passivity, and the glorification of "aggression" by men, all contribute to making women potential rape victims. Whenever women have resisted sexual violence, or "stepped out of line" in their personal lives, they have forfeited all sympathy. These are some of the common myths about rape: Kata - they 's . . .

HERE are many male-

all rapists are seen as perverts, then whole armies could be called perverted, for wars have invariably witnessed mass rapes. Examples are legion. Bangladesh, Vietnam, the two world wars. During riots, your ordinary individual indulges in rape 'Normal' men do rape, if the circumstance is appropriate for one more assault on a woman's dignity

Women like being raped No woman can be raped against her will

Taken to its logical extreme, this attitude implies that because a woman did not struggle, she liked it. The attitude discounts any possibility that the victim might have been prevented from resisting by several factors (the threat of murder, or if the aggressor is a figure of authority). This blithe assumption reflects the common view of the sex act as a pleasurable assault by the strong on the weak. What should be spontaneous and mutual is, thanks to the myth of the "heroic rapist", uncon-

sciously seen as an act of aggression and appropriation. Pornography, and some films and advertisements all contribute to the image of the he-man, taking what he wants, in between encounters with baddies. Women are always raped against their will, and are physically unable to fight off the rapist.

Women ask for it when they tempt men.

This "temptation" is allegedly provided when women dress provocatively or make advances to men. So the penalty: molestation or rape. By this criterion, can it be said that an attractively dressed male is inviting sexual assault from women? The image of woman as temptress is a convenient excuse for male aggression. Newspaper reports unconsciously reflect this attitude when they describe in intimate detail the rapes of "young and pretty women". In reality, the rapist is no respecter of age or looks, and very often, there is no other provocation for the crime except that the woman is a woman. Susan Brownmiller in Against Our Will, page 83, cites the instance of a middleaged widow in Bangladesh who remained home in Dacca in 1971, thinking she was too old to attract attention; she was raped by three men, two soldiers and a civi-

Rape is always committed by a stranger in a dark alley or deserted field

Perhaps, in many cases. But there is much evidence to show that the rapist may be no stranger to his victim, and the offence could just as easily occur in a familiar setting—colleges, offices, even homes. The aggressor could even be a boyfriend, or fance. He could be an employer, or landlord, who wields power; a neighbour or a member of the family—why even a husband (although marital rape is not considered an offence under the Indian law).

Rape leaves marks—bruises, bleeding, torn clothing.

This misconception is responsible for the fact that a great many rapes go unreported The victim, knowing she displays little visible evidence, and afraid of being disbelieved, does not volunteer information. For it is a fact that rape may leave little or no physical marks. Sadly, the law too reflects this attitude when great reliance is placed on medical corroboration, which may not always be conclusive, particularly in the case of a non-virgin or if the victim did not struggle. The victim is thus trapped between further injury and social and moral censure.

DAYITA BERA DUTTA

Are workers getting selfish?

By GEORGE FERNANDES

N May Day, 1980, I was in Kota with the railwaymen. The evening rally was well attended, though it lacked enthusiasm One has been seeing this gradual waning of interest in May Day among our workers. Trade unionism is drifting away from the pioneering adventure of yesteryears with its grime and sweat and blood to a more relaxed bread-and-butter business Only a day before May Day, I had read an interesting article by Radha Iyer in the Business Standard on this changing face of the trade unions. Ms. Iyer, after a close observation of the new mood and style of the trade unions (in Bombay city?), sums up the situation most appropriately when she says:

"Gone are the days when a fight for workers was equivalent to a fight for human values. The concept of unions as champions of workers (has given) way to the concept of unions as service agencies."

May Day in Kota again brought me face to face with this changed situation. A little before midnight, I drove outside Kota town to address my last meeting of May Day. It was organised by a union of workers of a chemicals and fertiliser complex belonging to a well-known private sector group based in Delhi. The workers of this complex have been agitating for several months with dharnas, hunger strikes and other forms of harmless (to the employers) protest action. In the 45° heat of Rajasthan, the workers have been squatting, in turn, outside the company's main gate and raising full-throated slogans at regular intervals while one of them takes turn to observe a 24-hour fast.

The management, of course, has not taken kindly to even such a protest which does not affect production, or otherwise disrupt the smooth functioning of the establishment. Perhaps to provoke the workers into taking to a less non-violent form of protest, they have declared a lock-out in one of the departments, throwing out of employment about 150 workers, and have hired contract labour to work in their place.

With the workers of the second shift coming out shortly after midnight, our meeting began with the union secretary's exhortation to the workers to keep the struggle going. Then, for my benefit, he listed two important demands on which they were agitating. First, the workers wanted a share in the Rs. 14.50 crores of profit the company had made for the year The company had paid 20% bonus to the workers but it had also made some additional ad hoc payments to certain categories of staff. Second, the workers wanted uniforms made from terrycot cloth.

Trade union demands-wise, both these are fair and legitimate demands. The company has made colossal profits and there is no earthly reason why the workers should not get a substantial share of these profits And why should not workers have uniforms made from terrycot? It is fashionable to wear clothes made from



terrycot. Besides, they drape better and have other qualities which, according to the copywriters of the advertising agencies, plain cotton fabrics do not possess. (It is another matter that the copywriters can give you a hundred reasons why plain cotton fabrics are superior—but we are not here discussing advertising techniques). The workers, like other consumers, believe that terrycot will make them look smart and bright, and also attractive to girls, and would like the employer to give them uniforms made from terrycot.

I told the workers that I supported their demands since they had made them and were engaged in a struggle to secure them. Then I went on to ask them if they had examined every aspect of these two demands, more particularly in the context of the wokers' place in society.

The fertiliser company making a profit of Rs.14.50 crores could mean many things. It could mean that the company was not ploughing back its profits into more investment; was not spending on research and development; and, worst of all, overpricing its product. Where fertilisers are concerned, it was the nation's farmers who were being fleeced in the first place, but in the ultimate analysis, it was the ordinary citizen, the poor consumer. Had the workers ever concerned themselves with raising a demand that the costing of the company's product should be such that there was no scope for overpricing?

As Minister of Industry, once I had visited a large factory in the automotive sector. The workers, young and enthusiastic, had given me a rousing welcome as I briskly walked from one shop to another. At the end of the brief tour of the factory, the leaders of the workers met me in a group. Any problems? I asked them. No, they had no problems. Their wages were good, their service conditions were not so bad. Their management was enlightened. But, would the Minister of Industry help them with one small matter? They were getting only 20% bonus. If the upper ceiling was removed, they could ask for and, perhaps, get a much larger bonus. I asked them if they had ever thought of approaching the management or government to reduce the prices of the vehicles so that excessive profit-making by the manufacturers was prevented. No, the thought had not struck them.

And so with the workers in Kota. Was it their union's concern if their company overpriced its products? Were the unions expected to apply their minds to the problems of consumers of the products of the companies they worked in? Was it their concern if the company indulged in the loot of the consumers? Or, were the workers to be concerned with only demanding a share of the loot?

So with the demand for terrycot uniforms. Lasked the

workers if they were aware that there were ten million handloom weavers in the country, of whom 5 million were almost wholly jobless while the remaining never had a full year's work? Were they aware that as Minister of Industry, I had formulated a textile policy that called for freezing the existing loomage in the organised mills sector and expansion of the handloom sector? Were they aware that when this handloom sector cxpanded incomes got a little more evenly spread, providing to the rural poor purchasing power they have not had in a long time? This would in turn, enable in stimulating the entire rural economy and to a certain extent help in tackling the problem of unemployment. Had they ever applied their minds to this matter?

Time was when one of the more important demands voiced by the workers was jobs for the unemployed of unemployment allowance. No May Day manifesto of the workers could be drafted without enumerating this a perhaps, the most important demand of the working class. At that time the number of unemployed in the country was less than ten million. India, there are over fifty million unemployed in India. Yet the working class does not want to be reminded of the problem of unemployment.

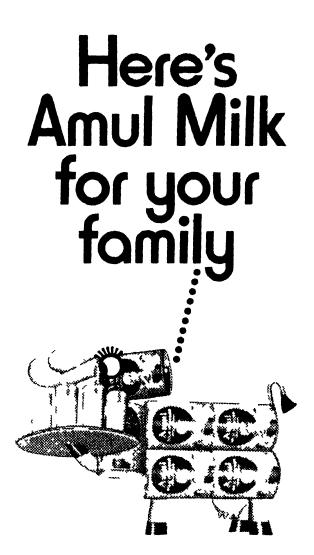
One can take the view that the workers are not responsible for creating employment. Of course they are not. The question is do they have a duty to the

unemployed?

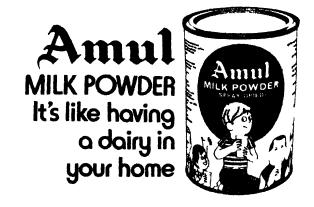
I am aware of the arguments advanced by some of our more leftist colleagues that all this talk of handlooms and handicrafts being the way to create jobs and deal with unemployment is not a scientific way of going about things. Many of them have engaged themselves in sharp arguments with me on this issue when as Minister of Industry. I was trying to promote the rural and cottage industry oriented programmes. What all of them tend to forget is that it is the labour displacement by machines that its one of the principal causes of uremployment in the rural areas. The Bata machines have taken over from our 3.5 million cobblers. The Birla Aluminium and the plastic industry have taken over from our 3 million potters.

When some years ago the Life Insurince Corporation of India decided to introduce automation, we mobilised the entire trade union movement to fight against the installation of a computer that was going to displace a thousand persons, though the LTC had sworn that not one job would be lost. Iwo years ago the Glaxo Laboratory employees in Bombay carried on an agita tion against the installation of a computer in their office and fought to save a few hundred jobs. In the mines of Dalli Rajhara in Madhya Pradesh, some 15 000 workers are currently engaged in a struggle to prevent mechanisation of the open cast mines which would take away half of their jobs. Yet, we are not moved when we look at the fate of some twenty million craftsmen and artisans of our country, most of whom have been rendered unemployed by the machines that invaded their lives and snatched away their jobs during the last five decades

I have posed these questions over the years, and have not been particularly loved for posing them by some of my own tribe—both the revolutionary and the pseudo revolutionary types. But the trade unions cannot any longer afford to ignore them. The unemployed in this country are not going to be forever shut into silence. Nor can the workers hope to survive as very junior partners of a system that is impoverishing our countryside, our craftsmen and our rural people. The organised trade union movement of the workers must necessarily now move in the direction of making common cause with the unemployed in the urban, and, more particularly, in the rural areasnd together with the craftsmen and artisans, they should launch a new movement that will take our country one step forward in its search for an egalitarian order...



Put 21 heaped tablespoons of Amul Milk Powder into a 1 little tumbler Stir into a smooth paste with a little warn water Add hot water up to top and stir Milk is now ready for drinking Good for use in tea and coffee, and for making curds and desserts. Makes you thankful for its convenience Guaranteed pure





THE WORLD

What a match!



Bjorn Borg

Once upon a time there was a king Hc held court several times a year and dispensed punishment to those who could not play his game His chariots were jet planes and his favourite weapon was his Donnay tennis racquet. His cour tiers were millions of ten ms fans the world over But the king was lonely He searched high and he searched low till he found a princess That was in Wimbledon quite some time ago. And then after his fifth coronation on the Centre Court the

king decided to get mar ried

And a grand wedding it was-fit for the royal couple A 7,000 dollar wedding gown was ordered In the privacy of a London hotel room, far from prying public eyes the bride had a formal fitting in preparation for the Sylvan lakeside wed ding, 45 miles from Bucharest We hope, like all those fairy stories of kings and queens tennis King Bjotn Borg and his Queen Mariana Simionescu will live hap pilv ever after



Mariana Simionescu

A violent anniversary

It happened in June 1976 in the African town ship of Soweto near Johannesburg The dis turbances started when nearly 10,000 schoolchil dren protested against the order of teaching of Bantu and I nglish simul taneously in schools They clashed with the police and although the order was later rescinded the violence continued There was daily rioting in the small town and public buildings, mostly schools, were burnt and destroyed four years af ter the Soweto riots, in 1980, the mood of the South African voungsters have not hanged to wards the police. In the



South African youngsters trunt policemen

photograph above they taunt the police during disorderly gatherings which marked the anniversary of the riots in June

Stage flight



"When shall we meet again?" ask the witches in Shakespeare's Mac

beth Well, they did not have to wait long as far as one of the most

favourite actors of the British stage was concerned Peter O'Toole is soon going to return to the Old Vic in London to Star in film director Bryan Forbes's production of Macheth After the deserts of Sahara (Lawrence of Arabia) or the dreary school buildings of Goodbye Mr Chips let's hope the ambitious Peter O'Foole will gladden the hearts of Londoners after his return to his first love

The house that Stan built

Chevening House which once belonged to Lord Stanhope is free and in want of residents Lord Stanhope lett his house close to Seve noaks, Kent when he died in 1967 but made a condition. The condition mentioned in his will and later made into a special Act of Parliament stated that the house could only be made available to the Prime Minister, mem bers of the cabinet or direct descendents of King George VI So according to the law, the 17th century house was given on lease to Prince Charles some years ago and he still holds the lease on it And since Prince Charles stays with his mother, the house is free No one of the exclu sive group of people want to live in it Under the Chevening Estate Act, the refusal by the exclusive people will make it eligible for the Canadian High Commissioner in Britain or the United States Ambassador If neither take it up the estate will be handed over to the National Trust.

And then the Lord rested

Lord Kıllanın, the Ir ish peer and president of the International Olym pic Committee will end his presidential term at the end of the Moscow Games The one to be chosen was 60 year old Juan Antonio Samaranch of Spain who won by a clear majority on the first ballot of the Interna tional Olympic Commit tee election. There were four other candidates but not one was popular enough as Mr Samar anch

The risin' angel



The lady above is 25 year old 5ft 7¹ in New York model Ianya

Roberts She created his tory when she was chosen to play Julie Richards, the new Char lie's Angel for ABCs television series of the same name. The pretty Bronx born brunette was chosen from 2 000 other contestants replacing Shelley Hack who played IV's female crimebuster role for only one season Married to screenwriter Barry Roberts she has acted in off Broadway shows Failier she had just lost to Bo Derek when a cast for '10" was being chosen. At that time the makers of "10" had wanted a blond

Power cutter

Who is Computer Charlie, He is an year old cutter with a vast experience of 150 years in the highly trained profession of cutting Work ing in one of the foremost clothing manufacturers Hepworth's in I ondon Computer Charlie has been living upto his reputation he has increased the productivity of made to measure suits by 250 per cent. Charlie is in fact a computerised pat terns system developed by Hepworth's It was de veloped by Hepworth's own employees from the American Camsco Mar kamatic 5000 system at a cost of £250,000 Although Charlie posses ses a male name he has already thrown out men from one of their traditional jobs. Instead there is a team of women who are the operators of Computer Charlie Now any one wanting a made to measure suit is measured and the statistics are changed into a code by the women on the compu ter Charlie automatical ly does everything The team of six women work ing in two shifts sit be fore a video screen and arrange the 25 or so odd pieces that go to make an individual's suit The whole operation takes 20 minutes when traditional cutting takes around an hour Thank you Compu ter Charlie The women's lib movement should be happy now

A golden defiance

This is Olympic week President Jimmy Carter flexed his muscles and made his nation s athletes boycott the Mos cow Games But then he tiked those who were bent on proving to the world that they were good athletes. One such was the hero of the Lake Placid Winter Olympics Fric Heiden Heiden was the champion speed skater winning five golds. To keep himself fit the speed skater used to do a lot of cycling And he became so good at it that he almost qualified for the US Olympic cycling team The 21 year old athlete came within seconds (o 17) of winning and qualifying in his first major track cycling



Fric Heiden

event at San Diego, California in May The cycling team coach Eddie Borysewicz was totally flabbergasted Eric Heiden warned that had

he qualified for the US team he would have defied Carter's boycott call and gone for the Summer Games as a member of the cycling squad

Beatle on the Wing



One of those boys from Liverpool has be come more famous than the others He is none other than Paul McCartney, one of the favourite foursome of the Sixties
—The Beatles McCart
ney is a millionaire musi
cian and the world's most
successful recording
artist Along with that
title, presented to him by
the publishers of the Gui
ness Book of Records, he
has also been named the
most successful compos
er of all time In fact, the
publishers presented
Paul McCartney with a
souvenir disc made from
the rare metal Rhodium

Aborted

Singapore may soon turn into an abortion cen tre of the region, thanks to the abortion laws of the country. The Government's determination of lowering the population through liberal abortion laws and better medical facilities have led to over 10,000 abortions a year

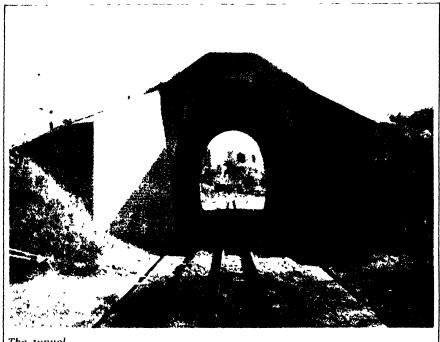
An abortion operation costs only around 2 30 American dollars

But some problems have cropped up For one

mission

thing, the incidence of "repeat" abortions has been as high as 5.3 per cent which implies that abortion is probably being used as a means of contraception. More important, the laws are attracting women from neighbouring regions with stringent abortion laws to come into Singa pore for an abortion. The Government is not viewing either of these problems with complacency.

Last stop for the zoo train



The tunnel



Inside the zoo train

By ASHOK KUMAR

HANKS to the clash of bureaucratic egos, the charming mini train in the Delhi Zoo ceased chugging after exactly two trips, on January 6, 1977 on the orders of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Delhi Lt-Governor Kishan Chand The three-kilometre-long serpentine track passing through a tunnel, a tacsimile of the Howrah Bridge and over a make-believe Laxman Jhoola was not just a special attraction. It was of particular use to the children and the disabled who could not cover the vast zoo area on toot However, all weekend fun. frolic and noise have been put out by officials at the Ministerial level concerned with the hazards posed by the train to the birds and beasts in the zoo. Peace reigns now and the migratory birds, who had apparently fled because of the noise made by the train and the shrieks of children, have returned. The question that arises is was the stopping of the train essential for the birds, or was it necessary to satisfy the egos of a section of top notch bureaucrats? Unfortunately, facts point more towards the satisfaction of egos

The conspiracy to kill the train had, in fact, been hatched from the day of its inauguration on August 14, 1976 Even before the mauguration Mr MB Peter, the director of the 200, was reluctant to take charge of the train although it was being gifted, for he was afraid that the project would run into losses. The train was being offered to the zoo free of cost together with a little political pressure on the railway officials The Agriculture Ministry insisted that the DTDC operate the train. The train was flagged off on August 14, 1976 by the then Railway Minister Mohammed Shafi Qureshi

The officials of the Agriculture Ministry, however, did not relish the idea of an outside agent operating the train on the zoo premises, specially because the revenue earnings of the train went far beyond the expectations of the DFDC as well as Mr Peter. The director was sore about having lost the train, as was Mr N D. Jayal the then Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture So both of them decided to stop the train for good. If they could not have the train for themselves nobody else could

Little did the new officials of the DTDC realise that the discontent of the officials would cost them their train. In the mean time a plan was



Boarding the train



being set in motion by Mr Jayal and Mr Peter During the first week of January 1977 a seemingly innocent letter was sent from the Ministry of Agriculture advising the Lt Governor that the zoo train was harmful for the migratory birds. It was therefore desired by the Prime Minister that its operation be suspended with immediate effect.

The zoo train now lay in limbo Meanwhile Mi Petci went to Bom bay to brief the world famous ornithologist, Salim Ali about the nuisance that the train was causing for the migratory birds. So convinc ing was Mr Peter's brief that Salim Ali fired off an unpiccedented salvo of letters to the editors of all the national dailies. Mr Peter was also successful in persuading Mr Ali to request Dr Bernhard Grzimek, the President of the Zoological Society of Germany, to write to the Prime Minister about the matter Mr Ali's letters to the newspapers and Dr Grzimek's letter to Mrs Gandhi ulti mately led to the stoppage of the train

At the request of the DTDC, a team of specialists from the Agricul ture Ministry, the Railways and the Delhi Administration took a last round on the zoo train during the second week of May 1977. The Chief Engineer of the Northern Railways

tried to convince Mr Peter that the noise made by the engine of the minitrain was completely muffled and that the train in his opinion did not even produce 10 per cent of the noise as compared to the 40 per cent broad—gauge trains which passed close to the outskirts of the zoo Some more officials of the DFDC pleaded with Mr Peter in vain. Mr Peter himself was not even willing to look at the report of the director of



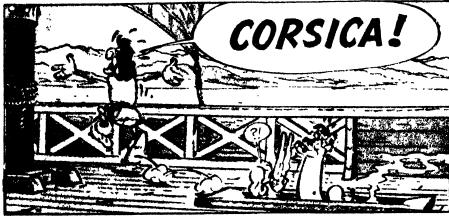
the Hyderabad 700 (where a similar train has been in operation for almost a decade) declaring that the mini train did not pose a hazard for either the birds or any other animals.

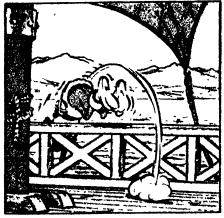
The persons responsible, Messrs Peter and Jayal have since dis appeared A few questions however, remain to be answered were the canal and waterways near the set tlements of the migratory birds deliberately desilted during the early winter months to scare away the birds? Scores of migratory birds especially the Brahmini ducks were trapped and kept in different enclo sures spread all over the zoo to prove that the migration had depleted a large number of nests of migratory birds were found broken one morning Later four employees of the zoo alleged in a statement that Peter was deliberately scaring off the birds, and that there had been shooting on the zoo premises by the director himself. Another question is why services of some of the employees were terminated after the change of Government The major question however is who should be held responsible for the wastage of public money spent on laying down the project and later uprooting it?

Photographs by Asnok Parmar

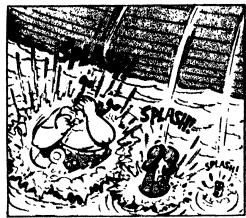


IN CORSICA by GOSCINNY and UDERZO

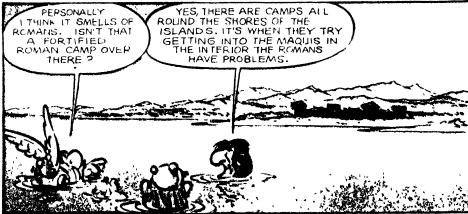


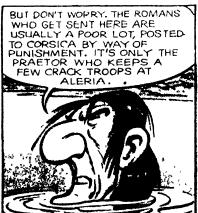








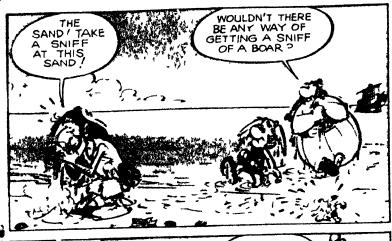










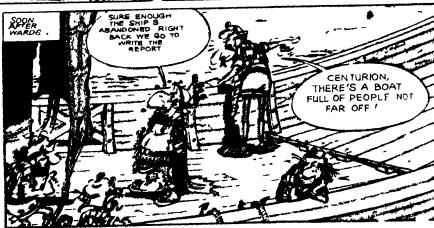


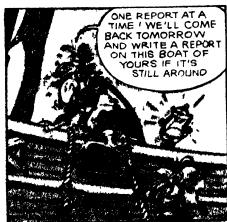
















And now, Rajiv

ajiv Gandhi's entry into active politics is almost a certainty. Personally, he still has some reserva-tions; but men close to No 1 Safdarjung Road predict that ultimately he will have to give up his hesitations and abide by the wishes and appeals of hundreds of Congress(I) workers and leaders. No one, of course, expects the formal announcement about Rajiv's entry into active politics to come immediately. That may take two or three months more. But the real inner circle of the Congress(I) has already been told about the decision

After Rajiv joins active politics the biggest question will be about his ability to establish himself in the Congress(I) leadership circles like Sanjay The next important question will be whether Mrs Gandhi will have the time and opportunity to establish Rajiv in the supreme position Even in late 1977 a large number of political pundits used to say that Sanjay had no leadership qualities, that he had become important only because he was Mrs Gandhi's son But, by end-1979 most of them realised that Sanjay had it in him to be a leader and after the latest state Assembly elections nearly all the doubting Thomases were won over. It took Sanjay almost five years to prove his worth and reach this position and he had to struggle hard at it.

Being a member of the 'Nehru family', Rajiv will also have tremendous additional advantages. The unqualified support of Mrs Gandhi will also be there. Moreover, he does not suffer from the initial disadvantage of being known as a spoilt and hot headed son of a VIP mother. But does he possess a distinct political personality and leadership qualities? I do not know. Among the people who have seen him from close quarters, some assert that though not in the Sanjay style, Rajiv also has a distinct political personality. And, they argue that until a person joins active politics you cannot know whether he has leadership qualities or not.

This reminds me of an interesting story Atulya Ghosh told me long ago. When Mrs Gandhi was made the Congress president, Dr B. C. Roy was very surprised. He



By BARUN SENGUPTA

asked Mr Ghosh. Atulya, what has happened to you people, you have made Indu the Congress president! What does she know about politics? She is a soft natured, good girl who looks after her father nicely, but how can she run such a big political Party? Dr Roy was a personal friend of Mrs Gandhi's grandfather Motilal Nehru He had seen her from childhood He did not believe that Mrs Gandhi had any leadership qualities

Rajiv's style of functioning will of course be different from Sanjay's. The two brothers had quite different personalities Amongst his triends Rajiv is known to be a cautious, patient, middle-of-the-road, extremely polite young man The other day I went along with a colleague to No 1 Safdarjung Road to see Maneka. We were waiting for her when I asked Raghu (Sanjay's secretary) whether we could see Rajiv for a minute Raghu immediately took us to another room where Rajiv was talking to an elderly gentleman with a petition in his hands. We waited for about ten minutes and saw the gentleman reading and explaining the petition to Rajiv in detail Rajiv was listening patiently. The difference was glaring First, Raghu or any other secretary would not have dared to take us to Sanjay without seeking his permission before and second, Sanjay would have dismissed that gentleman within two minutes He would never have allowed the gentleman to read and explain the petition and detain him for more than ten minutes.

Sanjay brought up with him mainly those whose style of functioning he liked and admired. Men like Narasimha Rao, Pranab Mükherjee, Vasant Sathe, Venkataraman would suit Rajiv's style more than men like Zail Singh, Arjun Singh or Sitaram Kesri.

Politically, Rajiv will also have to depend more on the younger generation than on the senior people. But the younger leaders of the Sanjay era who do not mend their ways and adopt or follow the Rajiv style will have to go out of the limelight. Some of them like Kamal Nath and Arun Nehru are known to Rajiv for a long time. They are also close to the family. They will continue to be important if they can adjust themselves a bit. But the others will have to go through another apprenticeship.

Even if Rajiv has the qualities, the big question will be that of time It takes at least two years for any newcomer to get a strong foot-hold in such a vast organisation as the Congress Party. To be in the commanding position of the Party he must know at least a dozen of the leaders in every state branch. He should also have a fair idea about their nature and style of working He must also have a good idea about the principal political Parties and their leaders And above all, he must have a thorough knowledge about the people of the country It is a tremendous task which will take at least two years for any newcomer to complete

Will Mrs Gandhi get these two years? Physically she is in a sound condition. Sanjay's tragic death must have told upon her nerves very seriously, but indications available during the first three weeks have made it abundantly clear that her faculties are working well. She has not lost her judgment, shrewdness and determination. Basically she is the same person till now. But for an unforeseen accident, there is no reason why she will not be able to run the show for at least the next few vears.

True, the infighting in the Congress(I) will not just continue but is expected to take a more ugly turn in the next few months. But none of the Partymen will challenge her position. They will not dare to oppose the induction of Rajiv also. Rather, most of them will welcome Rajiv and vie with each other to get closer to him. And, if he has the ability it will not be very difficult for Rajiv to establish himself as the second-in-command within two years.

Death of an actress

Mental agony caused her to commit suicide



Lakshmishree

⁹EN weeks atter Shoba ended her Llife, another teenage film actress, Lakshmishree, was found hanging in her bedroom in Madras The reason for the tragedy appeared to be her strong wish to formalise her relationship with businessmanturned-producer, Jaisingh. In Shoba's case the failure of Balu Mahendra to sever his links with his wife caused many emotional problems for the actress. In Lakshmishiee's case too, it was the refusal of Jaisingh to give up his wife and two children that prompted her to hang herself in the toom in which her lover was resting

On the morning of 11 July, 1980 Jaisingh was woken up by a continuous tappung on the door It was Padmashree, the younger sister of Lakshmi who wanted her sister to take a call from a producer Still sleepy, Jaisingh looked around and could not see Lakshmishree in bed Suddenly he let out a scream when he saw the 18-year-old actress hang ing in a corner of the room. She had hanged herself with a nylon saree The police were contacted immediately. Doctors and forensic experts completed the preliminary examinations and the body was removed to the general hospital for a post mortem. Lakshmishree was cremated

the same evening. For a time the journalists of the city thought they had a sensational story on their hands but it was nipped in the bud by Lakshmishree's parents and friends who assured the newsmen that the actress had tried to terminate her life on three previous occasions. Once she tried to jump before an electric train On another occasion she poured kerosene on herself and tried to immolate herself.

A promising artiste, Lak-shmishree had ten completed films to her credit and had been praised for her performance in Dharma Yuddam in which she acted as Rainikant's younger sister. Ironically enough she was brutally "murdered in the film which Madras Doordarshan had telecast just a few days before she hanged herself. Despite the film's box-office success Lakshmishree's career remained in the doldrums And the feeling of insecurity must have prompted her to seek a more permanent relationship with her lover. It is believed that the liaison with Jaisingh had continued for nearly 26 months.

There had been trouble from Lakshmishree's family regarding the relationship According to Jaisingh, Lakshmishree's mother had asked him to get a divorce just three days before the star took her life. If he did not intend to marry her daughter, he should stop living with her, the mother had warned "I packed up some of my personal items and left the house and this upset Lak-shmishree considerably," recalled Jaisingh

That same evening, Lakshmishree drove to a beach resort in Mahabalipuram where she rented a "hut" in a secluded place. There she started consuming poison but soon changed her mind and instead drove

Jaisingh

herself home, dazed. In the meantime her mother had been looking for her frantically. She had telephoned her friends, producers as well as Jaisingh during her daugh-

ter's four-hour absence.

When Lakshmishree returned, her mother knew that something was wrong At about the same time the beach Resort Manager who knew Lakshmishree quite well telephoned her mother and informed her that he had found a half-empty bottle of poison in her "hut". The family doctor was summoned immediately and the actress was given a drip. Jaisingh stayed by her side through the night and Lakshmishree's mother did not protest

about his presence.

Jaisingh visited the actress's house the next evening after attending to his factory business Once again the question of marriage was raised.Lakshmishree's mother also joined in the conversation and told Jaisingh that either he should marry her daughter or terminate their relationship "On the other hand, Lakshmishree kept insisting that I should divorce my wife at any cost and live with her on a permanent basis. I just could not concede to the demand," said Jaisingh The talks continued till the early morning of Friday 11 July, 1980. "I was thor-oughly exhausted," continued Jaisingh. "I had hardly slept the previous night and had gone through a great amount of strain in the factory. So I decided to catch up on some sleep. And as I was going to sleep, I told Lakshmishree that my committment towards her would continue whether I divorced my wife or not After I fell asleep, mother and daughter continued discussing the same subject." Lakshmishree must have ended her life soon after her mother left the room.

Rathi Devi, who was to attend a dubbing session with the deceased actress on the day of the suicide for a film called Azhagu recalled how Lakshmishree used to complain bitterly about her mother, her lover and the film industry. "She thought Dharma Yuddam would work miracles for her but it did not. Well, she picked up quite a few assignments after that film clicked but they were not big films. But if she had patience till the release of Azhagu she would have been able to shine better," added Rathi Devi.

ARTHUR PAIS, Madras

Political fortunes

Calcutta astrologer, Amritlal, Ahad sent us these predictions long before the accidental death of Mr Sanjay Gandhi. According to him, Mrs Gandhi's personal horoscope shows that her bad times will continue till January 22, 1982, the period till August 19, 1980 is particularly inauspicious. She will face obstructions in her work, and there may even face a serious crisis before August 19 which will require all her powers of calm decision-making to overcome. For the Congress (1) as a Party, the period from July 27 to January 1982 does not seem too bright The traditional Congress infighting will cause the Party many problems, even occasionally threatening its very structure.

CONGRESS(U)

Till 8 May 1981, it stands little chance of making any impact; some major leaders might in fact leave it. But if the Party can be saved from self-destruction till September 1981, then between October next year and September 1982, it will see a major upswing in its fortunes. And things will be even better for it after October 5, 1983.

JANATA PARTY

All loyalists still believing in the Janata Party will have to wait at least till 1982, before that time the Party will remain insignificant, and suffer from what happens to all Parties when they are out of power—desertion and infighting Things get better after 1983.

COK DAL

Born after many contortions and confusions, it is difficult to pin down a time of birth of the Lok Dal and create a horoscope. However, it can be seen that the period between October this year and 1983 will be good for this Party.

BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY A high position in this Party will go to a woman, or the Party will get a boost because of the work of a woman. By September 1982, an important leader of this Party could pass away. There will be a certain amount of disunity, but the future of the Party is bright. After May 25, 1982, the BJP could even come to power in alliance with others. This phase of its life continues till February 3, 1985,

SHOTGUN WEDDING



Shatrughan Sinha, the Hindi screen villain recently was wedded in holy matrimony. At the wedding were (from left to right) Shatru's sister, Shatru, his mother, the bride Poonam and Shatru's brother. The exclusive photograph is by Durgaprasad

Presidential record

RAGHUVANSH, the 15-year-old boy of St Xavier's School, Jaipur has been given the rare honour of being appointed the president of the educational and cultural board of the UNESCO for children. This was the result of the world record set by him by obtaining 97 per cent marks in the general knowledge test organised by the United Nations every year Previous record holders* an American and a Soviet student had obtained 92 per cent marks UNESCO's regional office informed him that, "As the records set up by you are the world records you are being appointed as president of the educational and cultural board of UNESCO for children"

"As the youngest and only student member of UNESCO's educational and cultural board headquarters at Paris, Raghuvansh will be the president for a five year term from 1980 to 1985. "We were overwhelmed on receiving the news. Raghuvansh was working very hard and we were quite sure of his getting the merit certificate again. But his breaking the

world record was beyond our imagination", said his uncle, a physician. The United Nations will arrange for Raghuvansh's educational tours to the UNESCO and UNO headquarters at Paris and New York "But I will not undertake these trips at the cost of my studies", he told Sunday. Currently a student of class ten, he aims at getting a degree in medicine. Raghu as he is called, spends his leisure hours reading and is a good sportsman too, for he plays cricket, badminton and tennis for his school team How does he work on his general knowledge? He devotes at least four hours a day reading books on general knowledge, magazines and newspapers.

As president of the board for children and as a member of the headquarters board, Raghuvansh plans to appeal to the United Nations Organisation and the UN-ESCO to provide more money for eradication of illiteracy from the underdeveloped countries of the world

MILAP CHAND DANDIYA, Jaipur

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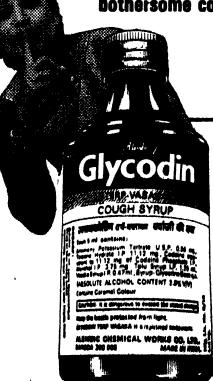
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STOTE OF THE STOTE

'Offensive' but not 'unparliamentary'

Bhupesh Gupta and Khushwant Singh cross swords



Khushwant Singh

66 TT is a pity that so much time in LParliament is wasted on futilities," said Mr Khushwant Singh, editor of the Hindustan Times and nominated member of the Rajya Sabha. He was referring to the altercation between Mr Bhupesh Gupta(CPI) and himself which took up two full mornings in the Rajya Sabha, on 3 and 7 July.

It all began on 3 July when Mr Bhupesh Gupta, while commenting on the Information and Broadcasting Minister's statement on small and medium newspapers said "On the other hand there are government agencies and a bunch of flatterers and sychophants. I hate it. A prominent journalist who has been editor of a largely circulated English weekly, illustrated or otherwise, the kind of stuff he is writing makes one sick. I hope I would never live to see such journalists who are newly elected to the Houses of Parliament, to this House or that House, trying to serve their personal ends."

"What provoked me was not the fact that I had been called a sychophant of Mrs Gandhi or Sanjay Gandhi, but the suggestion that I had done what I had done to benefit (myself). This is grossly untrue," said Mr Khushwant Singh. "Even when Mrs Gandhi was down and out I supported her. And I carried on doing so, It is a facile assumption that I supported the Emergency. I protested against the Press censorship and even printed articles by people opposed to the Emergency. I even lost my job because I sup-ported her, so obviously it was not to benefit myself. If people think that he was being subtle, then I am sorry for the people.

On July 7 in the Rajya Sabha, in a speech during the zero hour, Mr Singh made this very clear. He said. "It is a well laid rule that no one member of this House has a right to be offensive and insulting about another... I have been subjected to injury and abuse... There is not the slightest doubt that this offensive reference (quoted above) is to me. There is not the slightest doubt that this is offensive and insulting to a fellow member, and there is not the slightest doubt that it contravenes the rules of the House...I am not sure whether 'sycophant' is unparliamentary, but it is certainly offensive and insulting. The dictionary defines the word 'sycophant' in the following words: 'informer, tale-bearer, calumniator, slanderer, mean, contemptible, cringing, imposter, deceiver.' ... I have no doubt that what the honourable member was referring to me as a sycophant was my loyalty to Mrs Gandhi and her son, the late Sanjay Gandhi. I plead guilty to that I am a supporter, I have been a supporter.

Bhupesh Gupta



But when he says that I did it for personal ends, he is not being correct." Mr Khushwant Singh then demanded that Mr Bupesh Gupta

apologise for his remarks.

Mr Gupta, however, refused to apologise and said that "I always pay deference to any member in the House as a member of this House, not as what they are elsewhere, and Mr Khushwant Singh as long as he is a member of this House and my colleague, is entitled to all my personal respect and consideration. But I have a public duty too." He said that he had used the term 'sycophants' in two places, both in the plural." I said sycophants should not be consulted but editors with integrity, with independent views and courage should be consulted." And paraphrasing what Nehru used to say, 'Join the peace movement and see the world,' Mr Gupta said, "Join the Surva and come to the Rajya Sabha," and concluded by saying, "as far as apology is con-cerned, I will not be a Communist and patriot if I did not say that. Not a syllable of it will I withdraw. I think it will be my duty so long as I am here to expose all the sycophants." To this Mr Khushwant Singh said, "You are not a gentleman," and used two words to describe Mr Gupta which were promptly expunged from the records.

"I knew that such language was unparliamentary and I know that I should't have said those words, but I just lost my temper and I did," said Mr Khushwant Singh."But insult and abuse cannot be a one way traffic And though this goes against my profession of being a Gandhiite, I believe in retaliation. My language was unparliamentary, but I think the language Mr Bhupesh Gupta used was also unparliamentary.

"Unparliamentary? Not a word from my speech of 3 July in which I used the word 'sycophants' has been expunged as unparliamentary. How can he say that?" asked Mr Bhupesh Gupta. "The words used by Mr Khushwant Singh against me were expunged despite my request that they should not be expunged so that the country might know what a three-day-old member of the Rajya Sabha thinks of a person who has been in the Rajya Sabha for about 30 years. Also the President should know what kind of members he nominated "

"My friends say that Bhupesh Gupta got the better of me because I lost my temper. But I felt triumphant. And there was total silence Khushwant Singh. Mr Bhupesh Gupta's reply was, "Let the country judge." while I was speaking," said Mr

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

Can Mrs. Gandhi provide a national consensus?

On this depends the nation's future, says RASHEED TALIB

ne of the saddest features of the past five years in India is that one group or the other of the intelligentsia has been prevented from making a nonpartisan analysis of the crisis that has held the country in a vice-like grip since the early seventies.

First there was the Emergency with its counterproductive disci-pline of censorship, imposed from above. This bred a whole army of sycophants in one section of the thinking public, while the other sulked in their tents. The sycophants ultimately cut off those they hoped to serve from the people - with results that can now be seen to have been disastrous not only for the Congress Party and Mrs Gandhi but, more tragically, for the country.

The Emergency years (1975-77) were followed by 30 months of Janata rule. This was an equally stifling period for Indian intellectuals. A new kind of conformity was in the air that was largely self-imposed and amounted to censorship from below. During the two and a half years, almost the entire intelligentsia-on the euphoric rebound from the Emergency—went along, willy-nılly, with the pretence that an unviable coalition would be able to hold together. Indeed, so absorbed were they in this self-deluding exercise that most of them ended up by becoming partisan apologists for the Janata regime, blinding themselves to the real business of discovering what was wrong with the country and why.

There were, of course, a few hon ourable exceptions Surprisingly, they were mostly newspaper columnists who, especially during the latter half of the Janata's brief term in power, began to present an impartial picture of the underlying national crisis. By the very nature of their contributions, however, they could not deal with the broader and more comprehensive issues.

What will always remain a blot on India's academic community is that no scholar, working in the cloistered and calmer atmosphere of its more than a hundred universities, was



able to come up with a good diagnosis of the national malaise.

Now, at last, the vicious circle has come to an end-of Emergency being followed by counter Emergency, with loss of freedom for one section of the thinking public or the other Something like the more tolerant atmosphere of Mrs Gandhi's early years in office in the sixties is back. And perhaps there will not be a time like the present to dig deeper into the causes that have mired this country in the trough of low growth and productivity when it is otherwise poised for a take-off.

One way to examine the Indian problem-and indeed of coming to some agreement about it-is to try to identify the disease rather than start prescribing remedies for it. Indian analysts have been rather long on advice about how to cure the illness without first arriving at an agreed view of what ails the patient. Naturally, the truth has eluded them.

THE root cause of the present crisis goes back to 1962, if not earlier. That was the year when, in an important sense, the national consensus collapsed. A national consensus is that unstated understanding among the people (or, at any rate, among important sections of

them) which helps to put certain national issues beyond the pale of political controversy On such issues, a predominantly large body of public opinion chooses voluntarily to exercise self-restraint. When there is a national consensus, it is impossible for anyone to exploit certain supra-political issues in a manner that causes harm to the national interest.

In 1962 the Chinese armies briefly entered India. And, after deliver. ing a few sharp blows to our military prestige, they withdrew unilaterally. The Chinese invasion is important not because India was engaged in a shooting war with a neighbour (India has been in similiar situations before and since) but because of the big domestic change that followed this short border conflict.

For, soon after 1962, the Indian military budget had to be increased nearly two and a half times. Many' will remember that the Finance Minister in Nehru's Cabinet then. was none other than Morarji Desai, who was later to head the first, non-Congress post-Emergency government at the centre. Nehru, of course, never recovered his political elan after India's humiliation by the

Poor Nehru. For years, he had

followed a policy of China pacification—some would say, appeasement. He had his reasons. He had hoped to keep India out of a wasteful arms race with its powerful neighbour. Chou En-lat's double-talk on the border issue left Nehru with little choice but to impose a big extra defence burden on the Indian economy. In that sense, 1962 marks a watershed.

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INDIAN intellectuals are deeply suspicious of the character of to-day's Parliamentarians. But instead of arguing for institutional changes in the manner in which a political Party—every Party—selects its candidates, they tend to believe that the rot can be stemmed by making the court's will prevail over Parliament's For them, the judges can do no wrong. But judges are human beings, too In fact, yesterday's lawyers are today's judges.

The task of the highest judiciary in a fast-developing country like India is, at best, to offer-as a young Indian law don at Oxford maintains-an after the-event rationalisation of the changing political, economic and social values of the people. Indeed, what else can a judge do? Especially in today's India, faced as he is with extreme vacillations of the electoral verdict between now this, now exactly the opposite, political group? With the spate of inconsistent court judgments in recent years, including some by the Supreme Court-even Mrs Gandhi's critics must begin to realise this

In 1977 came the ultimate crisis. The people-bewildered by the repeated failures of the Indian political system to deliver on its promises-turned to the devil they did not know. The northern and more populous states swept away Mrs Gandhi and her Congress Party and rashly decided to try out a Samyukta Vidhyak Dal coalition, alias the Janata Party, at the centre. Such SVD coalition governments had a disaster in the states in 1967. It was on the cards then that the Janata experiment at the centre would be no better and, in some sense, would be more disastrous by virtue of being tried at the Union level. The Janata Party was never a viable proposition—as anyone can now see from the way it has split and resplit just before the state Assembly elections. It eventually crumbled under the weight of its own contradictions. Yet, when it was in office between 1977 and 1979, it generated a great deal of enthusiasm among intellectuals. Blinded by their anti Mrs Gandhi passion, they had failed yet again to understand the Indian reality.

As with the Emergency, the "gains" of the Emergency have also received short shrift from most of Mrs Gandhi's critics. But here the fault is not all theirs. For, whatever the Emergency's gains, these could never quite measure up to the extravagant claims made for them by Mrs Gandhi's propaganda machine. There were, however, real gains during the Emergency, mainly on the economic front.

It is no one's case that the economy improved in every respect during the 21 months that the discipline of the Emergency lasted. Many long-term problems like unemployment, far from showing any improvement, may even have worsened. But critics of the Emergency have been too obsessed with its losses to be trusted for an objective assessment of the gains. These were, of course, mostly of a short-term kind. The 21-month period was not long enough for anything more to be attempted. My hunch (based on figures looked at a long time ago) is that, in two significant economic areas, much progress was recorded during the Emergency.

The first of these was the better and fuller utilisation of installed industrial capacity in the public sector. And the second, the collection and recovery of various revenues and taxes, whether levied on municipal property in Delhi or on personal incomes, despite no increase in the rates and at times even a decrease in them. Whether these claims are valid or not is not the point. The question is, have our professionals looked at them closely enough to find out the truth?

There is need too, for us to examine another argument regarding the economy if we are to make an objective assessment of the Emergency gains. A feature of many economic achievements and failures is what, for want of a better label, I call "the pipeline effect". That is to say, there is usually a time lag before the good or bad effects of any policy decision, particularly in the economic field, begin to make themselves felt. Until then, they are in the pipeline, as it were, and begin to pour out their beneficial or adverse effects later.

Thus, it could be maintained that the Janata Party was able to coast along comfortably during its first two years in office because, in part at least, it enjoyed the pipeline benefits accumulated during the Emergency. And, by the same token, one could make out a strong case that Mrs Gandhi in 1980 is reaping the adverse effects, political and economic, of the mismanagement and drift that marked the preceding Janata Government's tenure in office.

India's instant historians have tended to ignore so obvious a point

in their partisan analyses. They have 🥕 too readily assumed that the character of the national crisis has not changed since the Nehru era The fact is that the early sixties mark India's entry into a difficult phase, the dangerous decades. And it should have been obvious that in the post-1962 era a soft state like India, with its democratic polity, would find it increasingly difficult to make its people, steeped in poverty, tighten their belts further in order to raise the resources needed for the growing tasks of defence and development No wonder, those who do not quite take this into account tend to hark back nostalgically to Nehru's balmy days when it was possible for India to combine democracy with

development.
Before 1962, a kind of national consensus had obtained in India. This helped the country to hold together and keep its head above water despite the many buffetings it suffered, including of course Partition Although at the start there was considerable pessimism, India launched on its journey as an independent nation, helped by a mass surge of popular hope. Nehru was at the helm and all was right with the world. Most people genuinely believed that India would become a strong and prosperous country within a single generation. The national consensus was rooted in this hope and in Nehru's charismatic personality.

The existence of a consensus in the early years of a nation's life is common to many newly independent countries. First-generation national leaders always have this advantage. Whether it was Nehru, Nasser or even Mao, their particular charisma was aided by a spontaneously generated self-restraint on the part of the people they led. In that hes the essence of what I mean by a national

But once the early shine begins to fade, latter-day national leaders have a hard time keeping their charisma in good repair. They are often compelled to refurbish their image with populism and even gimmickry. This change in the objective situation offers a better explanation for the recurring crises that have beset many Third World countries — and not the personal or political peccadilloes of their leaders.

Instead of recognising the tough, structural factors that have thrown India into a state of permanent crisis, Indian intellectuals put on blinkers and lapse into nostalgia. Either that or they dream up utopian solutions of how India will make a "total revolution" and emerge as a decentralised and confederal polity that will transform it into "the best of all possible worlds"

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popular national consensus is Aneeded if any nation is to hold together. In this sense, it is a must as much for a developing country as for a developed one. Without the implicit compact among the people and between the Parties to put certain basic issues beyond partisan dispute, even a developed country would totter in a crisis.

A developed country has, of course, more of an economic cushion. And it is easier for a popular consensus to obtain, once a nation has attained certain minimum levels of general prosperity: more people develop a stake in the system. Where a national consensus fails to gell — as has happened in the USA sometimes or in France during the Third Republic - you get a crisis of democracy of the kind witnessed there; MacCarthyite witch-hunting in the USA Gaullist authoritarianism in France.

There is yet another difference between the developed and developing nations. In a developing country, the consensus is usually fragile and constantly under strain; in a developed nation, it has a more durable quality. And it doesn't take much study to see that the familiar tale of political and economic instability in the newly independent countries of the Third World is essentially the history of a collapse of the national consensus.

HOWEVER that may be, to any disinterested observer it was clear even during the Emergency that Mrs Gandhi-courageously rather than expediently and under the influence of her son, Sanjayhad plumped for a new, two-pronged strategy. Its basic thrust was, on the one hand, to spur economic growth hard, no matter what the political cost, and to curb population growth hard, irrespective again of the political price She sought to secure.the first objective by curbing the growing evil of labour indiscipline especially in the public and governmental sectors; and the second, by introducing harsh measures of population control among the masses.

As a purely short-term and bourgeois soulution to India's two major problems of low output and increasing misery, such a strategy could be shown to have a certain validity. However, for these tough policies, because she was so cava-herly unmindful of the costs, Mrs Gandhi paid the highest price that any politician in a democracy can Or, to put it differently, she suffered the fate common to all dictatorseven one as mild as her. The barriers of sycophancy and censorship she raised around herself resulted eventually in her being totally cut off from the people. So much so that when she held a free and fair election to test her popularity (and, let it be remembered, no dictator in living memory has ever been tempted to do so) she was swept aside by a mass explosion of anger among her most loyal and stable constituents—the Muslim and Harijan poor in the backward northern States who, ironically, were most in need of the bitter medicine which she so harshly administered to them during the Emergency.

Later, however, when she was down and out, instead of her political opponents seeking to destroy her on one pretext or another, they gave her a free and fair chance to make a political come-back, just as three years earlier she had given them the same opportunity to displace her and the Emergency. This will surely remain uniquely to the credit of

Indian democracy.

My point in recalling all this is to show that it is not the human factor that is responsible for India's many woes—as is fashionably believed but rather the situation in which the politicians must now operate. Indeed, the human material for dedicated and patriotic leadership that India has today—both in government and opposition—is second to none when compared to that fielded by any Third World country. Of course, there has been a general loss of values in Indian politics, but this can be said of any sphere of national life which you may care to mention. It is a loss, moreover, which is itself the result of our failing political and socio-economic system. So if the politicians strut the stage, flail their arms or saw the air in a vain bid to invoke an instant solution to deeprooted national ills, it should cause no surprise. For, the crisis in India today is systemic and structural. No wonder it is not amenable to tinkerings

Mrs Gandhi in 1980—petrified and paralysed by her post-Emergency trauma—is unable to move forward except with extreme caution and circumspection. This, incidentally, may not be a bad thing in the long run. Anyone who believed she would arrive on the postelection scene, wave a magic wand, and our problems would be instantly solved must still believe in miracles. Without the extraordinary tools she placed in her own hands during the Emergency, she can hardly, in the Churchillian phrase, "finish the job" At best, as a bolder and more decisive leader than her rivals, she can tighten the administration and show marginal improvement in a number of areas despite the legacy of mess left to her by the Janata.

The fact is—and one that few Indian intellectuals are willing to admit-that the country is now caught in a crunch. In this situation, something has to give. It is better for us to try and discover what this crunch consists of and where its. pincers lie-before we go on to consider how to free ourselves from its

immobilising squeeze.
The crunch in Indian affairs springs basically from what I like to call the Four Impossibles in today's situation. By that I mean that the following four goals are impossible to achieve simultaneously, all in the same time-span. These are:

(a) We should maintain a high defence posture with increasing selfreliance in nuclear technology and defence manufacture so that we compete with China in this region and not with our other and smaller

neighbours;

(b) We should not hurt the traditional sensibilities of the people by insisting on a well-regulated programme of mass sterilisations, here

and now;

The consensus in a developing country collapses most certainly where the system also fails to deliver the results expected of it, especially after its people have waited long. As this patience begins to wear thin, it tends to result in what some political scientists have called pressures from below." These are a healthy development and arise only in a free electoral democracy. But they also tend to shake things up, culminating in disorder and instability — not necessarily revolution making it ever more difficult for the established government to deliver even the little it might otherwise have done.

The dreary catalogue of destabilising events that have followed India's shattered consensus since 1962 is too well known to require a detailed recount. It is enough here to identify some of the more important

happenings

Take the interval between Nehru's death in 1964 and Mrs Gandhi's being sworn in as Prime Minister in 1966. This period was spanned by Lal Bahadur Shastri's 18-month tenure, cut short by his tragic death at Tashkent. It passes for analysis among some intellectuals to recall Shastri's term as Prime Minister with a certain lingering romanticism. This is clearly too rosy a view and not justified by the facts. For, none other than Mrs Vijaya Łakshmi Pandit had in a famous speech in Parliament bitterly attacked Shastri for being "a prisoner of indecision" just when he appeared quite unable to cope with the gathering crisis. It was India's somewhat ambiguous victory in the brief war with Pakistan in September 1965 and, more than that, Shastri's sudden end soon after he had signed the Tashkent pact which enabled the country to pull a veil over his lacklustre performance.



After Shastri's death, Mrs Gandhi took over, only to be confronted with one of India's worst droughts in recent memory—a crisis which dra matically revealed the failures of our population control programmes. That the country was in extremes was highlighted by the 1967 general election results, when the undivided Congress Party was swept out of office in half the states and replaced in some by various rickety and unstable Samyukta Vidhayak Dals—the first tangible evidence that the national consensus had collapsed

This long run of troubles was briefly and temporarily arrested in 1969 and the popular consensus repaired somewhat by the Congress split of that year—scemed even to have been restored, especially after Mrs Gandhi's decisive victory in the Bangladesh war over Pakistan two years later But the restoration of the consensus was an optical illusion, induced by India's short lived triumph in the Bangladesh war With the return of economic trou bles in 1973—the year of the sharp rise in the price of crude oil—the ship of state was back in the econo mic and political doldrums

In some such historical perspec tive, it is possible to view the next big crisis to explode on us-Mis Gandhi's Fmergency of 1975 77 with far more sympathy than she has received at the hands of her critics The Emergency was a hasty re sponse—a crude one, as it turned out to what was a particularly unman ageable situation (Remember, some who are now regarded as top Janata intellectuals felt Mrs Gandhi was irreplaceable on the eve of the Emergency) Once again, however, instant historians have indulged in the simplistic explanation that the only concern of Mrs Gandhi-disqualified by a High Court for "corrupt electoral practices" on hyper technical grounds—was to remain glued in office as Prime Minister So, they believe, the I mergency was nothing more than a Kissa Kursi Ka

(c) We should not insist that our labour unions in the organised sector be content, for a while, with the relative prosperity achieved by the workers represented by them until the claims of the non-unionised in dustrial and rural labour in the unorganised sector are at least partially met, and

(d) We should seek to achieve all this in an atmosphere of permissive and even licentious democracy in which the political elements reject totally the need for any self restraint (We are back in the other words, to the old issue of national consensus raised earlier in this essay)

It seems to me patent that India is in so good an economic position today that any three of them—and literally any combination of three can be achieved at the same time, but not all four That is the reason why I call them the Four Impossibles Every one, no doubt, will have his own list of such impossibles. And about whether two, three or more of them can be secured simultaneously or not, there can again be an endless debate. But all that need not detain us here, it can be taken up on another occasion.

A more hopeful way of looking at the Four Impossibles is to note that the country has been able to achieve some kind of a consensus with regard to two of the four issues. These are that India, having lost its international innocence in 1962, has to keep itself armed and battle ready for possible aggression from any comparable power in the region. In other words, there are no differ-

ences among major political groupings now about the need for India to maintain a big defence budget of the kind it has since 1962 And, second, that no matter what, we have to find solutions to our problems within the constraints of a liberal democratic system under which different political Parties are free to organise themselves, and the people's wishes about who should govern are ascertained at free and fair elections, periodically held. The question which then arises is, whether we can cobble a similar national understanding on the other two surviving issues And that is where, it seems to me, the crux of India's continuing crisis lies

This may seem a somewhat simplistic diagnosis of the complex troubles that ail the sick giant that India is today. But it should serve as a starting point for discussions and help us to arrive at an agreed analysis of what is wrong with the country. This is preferable to each of us prescribing his own favourite remedy.

The intellectual tendency today is to put the cart before the horse, the cure before the diagnosis while discussing the Indian problem. In prescribing remedies, too, the Indian intellectual, when not harbouring a nostalgia about the Nehru Shastri period, takes refuge in the utopia of a decentralised India of Gandhi's and JP's conception. His effort seems to be somehow to evade the present reality.

I have no doubt that the destiny of a continental nation like India is to move in the direction, ultimately, of a decentralised economy and, possibly, a confederal political structure But all this is a matter for the future Before that, however, India has to pass through the long present phase of centralised rule, if it is to heave itself out of the rut of tradi tion and poverty. In this effort, its relatively backward and forward re gions have to pull together—not away from each other And our Jana ta intellectuals would do well to remember that it is because of this reality that no major political Party is for a genuinely decentralist solu tion-no matter what their election manifestos say

My simple plea is let the wise doctors—the interns, the general physicians, the specialists—sit together and confer. Let them first agree among themselves whether India's ailment is a slow wasting disease like tuberculosis or a termin al cancer or what else. After they agree among themselves on the nature or, as the specialists would put it, the aetiology of the disease, that will be the time for putting the cure, the remedy, the prescription on the agenda for the nation. Any takers?

- -

LIVING

Fault!

There was this tennis on thusiast who was cagcily looking forward to the Calcutta Doordarshan programme on the Wimb ledon men s singles final On the big day he lett the office early, went home and had an early dinner so that he would not miss even a single moment of the game but teen minutes before the programme began he was seated before the televi sion set and everybody else was forbidden to make any noise whatev er But there was just one thing that worried him would the current stay on long enough to allow him to watch the entire prog ramme? He was on ten terhooks throughout and bit his fingernails during the news as valuable time was ticking away Sure enough, soon after the news, when Borg and McFnroe were battling it out at 66 in the final gruelling set, the lights flickered out

As he tushed through the neighbour's door, the house was plunged into darknesss. And he has never forgiven the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation for it

Psych bike



It could have been a hal lucination, the man riding a bicycle across the water. But it wasn't. The centre of attraction, 47 year old. Brahmakumat Chaurasia, was no phan tom. With two floats and a propeller attached to his cycle he traversed the Kankaria. Lake before a mammoth Sunday crowd, which applauded every moment of the strange feat.

He first ventured to cross a river three years ago and has never looked back since, polishing his skill in the waters off the Gujarat coast. However,

his eyes are set on the English Channel, which he is determined to cross on the water cycle and judging by his determi nation, he should have no problem. Since the day he quit his paan shop in Mirzapur in September 1975 he has logged ab out 25 000 kilometres on his cycle—over water, of course. His grit has impressed the Lion's Club. which has sponsored his demonstrations in sever al Indian cities, but as lanushree Gango padhyay adds, he has plenty of teats up his sleeve vet

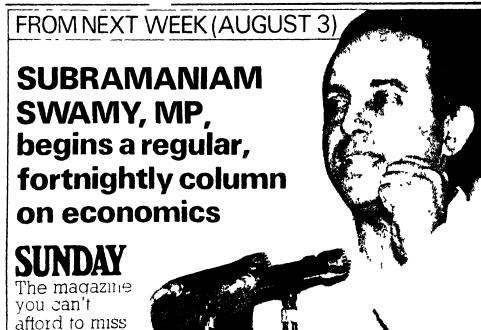
Pick of the pocket

One of the country's first pocket cartoon charac iers was a man with a round head and an oversized nose who answered to the name of Shingan na He made his appear ance in the late fifties in the daily Navabharatha, which was very popular in Karnataka Shingan na's fans grew with every passing year and the strange looking man rose to the height of his popularity in the sixties. It soon came to the stage where the cartoonist Mr K Ramaktishna was cal led Shinganna as well

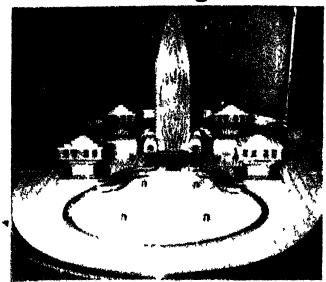


Shinganna the cartoon character

After a decade in Navabharatha, Shingan na moved over to Udayavanı but not for long His fans did not realise it at the time but Shinganna's days were numbered and a few years later the cartoon character stopped appearing Despite the massive public demand, reports Shree Padre, the talented cartoonist claimed that he had retired There was a collective groan from his fans but in May this year, af ter a lapse of seven years, Shinganna made a silent reappearance, this time in Navabharatha again The pity of it is that since the circulation of the paper has dropped considerably the reappearance is almost unnoticed



A trace of genius



One of Raj Kumai's scrap models

Ray Kumar is called Mod cl Ingineer by his friends and with good reason too This 21 year old lad who is currently employed as a tracer and who is simultaneously pursuing his civil engincering diploma, is a genius when it comes to scaled down models. Of Almost anything, it would seem. Some time ago, the Railways recognised the worth of his model of Jallianwala Bagh, Amrit sar and installed it cere moniously at the city rail way station But things have not been going well for him since then He has been asked to leave the Railway Workshop where he was working and in a souvenir brought out when the model was installed, the names of fifteen others were added to the list of the se who had been responsible for the model But Raj has not allowed himself to bow down to Fate Satish Kumar writes that he is still working on his models

R ii Kum ii



DUBIOUS DISTINCTIONS

Boycott of the fortnight not the Olympic boycott, but batsman Geoff Boycott, who saved England in the Third Test

Least recognisable politician of the fortnight Raj Narain, who exchanged his green bandanna for a red one

Identity crisis of the fortnight Master criminal Natwarlal, who has so many aliases that he can't remember his real name

Culinary calamity

A Japanese team—the only foreign contingent to the All Indian Open International Athletic Meet-had its problems with traditional Indian hospitality in lune this year Its members took it with great elan and nev er complained But then again, they couldn't real ly complain because their hosts spoke no lapanese and they them selves spoke no English, except for one member whose English, in any case, was woefully inade quate to add to their misery was the absence

of an interpreter whose need, according to Pra kash Bhandarı, was felt whenever the Japanese athletes tried to express their views with the help of wild gestures and broad smiles. This lan guage was often mis understood Once, when the visitors protested against the hot and spicy dishes served at meal times, the old khansama (cook) took their smiles as a token of apprecia tion of the food, the next day he added a little more spice and chilli to the food

The Trpanese team at the march past



Staging a recovery

In the sixties it was the Amateurs, later the Red Curtain tried to revital ise English theatre in Calcutta Those were the days when one could accurately predict the fate of a production, the number of shows it would last and the kind of audi ence it would draw Pat tons were mainly the club types and few in number. The plays were mainly British and com mercial floos. This was in sharp contrast to the scene in Bombay where Adı Marzban was busy promoting a new brand of theatre with a bestsellmg blend of comedy and sex

It took a long time for Calcutta to take the cue from Marzban but, with a series of "naughty plays" over the last few years, English theatre in the city has finally staked its

claim to the bigtime So lucrative in fact is the English stage that Cal cutta now boasts of one company which is in volved almost wholetime in promoting plays and smaller groups which appear at regular inter vals. This has resulted in the inevitable there are 'stars" who play a big part in the success of a production They have no loyalties and drift from group to group, seldom involved in serious enter tainment A refreshing change, however was noticed in a recent production of The Odd Couple by The Entertainers It was one of those rare cases of a new group get ting together a number of "stars" and a few fresh faces to provide some method to the madness which is English theatic ın Calcutta



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HF premiere of Quibani ▲ was tollowed by a very lavish party at the Oberon Towers The star attraction of the evening was Nazia Hassan, the Baat Ban Jave Pakistani nightingale who lives in London Her family was also present at the party. The filin's star cast was there in full strength but the absence of other stars was conspicuous Amjad Khan, surprisingly failed to turn up though he had attended the premiere and even delivered a short speech during the interval The party at the Oberon Towers reminded one of a marriage ceremony Ladies in heavy silk sairs sprinkled rose water on the guests and piled them with garlands Clay oil lamps lined the stancase -a traditional mark of celebration

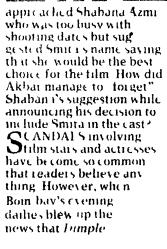
The bar and the butlet table were lavishly spread out. There was everything one could dream of drinking or eating from cavial to lobsters and endless Indian rare specialities. But this superbitiest did not make up for poor star attendance. Were the stars kept out deliberately in an attempt to make the parts a tamily after to the unit and the beautiful problem.

Khan tamilies only? Heroine Zeenat Aman was there in flesh wearing a deep maroon silk salwar kameez and laden with gold ornaments. She looked nice and glowing with good health. She sat at a table with Nazia Hassan who couldn't stop eating when she wasn't talking Facing 🛊 their table, a few feet away, sat Sanjay Khan with his wife and family friends Vinod Khanna and Feroze Khan were in high spirits The band drew out a size able number of couples to the dance floor Nazia sang her hit number with her brother, Suharl Feroze, Vinod and Zeenat also ioined in the chorus Ran *jeeta*, also wearing *salwat* kameez.did not leave her seat but Akbar would go and sit next to her wheney er he got an opportunity I he prominent absentees at

the party were Mrs Sundars Feroze Khan and Mrs Vinod Khanna

A KBAR KHAN's Haadsa will now star Smita Patil and not Raakhee Akbai let it be known that he was smitten by Smita's smouldering eves and her chatm which would go well with the heroine's role in Haadsa Raakhee remained the scape goat and the loser in the bargain What Akbar, however, retrained from saying was that he had also







Smita Patil an instant charmer

Khanna had moved the

court for a divorce, I didn't

believe it But the hoarse

voice, which belonged to

Dimple, told me over the

phone that the news was

sought legal separation

from her husband, Rajesh

Khanna She added that

there was no question of

the relationship had

relenting this time because

true and that she had

RAMESH TALWAR's venture, Basera, sho prove rather interesting This film marks the com together of Gulzar as wr and Raakhee as heroine sides Shashi Kapoor in thero's role, the film also stars Sharmila Lagore A film which has already evoked so much interest its gestation period shot prove fantastic when it i ultimately ready



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ÇHAVAÇ BAVATI



Jacobha the at it ig in

HOW come Anant Nag is acquiring the reputation of being an elusive star? Some producers claim hat he is as slippery as Rekha was some time ago incidentally, Anant and Rekha are going to be featured in a Hindi film soon

One of the most popular stak in Karnataka now, Anant's problems, like that of his brother Shankar, seem to arise from the fact that he wants to manage his own affairs as far as possible I've seen Shankar nego trating heavy traffic on the busy thoroughfares of Bang alore, he has a driver but he likes doing things on his own Which means consider able amount of delay, heart burns and minor irritations

THEY say that her favourite numerologist has asked her to drop her surhame Chatterji And Moushumi now prefers to be called by her first name

4 7 1 m m

alone But, it seems that
Tamil actress, Radhia was
not aware of Moushumi's
preferences So while com
pering the Filmfare awards
function (for southern
films), she requested
Moushumi Chatterji to
come to the dias And
Moushumi sat through the
rest of the programme sulk
ing When will this little girl
grow up?

AMALAHASAN is wary of journalists writing for "upcountry magazines" They come out with all kinds of howlers, he complained A fortnightly from Delhi has "married" him off to Vani Jairam Kamalaha san's wife's name is Vani Ganapathy Vani, the sin ger, Kamalahasan, and Vani, the wife, were really furious when the magazine hit the stands

DIDN'T we tell you of the feud between I V Sasi and Pramod Chakravarthy

furious as Chakravarthy had made many changes in the script of Patita, a remake of Sasi's Her Night 5 But Chakravarthy, who is directing the film, goes around telling people that his writer, Gulshan Nanda was responsible for the changes in the story and Sasi was prepared to incorporate the changes He has also accused Sasi of taking things easy and of keeping Patita dragging for months

It is reported that Pra mod, who was promoting a lamil film Guru, a remake of his smash hit, Jugnu, did not like the film's progress So a few scenes featuring Kamalahasan and Sridevi were shot in Sasi's absence

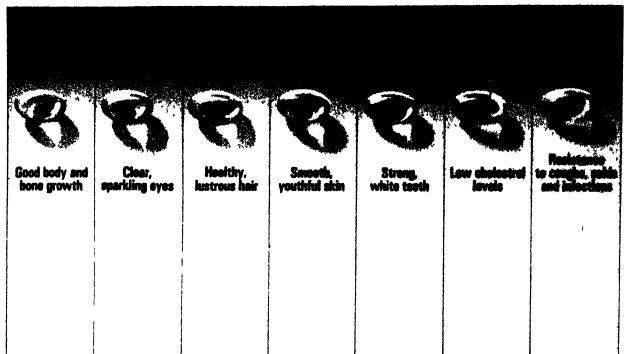
Sasi however does not seem to be worried that Patita did not come up to his expectations. His stars are gaining popularity in Kerala. After a few unsuccessful films, he has had a winner in Angadi starring, among others, his favourite Seema. And Kali, starring Rajnikant, has opened to packed houses.

at once by her flowing hair and a gorgeous blue sarce Shashi, who has worked with a number of Madrasi heroines like Manjula and Rajshri, was surprised to come across a slim Madrasi based heroine When told Rathi is acting in a few Hindi films, his face bright ened up Probably a friend ly producer will pair him with Rathi in the near future

RATHI DEVI's father h and is chasing away photo graphers who want take provocative pictures of his daughter It's time we let the world know that she's doing serious roles in at least six films, he says Pa, pathi, her first film, was released a year ago and no slated for an early release Azhagu in which she's paired with upcoming pop lar star Sarat Babu Rathi Devi still finds time for modelling which, she says she likes more than her fil assignments

PIOUS





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CHAITRA-SS-1

When arrest is illegal

R CB Kaul's arbitrary arrest by the police, at Jammu on June 23, has been deservedly and widely condemned But his experience conforms to the common police practice in the country of knocking at people's doors in the night and demanding their immediate presence at the police station — "Saab bulata hai" (The Saab wants you) Mr Kaul's case received attention understandably because he is a well known journalist and is a correspondent of The Indian Express His experience, in the main, was no diffe ient from that of Mr N K Singh, DIG CEI the chief investigator in the in January Kissa Kursi Ka Case last. Neither was arrested at home or received a written summons from the police calling him for interrogation Yet in both cases the police forcibly took the man away and later put him under arrest. Mr Kaul heard a knock at his door at 8.30 pm. An assistant sub inspector of police called out his name and said 'My SHO wants to talk to you. He asked the SHO to come in but he refused. Mr Kaul goes out and is asked to accompany the SHO to meet the SSP Jammu His protests are brushed iside. We shall have to take you the SHO said — and he is made to sit on the pillion of the SI's scooter and taken to the police station where hours later he is told he is under mest

The manner in which Mr Kaul was taken away was totally illegal and it is time this outrageous practice is ended. The law on the point is clear beyond doubt. Section 41 of the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973, empow ers police officers to arrest without a warrant from a magistrate any person against whom a reasonable complaint has been made or credible information has been received, or a reasonable suspicion exists' of his having been concerned in any cognisable offence Section 46 describes how the arrest must be made "actually touch or confine the body of the person to be arrested, unless there be a submission to the custody by word or action ' Section 49 enjoins that he should "not be subjected to more restraint than is necessary to prevent his escape'

There follows Section 50 which contains a mandatory requirement "I very police officer or other person arresting any person without warrant shall forthwith communicate to him the full particulars of the offence for which he is arrested or other grounds for his arrest"

Further, if the offence of which the man is accused is a bailable one, the



By A G NOORANI

from the information given or other wise, appears to be acquainted with the facts and circumstances of the case, and such person shall attend as so required "

The sanction for non attendance is not arrest but prosecution under Section 174 of the Penal Code for non attendance in obedience to an order of a competent police servant. The courts have ruled that the police officer cannot compel attendance by use of force, still less can be detain or arrest even for a single moment, a person whose statement is required for purposes of investigation.

If there is any attempt forcibly to take away a person for interlogation of otherwise without complying with the legal formalities, he is entitled forcibly to resist. To lay hands on another against his will and without legal authority is assault to detain



Gurgaon police station where N. K. Singh was questioned

police officer is bound to "inform the person airested that he is entitled to be released on bail and that he may arrange for sureties on his behalf." Airest in violation of these provisions is pitentily illegal. Within 24 hours of the arrest, the accused must be produced before a magistrate. But this is generally circumvented by denying the fact of the arrest altogether.

The code makes a different and no less specific provision in regard to attendance of witnesses at a police station for interrogation. Section 160 requires the investigating police officer to make a written order requiring "the attendance before himself of any person being within the limits of his or any adjoining police station who,

him without legal sanction constitutes talse imprisonment. Against both those offences the citizen has the right of self defence and the courts have recognised this right.

In Lord Denning's words, "It should not be supposed that in laying down these principles, the judges have any desire to encourage citizens to resist lawful authority. They do not Nor has that been their effect. It is simply a question of balancing the conflicting interests. Social security requires that the police should have power to make a lawful arrest, but individual freedom requires that a man should have power to resist an unlawful arrest and it need be by force."

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Beginning August 3

This week the Sun and the Rahu are in Cancer, Jupiter alone is in Leo, Saturn and Mars are conjoined in Virgo. Uranus is in Libra, Neptune is inScorpio, Kethu is inCapricorn, Mercury and Venus are conjoined in Gemini. The Moon will be moving through Taurus, Gemini and Cancer from Aries



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ARIES (March 21-April 20) A fair degree of happiness and good fortune is in store for you Those in business should exer-

cise caution. Avoid speculation and show restraint in personal matters Let your intuitions guide you but, at all costs do not indulge in extrava gance Excessive optimism may also prove harmful to you Take care in conserving your resources and neither lend nor borrow dates. 4 6 7 and 9 Lucky numbers: 4, 7 and 6 Favourable direction West



TAURUS (April 21-May 22) Take care in settling your debts Business deals might prove difficult to materialise. An

elder person is likely to cause you some anxiety and trouble unless you act tactfully There are also chances of misunderstanding between partners but no cause for undue alarm This week is on the whole good for personal matters and romance Good dates 4 5, 6 and 8 Lucky numbers 1 3 and 7 Favourable direction South



GEMINI (May 23-June 21) A very busy week You will now reap the rewards of your past endeavours Be patient in

your dealings with your employer and also those in authority Avoid extravagance You will benefit from either a secret association or some information which you receive from an unknown source Good dates: 3, 6 and 7 Lucky numbers: 1, 10 and 11 Favourable direction South-west



CANCER (June 22-July 22) Beware of deception and be on your guard against any attempt by your friends to deceive

you Do not take any important decisions this week and make no important changes in plans unless it is very necessary. No new undertaking should be planned. These measures should help in bringing good fortune and happiness to you Follow your hunches and take advantage of any favourable influence Good dates: 5, 6 8 and 9. Lucky numbers: 6. 3 and 9, Favourable direction: West



LEO (July 23-August 22) Be content with slow progress Try and meet delays and obstacles in

business matters with patience and tact You will face financial difficulties but at the same time your love affairs and domestic life are well signified. Guard against the risk of losing a dear friend Good dates. 6 7 8 and 9 Lucky numbers. 2 7 and 8 Favourable direction Southeast



VIRGO (August 23—September 22) Relationships in the domestic front will be strained Be careful

in your dealings with members of the opposite sex. Old friends may come to your help and this being so, you will stand to gain in business matters. Try and change your outlook in financial matters. Do not take unnecessary risks. This week is good for romance though a certain measure of caution is advised in this matter Good dates. 5. 7 8 and 9 Lucky numbers 9 10 and 12 Favourable direction North



LIBRA (September 23-October 22) You have excellent opportunities 🔾 🖫 🤼 👔 to expand your business and improve your finan-

cial position this week Do not be afraid of relying on your partners in business matters. Take every opportunity that comes your way You will be benefitted by an a elder member of your family Do not be dishear tened by an illness in the family A happy romance is probable **Good** dates. 3 4 6 and 8 Lucky numbers 5 3 and 9 Favourable direction: East



SCORPIO (October 23-November 21) Outstanding success is assured if you continue to concentrate on your vocation

You are advised to be patient and also content with slow improvement in your financial condition. Do not act hastily Guard against the illnesses of your family members. Your social life will be happy as a result of which you will gain confidence in yourself and work Good dates: 3 5 7 and 8 Lucky numbers: 4 2 and 1 Favourable direction: South



SAGITTARIUS (November 22—December 22) Your prospects are quite favourable this week, particularly for business

social activities and speculative investments You will benefit from an unexpected journey or from the cooperation of an elder relative Be careful of a particularly close friend A letter should bring good tidings for you Good dates: 3, 4, 6 and 9 Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 7 Favourable direction: North-east



CAPRICORN (December 23—January 20) A sudden turn of the wheeler your confidence But be-

ware of optimism. You will be involved in a love affair. Once again, exercise caution and restrain in this matter You will also have to be tolerant of your elders, particularly those of your family Do not be extravagant Good dates: 4, 6 7 and 9 Lucky numbers: 1, 8 and 10 Favourable direction: South



AQUARIUS (January 21— February 19) You will be benefitted this week by art or literature or music or a member of the fair

sex A secret matter or association will also turn to your advantage. Rely on your intuitions and also on an elder friend to give you good counsel Do not pursue matrimonial negotiations this week Good dates: 3 4 6 and 8 Lucky numbers: 3, 9 and 10 Favourable direction: West



PISCES (February 20-March 20) A week of steady and, occasionally, rapid progress is foreseen You will gain

through property matters or insurance policies or, at least have the opportunity to do so Your intuitions will prove reliable especially in a love affair Conserve your energies and resources Your domestic front will be good A promotion or improvement is likely towards the end of the week Good dates: 3, 4 5 and 7 Lucky numbers 1 7 and 9 Favourable directions: West and North

M B RAMAN

"Are these pillowcases from New Great?"

"No, they're from Ziramal."
Now stop playing with, my ear."



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chess



This would seem a good time to try to predict the challenger for the 1981 World Championship The eight candidates are Adjoran Hubner Korchnoi Petrosian Polugaevsky Portisch Spassky Thi

Only two out of eight in this knot out series will be under 40 (Hubner and Ador jan) which suggests either that they don't make em like they used to or (as I suspent) that at the highest levels talent alone is not an adequate substitute for experience Whatever the reason the chances are that Karpov once again will be challenged by someone almost old enough to be his lather.

The favourites for this honour must be Talland Korchnoi. Their play has proved them to be in a class above the rest with the possible exception of Spassky but does he still have the motivation? Portisch and Polugaevsky rely too heavily on their excellent theoretical preparation, which in match play can be insufalised. Hubner has great atlent but his temperament is suspect which leaves Petrosian, the enigma of the field. Petrosian's prospects can be compared to those of the driver of a Centurion tank who finds himself lined up on the griu for a Formula I Grand Prix, it is almost inconceivable that he could win himself yet he is capable of stopping almost anybody who happens to cross his path.

So my vote goes to Tal or Korchnol providing they steer well clear of Petrosian give an example of the old Centurion in action

White T Petrosian (USSR) Blick L Bron stein (Argentina)

Interzonal Rio de Janeiro 1979 Grunfeld

1 P-Q4, N-KB3, 2 P-QB4, P-KN3, 3 N-QB3, P-Q4, 4 N-B3, B-N2, 5 Q-N3, PxP, 6 QxP, Q-Q, 7 P-K4, P-B3?! Blacks most reliable system here is Smyslovs 7 B-N5 followed by KN-Q2 8 B-K2, P-QN4, 9 Q-N3, Q-R4, 10 B-Q2, P-N5, 11 N-R4, NxP, 12 BxP, Q-B2, Black has disarmed White's pawn centre but only at the cost of irreparable damage to his own queenside

13 O-O, N-R3 14 B x N1 To take complete control of the QB5 square Petrosian has very good leel for play against weak pawns or squares

14 B x B, 15 KR—K1, N—Q3, 16, QR—B1, QR—N1, 17 Q—B3, N—B4, 18 N—B5, B—B1, 19 P—QN3, Q—Q1; 20, R(B1)—Q1, Q—Q4; 21 N—QR4, B—B3, 22 B—B5, R—R1, 23 Q—B1, P—KR4; 24, N—K5, N—R5, 25 P—B3, N—B4, 26, N—B3 White has manoeuvred all his pieces to their best squares and the Black position now immediately falls to pieces

26. Q-Q1, 27 NxQBP, Q-B2; 28
NxP+1 Resigns For after 26 BxN 29
N-Q5 or 28 NxN 29 BxN BxB, 30
N-Q5 QxQ 31 NxB+ and RxQ White
emerges two pawns to the good still with
much the better position

MICHAEL STEAN

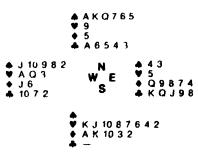
bridge



When a reader sends me a hand from play . It is sometimes hard to tell whether the deal actually occurred or whether the narrator has embellished the story to make it more interesting or perhaps to enhance his own part in it

However objective truth is not all that important if the hand itself is of interest go here's a good story - whether or not you choose to believe it

Dealer North Game at



The bidding was understandable even if not commendable

| SOUTH | WEST | NORTH | EAST No No |
|---------|------|-----------|------------------|
| 2 ♥ | dble | 4 ♠ No | |
| No | | | • |

Any advance in a new sult over a pre-empt is normally considered forcing. On that basis West's double was premature, but of course it was not certain that North would continue. West made a good lead against live Hearts doubled—the Ace of trumps enabling him to see the table before planning his defence.

From this point onwards it was a case of After you, Claud West and South were like two people insisting that the other go first through an open door South made the first gesture when he played the 4 of hearts retaining the 2

West could see that the only hope was to play for tricks in diamonds. At trick 2 he led the 4 J. South won and played off the King of hearts.

No, thank you said West in effect, dropping the Queen. He had worked out that if declarer held a black card he would be able to enter dummy and obtain sufficient discards. The defence was to lock him in his dwn hand, with losing diamonds.

Reading West a intentions, South cashed the King of diamonds and exited with the 2 of hearts. West was obliged now to give dummy the lead in spades or clubs.

Or so the story goes

TERENCE REESE

stamps





An Essex reader recently asked whether the spelling Nonicon a Norwegian stamp in his collection was a printer's error since the country's name is normally spelt as Nonge The answer is that Noneg is not an error it is the spelling used in Nynorsk (neo Norwegian) a form of the language developed from Old Norse and intended to replace the Danish Norwegian language after Norway's links with Denmark ended in 1814. One of the advocates of Nynorsk was the author Arne Garborg and the name NORSE Tas first used on stamps issued in 1951 to mark the centenary of his birth Since then it has occasionally been used on other issues including the 1977 series publicising the Norwegian fishing industry.

C W HILL

quiz



QUESTIONS

- 1 Apart from a duplication of the word, what is an Indicator indicator?
- 2 Kendo evolved from Kenjutsu, the technique of fighting in which medieval knights were skilled What is kendo?
- 3 Face-off is a term frequently used in ice hockey What does it mean?

obbonents

3 it means starting play The resword fighting

bee's nests
2 it is a development from the
ancient samural system of Japanese

If is the scientific name of the Creater Honeyguide, the bird that to leads honey badgers and men to

YHZMEHZ

this india



PAINA A circular asking the police to treat thieves as 'Sadhus' and behave properly with them was alleged ly circulated by the previous Janata Party Government This was revealed by a Congress (I) member Mr Laksh man Rai while participating in a debate on the general budget in the Bihar Assembly today (July 5) Mr Rai said that when he asked a police inspector during the Janata Party regime 'why don't you arrest a thief', the police inspector informed him that he had received a circular by the Government asking them to treat thickes as sadhus and behave with them properly -Indian Nation (Sabi ha Azam, Gaya, Bihai)

HYDI RABAD Police beat the police in Andhra the other day which the authorities have described as a "tragedy of ciror". This happened on June 8, at I lkurthy village in Waran gal district, where the State's special armed police had been camping to track down extremists said to have been active in the area. An assistant sub-inspector of police B Raghu-pathi posted at Warangal, came on leave with his family to I lkurthy to meet his in laws who had organised some family function. Amid gaiety and fanfare of the function, a politi cian living in the village suspected the police officer to be an extremist and the function as an organised ruse. The politician at once ran to the camp of special armed police and reported in utter panic how an "extremist" had smuggled himself into the village to the full hospitality of the villagers. A posse of armed policemen rushed to the village and dragged the assistant sub-inspector to the camp where he was allegedly beaten very badly. His entreaty that he was a police officer from Warangal proved of no avail-The Hindustan Times (D. Viswanadha Rao, Rourkela)

HYDLRABAD Since the past two months there have been unwanted guests at every wedding taking place at the marriage hall at Malakpet in the city. They are the police Last

week a Nikah ceremony was held up for over two hours by the presence of these unwanted guests. The reason for the police being present at every wedding is given thus. A Kazi X has been solemnising marriages at the hall for several years now Another Kazi Y arrived at the hall six months back, claiming that he was authorised by the Chief Kazi of Oila Mohammed nagar to perform these duties. Kazi Y further contended that the Wakf Board had issued a certificate stating that Kazi X was not permitted to perform marriages in the area. Kazi X lodged a complaint with the Chader ghat police station. The sub-inspector of that station sought clarification from the Waki Board as to who was the actual Kazi in charge of the hall The Board failed to clarify. So since April last, Kazi X has been seeking police protection every time he visits the hall. Whenever any wedding takes place, the bridegroom's people invite the Kazi to come and perform the Nikah But somehow, both the Kazis manage to get invited and the trouble starts, residents of that locality say Hence the presence of the police-Indian Express (P. V. Sivakumar, Hyderabad)

NEW DITHI The Ganga's water is pure and nothing could pollute it, Mr A P Sharma, Union Minister for Iourism and Civil Aviation, told the Rajya Sabha today (July 1) during question hour. The Minister made this statement when Mr Rameshwar Singh (Lok Dal) asked a supplementary regarding steps the Government prop osed to take to keep the water of the Ganga in Varanasi clean as it was polluted When the member wanted to repeat this question, the Chairman told the Minister that the Ganga water might be pure or sacred but what about other filth getting mixed with it Undaunted, Mr Sharma said that there was a philosophy behind the purity of the Ganga water and Mr Singh must understand it "Nothing can pollute the water of the holy Ganga, it purifies everything which mingles into it", he said-The Statesman (Mrs Celine Mathias, Jamshedour)

CALCUIIA A colleague is in the habit of dropping a few paise in the bowl of a disabled beggar boy at the busstop on his way to work every day. One day he left his wallet behind and not wanting to walk back home to get it, touched the boy for fifty paise which the latter readily gave—The Statesman (S. Geetha, Calcutta)

1HI possibility of my joining the Congress (I) is as remote as that of Mrs Gandhi joining the Janata Party—Chandra Shekhar quoted in the Times of India

IHESE days the Press is trying to prove that I am a lunatic, I drink too much and that I shout at my staff But no one has tried to bring to light the fact that I am a conscientious worker—PC Sethimterviewed in Surva

IHI leader of an underground movement is a very lonely manlaldenga leader of the Mizo National Front interviewed in Contour

If you are highly superannuated and cannot get even the Rajva Sabha nomination you are offered the governorship—Bhupesh Gupta, MP

THPY say there is easy money is the film industry. I can prove that the flow is easier in politics— Naigis Dutt, MP, quoted in This Fortnight

I think Kaka (Rajesh Khanna) is going mad and unless he pulls himself up. I wish him well but I have had chough. Dimple Kapa dia quoted in Weekend.

WE grew up together Tve known him since we were that high (two feet from the ground). He did tend to get a little rash at times—Amitabh Bachchan on Sanjay Gandhi

CARTER is trying to intimidate a nation yearning for martyrdom. We prefer to ride donkeys, live in dire, misery but never again to become enslaved under US domination—Ayatollah Khomeni.

I want to help rescue the poor innocent Ugandans—Idi Amin in terviewed by the BBC

IHI RI comes a time when one wants to look in a mirror and see something, different—Mike Brearley after shaving off his beard

AS far as his speech goes, sometimes he is just plain lazy—Veronica Ali'on her husband, Muhammad Ali

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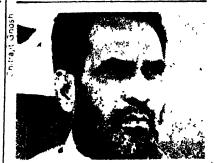
*The identities of the persons have been deliberately concealed for the sake of secrecy



PROMISES TO KEEP

ON 26 June three days after Sanjay Gandhi's death, Mrs Gandhi issued a note to all her Cabinet colleagues exhorting them to ensure that the promises made in the election manifesto of the Congress (I) were implemented She drew the Ministers' attention to her earlier note. dated 28 January, in which she had asked them to ensure speedy implementation of the manifesto, and regretted that they had done little to carry out the directive She, therefore, has directed all Ministers to prepare monthly reports on the progress made in this directionand submit them to her secretariat by the first week of each month With Sanjay gone, her secretariat will assume a new importance While R K Dhawan is obviously a powerful man at the Prime Minister's house, the man to be watched at the South Block is V S Tripathi, a joint secretary in the PM's secretariat, who had formerly served as special assistant of Vidya Charan Shukla and was recently inducted into the PM's staff after a brief stint in the Defence Ministry

ONLY TWO WILLING



Chandra Shekhar

DR Karan Singh and his wife were seen to be very active indeed at the funeral of Sanjay Gandhi, giving rise to reports about his strenuous efforts to join the Congress (I) With Mrs Gandhi's relationship with Sheikh Abdullah going sour, the chances of the former Maharaja gaining an entry into the ruling Party have brightened Mrs Gandhi is reportedly keen on getting three former Partymen back-Chandra Shekhar, Sharad Pawar and Dr Karan Singh While Chandra Shekhar turned down her overtures outright, the other two are willing, it is learnt

JUST FRIENDS

THE last interview granted by Sanjay Gandhi to the magazine his wife edits, Surva India, has two interesting references to his associates, Kamal Nath and Jagdish Tytler When asked whether it was true that he consulted Kamal Nath before taking any decision, Sanjay replied. ".. he is a friend of mine though I do not

Kamal Nath





Jagdish Tytler

consult him any more than I consult my other friends or anybody else regarding decisions. Usually, I do not consult him at all "Asked if Jagdish Tytler had been entrusted with the task of screening visitors at the PM's house, Sanjay said. "No Jagdish has his own work and is very busy working for the people in his constituency. People who have nothing better to do concoct rumours."

1 , 14

D E NIZAMUDDIN

FALL OUT

THE two Congress (I) stalwarts in Gujarat, Chief Minister Madhav Singh Solanki and Union Minister of State for Home, Yogendra Makwana, have fallen out It may be recalled that at one stage Makwana was tipped to be the Chief Minister and perhaps in anticipation his wife contested and won an Assembly seat But when the high command decided to entrust the affairs of Gujarat to the pradesh Party chief, Solanki, Makwana insisted that his wife be included in the State Cabinet He is reported to have gone up to Mrs Gandhi with a request to this effect, but the outcome of the meeting, though not disappointing, was not immediately fruitful The non-inclusion of Mrs Makwana in the Solanki team has led to a serious rift in the Gujarat Congress (I), though some Gujarat watchers trace the rivalry between Solanki and Makwana to the fact that Solanki's in-laws



Yogendra Makwana

belong to the same district as Mrs Makwana and there has been a clash of political interests for some time

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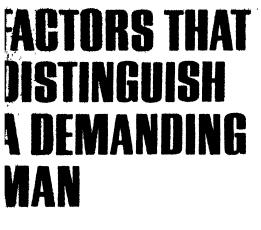
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SUNDA BY DOM MORAES Sheikh Abdullah's Controversial Speech: Full Text



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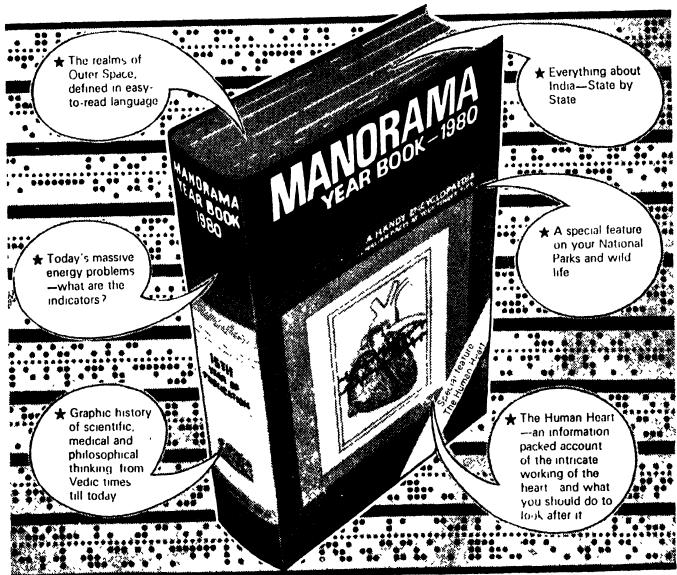
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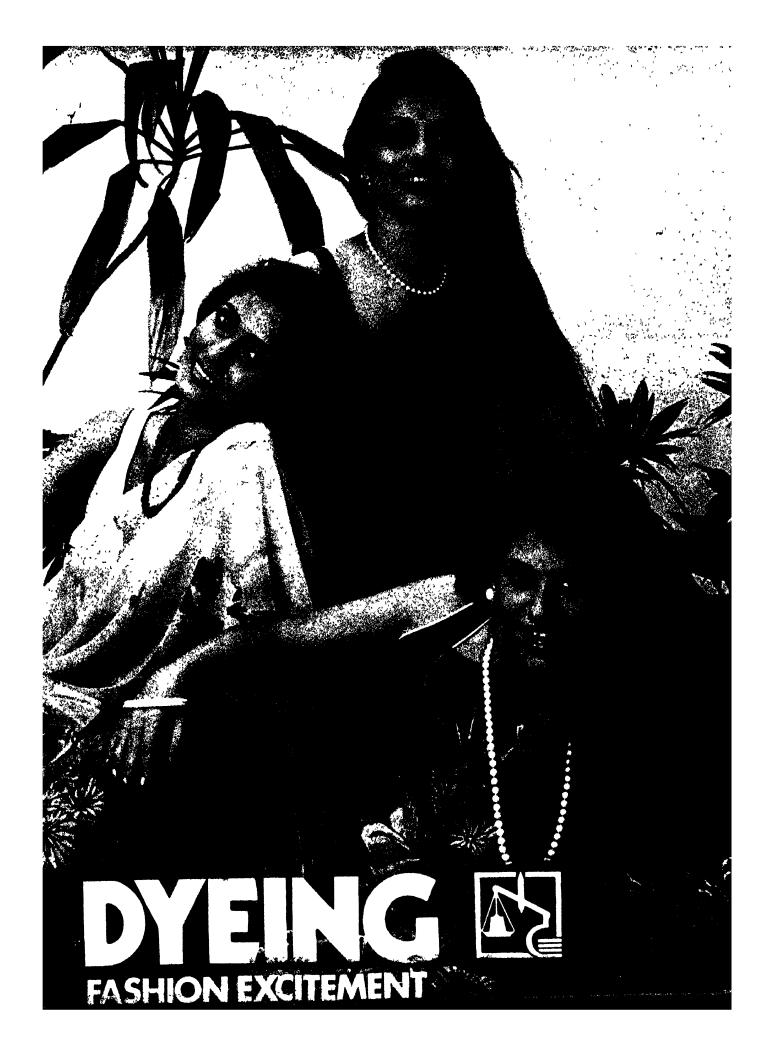
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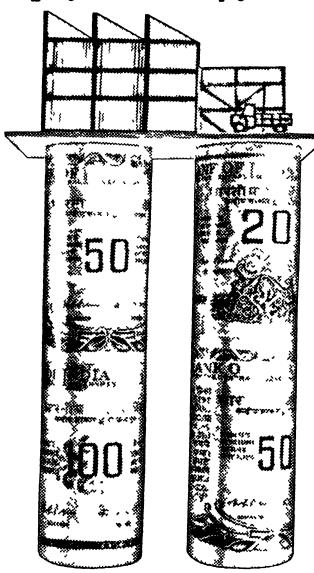
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August 10, 1980



How did Indira Priyadaishini and Feroze Gandhi meet? How did their relationship grow and blossom into marriage, poles apart as their personalities were? A vital and fascinating chapter in the history of the Nehru family and the life of Indira Gandhi by Dom Moraes

Page 12

The Youth Congress is now without its main prop. Sanjay Gandhi And many who were close to him have risen to power riding roughshod over the feelings of others. This has given a sharp edge to the current power struggle and infighting, and created an acute need for a new leader. Who will be the new leader Maneka or Rajiv? Analysis by M J Akbar.

Page 24



Some of the major hurdles in the way of improved Indo-Pakistani relations have been removed during Agha Shahi s visit to Delhi though the Indian coverage of the visit implied the opposite, says-Pran Chopra. Also an assessment of the defence capabilities of the two countries.

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Excellent, but...

THE 29 June issue of Sunday is one to be preserved for its extensive repor tage on Sanjay Gandhi ("Destiny's cruel).Memories, careful analysis and spe culation on the future of Indian politics and, above all, the pictures compensated for the delay in publication. Yet, there is one paintul omission nothing was written about Sanjay's companion in death, Capt Subhas Saxena

Chinmov Hota, Karanjia, Orissa

CAPT SAXENA's loss is also as grievous and ureparable to his mother, wife, infant son and host of relatives as Sanjay's is to his family Pradip Choudhury, Durgapur

IN THE absence of their mentor, it would be worth seeing how, and in what direc tion, the energies of Indian youth will be channelised Without Sanjay, Indian politics will be poorer Partha Pratim Banerji, Howrah

IHL void created by Sanjav's death will be very difficult to fill. After reading all the articles and seeing the pictures I agree with Khushwant Singh that "San jay Gandhi was the man of a thousand tomorrow .

Binod Bharati, Madhubani

SANJAY GANDIII, the "Emergency baby" was not in the normal sise an outstanding personality in Indian politics. Of course, he was a member of the Nehru family, to whom India is almost private property (This very fact accounted for his extra-constitutional power and authority That All India Radio devoted to him, on the day of his death, almost the full 15 minutes of its the arm o'clock English news bulletin and the "Spotlight" programme, shows the status he possessed I would not be surprised if Rajiv Gandhi also entered politics Sanjay's death can only be a personal loss to Mrs Gandhi . Vijavakumar V.G., Calcutta

A GOLD MEDAL to CM Stephen for sycophancy Imagine putting Sanjay Gandhi on the same level as Jesus Christ! Aruna Granadason, Bangalore

CMSIEPHEN went to the extent of comparing Sanjay with Jesus Christ, Alexander the Great, Tipu Sultan and Vive kananda, saving that like him, they all died at the age of 33 Swami Vivekananda died at the age of 39 and not 33. While Vivekananda went abroad, earned a name for the country, and established the Ramkrishna Mission which cares for the welfare of millions today, Sanjay's achievements were mainly the bulldoz ing of slums, leaving thousands home less, forcible sterilisation of thousands of young men and women, the Maruti affair and bringing down the Janata govern-

Chandra Kant Sharma, Calcutta

Great, in brief

THUSHWANI SINGH pand a fitting Gandhi was a truly a dynamic personal ity Most of the persons who describe him as "hot headed and impetuous" are either disgruntled politic as or people who have not nad the companies to meet Sanjay Gandle I met him it New Delhi along with some surpanches end panches on the eve of the state assembly elections for a ticket. I found in him a leader of various qualities, and the only hope for India in the near future. Khash want Singh rightly described him as "brevity personified"

Narinder Sidhu Bhatinda, Punjab I features of a former MP in public Rajesh C. Sinha, Dingaput

WHEN Mr V K Krishne Menon die 1 Khushwant Singh wrote an article that was full of abuse When Mt Sanias

Gandhi died, he wrote one tull of admiration. Perhaps the reason is that the late Krishna Menon never made Mr Singh an MP or even an editor K K Mahali, Cannanore

1HF article "A meteoric life" (29 June) has stated that on the morning of 23 June Viren Anand, Maneka Gandhi's brother, could not accompany Sanjay Gandhi on the fatal flight because he had another appointment But in "Glimpses" on page 28 of the same issue it is stated that 'Viren reached late because his breaktast was served late" Is this not contradictory?

Ranjan Kumar Das, Cuttack

Why could you not cover the death of our ex-President V V Giri on 24 June 1980 in the same issue which contained the reports on the death of Sanjay Gandhi who met his end on 23 June? S Dutta, Agartala

Clairvoyant?

SANJAY GANDHI died on 23 June and you have published an article on his tragic death in your 15 June issue. Anyone who does not read Sunday regularly or a reader abroad will be stunned. How can anyone come out with a report on somebody's death when the actual death took place a week later? Chandan Sınha Ray, Barrackpore, West Bengal

Editor replies. We explained that due to delayed printing we were able to include the news of Mr Sanjay Gandhı's death

Vivid account

THE author of "An eyewitness Laccount" (29 June) though anonymous, deserves profound appreciation for his crisp on the spot account of San jay's death. The description of Mrs Gandhi's grief was heartrending. It was as though the reader was watching the incident for himself S Venkatesan, Madras

Rajiv will succeed

I READ Barun Sengupta's analysis of "Politics after Sanjay" (29 June) The main problem before the country and the Congress(I) is who after Mrs Gandhi would be able to take up the reins of the Party and the country, unite north and south and carry forward the legacy of the Nehrus No one other than Mr Rajiv Gandhi can do this. His indifference to politics, in spite of being born and brought up in a family of Prime Ministers, is a peculiar case of self-restraint which is rare among the progeny of politicians . Chandra Nath Misra, Unnao

Arrest deforestation

READ the rejoinder "Jungle bungle" READ the rejoinder Junge Valler (Opinion, 15 June) by Mr C B Mohanty, joint secretary, Orissa Forest Service Association, with respect to an article entitled "Save Orissa's forests" (6 April) by Amarendra Bose Mr Mohanty's letter sidetracks the real issue and seems to divert attention from the real danger facing Similipal, one of the finest forest sanctuaries in the country. The way in which the forest has been denuded for the last three decades after Independence by forest contractors for the sake of revenue, as well as by clandestine timber traders has become a cause for concern As regards the racket exposed by Mr Bose's article, the State Vigilance Organisation has initiated inquiries and some forest officials have already been placed under suspension Similipal should be protected for at least five years k Dash, President, Raie Plants Protec-

tion Society, Mayurbhanj, Orissa

A question

REFER to "The Mandai massacre" (15 REFER to "The Mandal massacre" (15 June) by M J Akbar Will the government and politicians learn some lessons

Ashok Kumai Rajbanshi, Jaiput

WHILE almost all dailies tailed to bring out the tacts of the Mandai carnage, Mr Akbar did a commendable job M M Menon, New Delhi

FHANKS for your coverage of the massacre. The incident clearly shows the animal hidden deep inside man R J Mukesh Kumar Nagpur

11 IS clear from your reports that firstly a long term plan was afoot to rouse the tribals. Secondly the state government, despite its popular character, failed to gauge the pulse of the tribals. And lastly, the intelligence networks failed to antici pate the carnage Shvamal Gupta, Burdwan

FOLLOWING Nripen Chakraborty's fatal tactics in Iripura, the West Bengal (M Mi Jyoti Basu is trying to bring Jhar khand tribals into his Party by participat ing in the 150th anniversary of the Santhal uprising as if it were a national event

S N Shivapuri Calcutta

IN MANDAI the police forces once again proved their inability to protect the lives and property of the public K.K. Kaul New Delhi

IRIPURA should be cleared of Bengalis and left for its own people, whether they are tribals or otherwise. The latter's prefutable claim that they have lost their soil to aliens should be recognised P Padmanabhan Coimbatore

Alien attitude

MY ATTENTION has been drawn to Shaikh Shahjahan's letter entitled Fiction, not history' (Opinion 15 June) in which he criticises Mr Pratulla Kumai Mahanta's statement in an interview to Partha Chatterjee ('No deportation no oil 4 May) about deportation of force igners. I am one with the firebrand AASU president when he say 'The people who hoisted the Pakistani flag in 1965 in the Ch ir lands and whose names were with the police would be deported first 'I understand that the people who wanted to make Assim into 'Pakistan' are foreign nationals in the sense that they never for a noment think about the all round development of the state - and

should be deported first 5 Sengupta, Dhubri, Assam

THOUSANDS of Bengalis have been in volved in the present movement. Many died, a few of them playing a leading part in the agitation. So the movement is not anti Bengali. It is more a protest against outsiders. The AASU is a humanitarian body. But it is also responsible for the turne of the Assamese people. If we do not tulfil our obligation to the public, posterity will blame us. The people have lost faith in the political leaders. They do not protest against the massive influx of foriegners. The centre has habitually neglected us with regard to the fore igners' impasse

Manik Chandra Boruah Protulla Hazar ika Sorogua Students Unit Sibsagar

Good and bad

IN 1115 interview with Aruna Vasudev ("Art films can be com mercially successful", 1 June) the Minister for Information and Broad casting Mi V P Sathe has stated that the National Film Development Cor poration will be 'an Organisation which can help the entire film world in every aspect" Presumably, this means that state aid will be given even to socially irresponsible films like Sholay and Suhaag Or will only such cinema which is both meaningful and commercially viable like the ex ample of Shankarabharanam which the Minister has cited be entitled to such aid? Although the Minister has spoken at length on this subject he has not specifically stated that the NFDC will promote better cinema, whether it is a big budget film for wider audiences or a minority audience small film

We strongly feel that the only justification for government interven tion in the cinema is that it should lead to the cinema's qualitative de velopment. The government cannot be impartial in dealing with good cinema and had cinema. It must take sides with good cinema. In the nearly 30 years since the Film Enquiry Com mittee of 1951 was set up, government



intervention at the central and state levels has brought about a new cine ma movement of some strength and led to the creation of a fairly large number of socially responsible films which are artistically valid. To allow the "establishment" of the commer cuil cinema to dominate governmen tal intervention will be to throw away all that has been achieved in the last three decades. Any move which allows the profit motive to take prece dence over the social good will be fraught with grave consequences for this most influential medium. We feel that the primary aim of the NIDC should be to spread socially responsi ble cinema to as wide an audience as possible

M S Sathyu National Lorum for Bet ter Cinema Bombay

Not underground

HAVING read "AASU prepares for battle" (8 June) by Looshar Pandit, I believe the author does not have a cor rect idea about the organisation of the Assam Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chatra Parishad I would like to enlighten him about the National Guard which the. Parishad organised The National Guard (NG) is in Assamese called the Jativarokhyi Bahinee and it was set up on 21 October 1979 by recruiting youth from villages and towns. Its aim is not to destroy but preserve peace Besides, it has been training its members in physical and mental readiness to save and protect helpless people. The NG was not organised as an underground body It will have to help in the development of the economic social and cultural life of

Makhan Sensowa President, Assam Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chatra Parishad, Titabar Assam

Wrong association

OOSHAR PANDII in Mrs Gandhi's L velvet glove and mailed fist" (8 June) mischievously associated the All Assam Fribal Protection Action Committee (AAIPAC) with the APCC(1) and its chief I olit Doley The AATPAC was born on 4 May 1980 at Gauhati tribal rest house at the instance of educated tribal youth who had had bitter experiences of exploitation during the three long decades after Independence. Any reference to the APCC(1) Tolit Doley and Mrs Gandhi would be a gross misrepresentation of the aspirations of cribals under the banner of the AATPAC

P.K. Musahary General Secretary, All Assam Iribil Protection Action Committee Gauhati

Special correspondent

ARE your correspondents aware of the fact that like film stars, they too have fans and admirers? I, for instance, am an Udayan Sharma fan He seems to have a knack of writing almost anything - even on subjects of crucial importance -- with a skill rare among journalists Kumar Vinay Singhdeo, Patna

Safe enough

THIS refers to Rajesh Verma's comments under the caption 'Lethal waste" (Opinion, 11 Max) According to the Health Physics Division of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre the radioactivity due to the accident which occurred on 14 March was much below the permissible limit. A study of the ten years the Larapur Atomic Power Reactor has been in operation show that the radiation risk for human beings in the village nearest to the reactor is very nearly equal to the from a normal chest which cannot be considered \ rav dangerous can it? C Sekaran New Delhi

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How did they meet?
How did their
relationship grow and
blossom into marriage?
A vital and fascinating
chapter in the history
of the Nehru Family
and the life of
Indira Gandhi by
DOM MORAES. These
exclusive extracts are
from Mrs Gandhi
published by Vikas
Publishing House
Pvt Ltd., price Rs 150.





I some point at the end of the 1920s or the start of the 1930s Kamala with a number of other volun teers, was picketing a col lege in Allahabad It was a college for voung men, a number of whom were seated on the outer wall laughing at the Congress workers. The day was sultry and unpleasant after a while Kamala's stamina, faltering anyway failed her she collapsed on the pave ment in a faint. The laughter on the wall stopped suddenly One of the young men seated there, in fact the leader, leapt down to help Kamala He fetched her water, and later took her back to Anand Bhavan He was a stocky boy with a ruddy complexion, who was often mistaken for an En glishman, but he was actually a Parsi and his name was Feroze Gandhi After that first day, he was a constant visitor to Anand Bhavan, where he was befriended by Jawaharlal and by Indira His provenance was very diffe rent from that of the Nehrus He was from the lower middle class, the son of an officer in the merchant navy, and had been born in Bombay in September 1912 His parents lived in a Parsi colony in Khetwadi, a ramshackle part of the city, but when Feroze was a little over two years old, the elder Gandhi sent his wife and children to live with his sister, Mrs Commissariat (another classical example of a Parsi name) in Allahabad There Feroze grew up He was a bright boy, skilful with his hands and interested in the world around him, though he was possessed of a somewhat perverse sense of humour which expressed itself not only at the expense of his

Indira and Feroze at their wedding in 1942

peers but the expense of his school master He placed live frogs and pi geons in their desks and set fireworks off under their chairs. It is remark able, in view of these activities, that he remained not only unexpelled but

popular

When he first met the Nehrus, he was eighteen or nineteen, an age at which young men tend to be attracted to women older than themselves, and there is no doubt that he was attracted to Kamala, though he may not have himself been aware of this Indira, in her very early teens, shy and very frail (until she was twenty, she never weighed more than a little over 5 stone), seems to have been treated by him, initially, as a sort of younger sister but his attitude towards Kamala was romantic in the troubadour sense He wished to serve her as much as he could without recompense and to wards Jawaharlal he felt awe and reverence. He started to become politically involved to volunteer for pick et duties and to court arrest. This alarmed his family and his mother went to see Gandhi to ask him to advise Feroze to continue his studies and abandon his political activities

Gandhi was all for maternal love, out in this case, though benevolent, he was also adamant. Sister ' he is supposed to have said come back and tell me any harm comes to your son. If I had seven boys like I eroze working for me I could win independence in seven days. In the India of the future nobody will ask if he had a B A or M A they will ask how many times your son was imprisoned for his nationalist activities? This was rather cold comfort for the lady and sometime in 1931 leroze was sentenced to a year of imprison ment. He was put into Laizabad prison. which at that period was full of nation alist leaders. This incidentally, was a tactical error on the part of the British Since the nationalists were normally in the same prison they were able to talk to one another and determine policies for the future. Separated, they could not have done so Feroze became something of a leader to the young political prisoners he initiated pro tests and fasts and in fact made him self a thorough nuisance to his gaolers He emerged, eventually, from prison, to find Kamala much worse in health and Indira nearly a young woman. He himself had by this time passed the age of being attracted to older women, but he remained devoted, amost rilial ly, to Kamala

Between 1931 and 1935 Jawaharlal was constantly in prison in fact he spent only six months out of it. During this time Kamala's condition deterio rated so much that she had to be rushed to Bombay, then to Calcutta, for treatment. In 1932, the year after Motilal's death, his widow, hitherto an orthodox and pacific Hindu woman, became active in the nationalist move ment During the course of her activities, while accompanying a procession in Allahabad, she was knocked down and repeatedly struck on the head in a police charge She was an old woman,

Indire, in her went surly teens, the and very frail seems to have been treated by him (Feroze), initially, as a sort of younger sister: but his attitude towards Kamala was romantic in the troubadour sense.

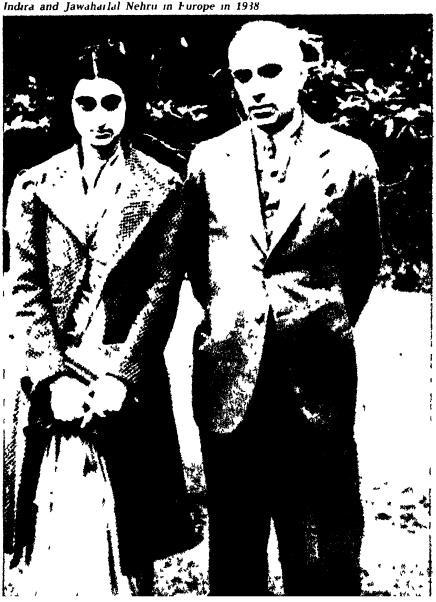
and had always been delicate, but luckily she was not badly hurt. Gener. ally speaking, however, the physical condition of the family in the early 1930s was not very good, to say the least In 1933 came a new develop ment Teroze proposed to Indira, who refused him 'I thought I was too young,' she now says 'And I wanted to continue my political work' Though still at school, she picketed shops and took part in processions 'I had lots of proposals None of them was for an arranged marriage I couldn't have stood a man who wanted an arranged marriage

Jawaharlal was anxious, moreover, that she pursued her studies he was unsure that Feroze, who had no in come as such, was the ideal husband for his daughter he may also have had a sense of possessiveness about her She was, at the time of the proposal, at

a small school in Poona, not fai trom Bombay, the metropolis and seaport on the western coast of India A Mrs Vakil, who ran this establishment, savs that Indira 'willingly did her share of household chores and took a hand at keeping the school and the residential part of it clean and tidy She helped look after the younger children and also took a hand in the school's cultu ral activities as well as in debating 'In 1933 she matriculated from this school and was sent to university at a place called Shantiniketan, 'the abode of peace', which was near Calcutta and some distance away from Feroze

THILE Indira was in Santiniketan, W Feroze was moping in Allahabad and Jawaharlal was sitting distracted ly in prison, Kamala, whose main comfort was probably Feroze, had a severe attack of pleurisy. Her temperature

Indira and Jawaharlal Nehru in Europe in 1938



'I had lots of proposals. None of them was for an arranged marriage: I couldn't have stood a man who wanted an arranged marriage.'

hurtled upward and she found it hard to breathe. The doctors now advised that Kamila should be moved to a sanatorium in the hills at a place known is Bhowali. The arrangements were made. One of her attendant physicians Dr Atal an uncle of hers, offered to accompany her there. It was Leroze who in Jawaharlal's absence arranged the logistics. Indiral back in Allahabad who packed Three ser vants including a cook went on this trip, and Kamala was installed in the sanatorium where her condition failed to improve. Bhowali was a fair way from Allahabad and a difficult place to reach involving numerous train connections and towards the end of the trip switches to car transport Nevertheless Feroze in the months that tollowed travelled to and from Bhowali constantly to see what he could do to help. It was a long time since he had sat on his college wall and laughed with his friends at a sick woman Though Jawaharlal was still in prison Indua came when she could and letters from the Swamis who had initiated Kamala into spiritual life' seemed to comfort ner

In May 1935. Kimala wrote to Abhayananda. I have full confidence in your assurance that I ord Krishi a will appe it to me but I wish to see him soon. At times I feel that I myself am Krishia. It has now become a practice with me to otter him whateve. I think or do. I feel the presence of God, only I cannot see and touch him. I do not know when I will be able to place my head at His feet. It only he could appear to me. What the agnostic Jawaharlal thought of all this is not known but one deeply doubts that he

could have approved

Bhowali did not help Kamala It was decided by the doctors that as a last hope she could return to Lurope for treatment At about this time, in 1935 Mrs Commissariat who had shared, in common with the rest of the family, a disapproval of Leioze's political activities decided to embark on a last attempt at dissuasion. She would pay, she said for his education in London This, from her point of view, served a dual purpose. Not only would it complete Feroze's education and increase his earning potential but it would safely remove him from the theatre of political activity and the danger of prison. She did not realise why Feroze took so readily to this proposal. It was because he had been informed that Kamala and Indira were to leave for · Europe in May 1935 He fully intended to be there with them, and this seemed the easiest way. He did not actually accompany them on the journey Dr Madan Atal, who had attended Kama la through her illness and taken her to Bhowali, did this Feroze went to the London School of Economics, and from London travelled frequently to Europe

to help Kamala who had been instal led at a sanatorium in Badenweiler, and presumably to court Indira, who was at a school in a place called Chezieres which she hated because, she says a horrible woman ran it Jawaharlal was still in prison, and Kamala lonely most of the time, be came worse and worse. In September 1935 Jawaharlal was released and in stantly flew to Badenweiler. He stayed there through the slush and rime of a hard winter visiting Kamala for some hours every day. They talked quietly of the past and sometimes of the future that it was now clearly evident they would not share. He read to her, and energy seemed to flare back into her But it was a false dawn She was moved to a sanatorium near Lausanne, and Indira to her old school at Bex, a considerable relief after Chezieres The improvement in Kamala's condition did not contine, and by February she was too ill to sit up in bed or write

Her doctors told Nehru that it would only be a matter of time before her exhausted system failed complete ly He had to stay with her at the same time he could not detach himself com pletely from politics. He had to return o India. He was torn between his wife and his country a terrible period in his life he also had Indira, shortly to be motherless to worry about He decided to return to India, booked his passage and planned to leave Lausan ne on Lebruary 28, 1936 Kamala said nothing but seemed distressed at this She had never wanted to be a trouble to her husband but she must have known that she would probably die soon without him As the 28th approached and she flagged rapidly the doctors advised Nehru to postpone his departure which he did The de parture that day was made, not by him but by Kamala

In the early hours of the morning, Kamala drifted from sleep into the death she had desired She had been in considerable pain for several days, but she died peacefully Jawaharlal and Dr Atal were by her bedside Indira was in the hospital, but in another room. The light husk of the body was reduced, in Lausanne, to ashes which Jawaharlal carried back to India Before he left, he took Indira to Montreux for a while, to soothe her (and himself) out of their initial sor row Then Indira returned to school at Bex Her loneliness was almost com plete her tather had flown away, and her mother, whose ashes had flown with him, had left no physical trace of herself behind Feroze came when he could, and she had some friends in the school, but she must have had empty days to fill with memories and reflections being by nature introspective She had been close to her mother, closer indeed than to anyone else, with her father so often away She had

watched while her mother was hurt by relatives at home more recently she had watched Kamala endure her physical Calvary She had been hurt when her mother was hurt she had suffered when her mother suffered After Kamala's death, Indira withdrew, with a few exceptions, from close personal relationships perhaps because she did not want to be badly hurt once more She had always been shy, but her shyness was to harden into an aloof ness and remoteness of manner which often prevented her from showing warmth to others

N London, Feroze saw a lot of V K Krishna Menon, a South Indian lawyer who had lived in England for more than a decade A gaunt, dark, tallish man with a bony and saturnine face (his enemies described it as sata nic) he lived on cigarettes, tea, and biscuits He permitted himself the lux ury, at widely spaced intervals, of a grilled tomato or a teashop bun Though he had a legal practice, most of his time (night and day were all one to him, since he seldom slept) was spent in operating the India League, an organisation of nationalistically minded Indians who lived in Britain and ian a newspaper. He was fond of children, but adults had to bear the unpredictable whiplash of his not in frequent wrath He was very arrogant, but could be very kind Along with Nehru he was the most complicated and psychologically fascinating of the Indians involved in the movement for independence

The importance of Krishna Menon to Indian politics was that he was the only figure of any stature to operate, not out of India, but from the hub and heart of the British Empire, and that he was a permanent fixture in London He collected around him an apiary of bright young men, but most of these were students who eventually took wing for India Krishna Menon re mained, usually in extreme poverty, fiercely sucking smoke from cigaret tes, sipping at teacups, crunching bis cuits, and haranguing every unwary visitor to his office Feroze was soon involved in Menon's activities. When Indira arrived in England to go up to Oxford, Feroze introduced her to Menon, and very shortly she was in volved as well The death of Kamala was still deeply imprinted on both their minds The result was obviously that they were thrown together by a common interest A common interest is often the cause of a hopeless mar riage, since opposites usually attract each other, but Feroze and Indira were often seen around together, as the first, least formidable decade of Hitler neared its climax

An extemely grumpy old lawyer called Mulla, in Allahabad, watched me closely as the rain fell around his thicketed house He had known Feroze and the Nehrus for what to me seemed like centuries for him, I suppose, in terms of centuries, like twenty minutes He was thin, angry like most old people about everyone not old, furious

about anyone who did not share his own opinions and generally very opin ionated. He was rich, like other lawyers in Allahabad his hands twitched over his teacup withered, they reached out for the sweets, sticky and sad, that lay on plates, unmistak ably Indian sweets, besides thinly cut English sandwiches wilted at the corners, they were sad too, and lonely servants with steady hands showered the teacups with streams of golden liquids, white liquids, and sugar

'One Dr Sen', he said, as the servant handed out the sandwiches and sweets, 'ran a bookshop in Bloomsbury called the Bibliophile. He was engaged in Indian nationalist activities and had to leave Britain. I had known the family in Allahabad. I mean the Nehrus. All the 'Indian students collected at this bookshop to buy books and hear small anecdotes. Feroze used to come there with Indira. She used to keep very quiet. To bring her out was a problem. He, of course, talked a lot. I knew him very well.'

According to Mr Mulla, Feroze used

They did not appear to be engaged. She was always morose in her appearance. Her London life was of more interest to her.

to share his flat, but was not too desirable a flatmate 'I used to live 'he said, and spat the address out, at 23, Queensgate Gardens in Kensington Feroze shared my flat When the bombing started, I shared a room with him at the Strand Palace Hotel He never paid his share of his rent. He never paid his accounts Even his thinking was borrowed I don't think he was at all educated' He made a small gesture, and his servants plied me with more sweets and sandwiches Speaking about Feroze's relationship with Mrs Gandhi, he said, They did not appear to be engaged. She was always morose in her appearance

Certainly, the silence of Indira, and the talkativeness of Feroze the isolation of the young woman and the desire of the young man to communicate and socialise were hardly a basis for a shared relationship Between

them, however, the ghost of Kamala hovered this ghost, with intangible hands, drew them together It is said that Kamala, a few days before she died, had expressed a wish that Indira should marry Feroze, though to whom she expressed this wish has not been recorded To her Feroze had become the son she had never borne It was gratitude and loneliness as much as anything that attracted Indira to Feroze Her career at Oxford does not appear to have been very colourful she was studying PPE, a dull course unless you are specially interested, which she apparently was not but the grey stones and wrinkled trees of the University town appealed to her She liked to walk, but unlike most under graduates, male and female, possessed no bicycle I suppose that manoeuvring a bicycle and a sari simultaneously must be nearly impossible For she now always wore a sarı it stamped her as Indian, though her colouring and features did not, and she wanted people to know she was Indian

Her London life was possibly of more interest to her There was Feroze to squire her around, people like Krishna Menon, and his cohorts the novelist Iqbal Singh and K. S Shelvankar (who, years later, when she was Prime Minister, she appointed Ambas sador to Hanoi), to meet, the Bib-liophile and Shafi's, an Indian res taurant, to visit She did not live more exotically or much more differently from other Indian students except for two factors One was that she was a woman, and there were very few saris swished around in the English universities at that time the other was that she was the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, which opened doors to her She met Harold Laskı and Fenner Brock way, though she does not remember what she said to them or they to her Though she is somewhat unclear, indeed opaque, about these years, the likelihood is that her commitment to Indian nationalism was emotional rather than intellectual, and that these particular interviews were in the nature of kindly smiles bestowed, through her, upon her father Nehru was frequently in the news, as was Gandhi, and for the liberals in Britain they were, in a sense, folk heroes Many of these liberals rather resem bled Kipling's M P Paget, in that they did not know what they were talking about, but there were people who were knowledgeable about India, intelli gent, and capable of action, and these seem to have been the people Indira mostly met What impression she made upon Brockway or Laski one does not know, since they did not write about it, but at about this time the widow of the German writer Ernst Toller sent a letter to Nehru in which she cold him of meeting his daughter She informed him, Teutonically and, 15



to a proud father, redundantly, that Indira was beautiful 'She is like a little flower,' wrote Frau Toller, 'which bends in the wind but I think she will not break.'

this is the most interesting comment made about Indira in her youth It aggests two things (Frau Toller, having lived with a poet, was obviously used to analysing complex and difficult personalities) one, that Indira was quiet, shy, and open to influence two, that I rail Toller sensed that the stem of the little flower was made of highly tensile and resistant materials. It would have to be for an only child not to have crumpled up completely under the destructive blasts of wind which had deprived her of family life and the companionship of her parents

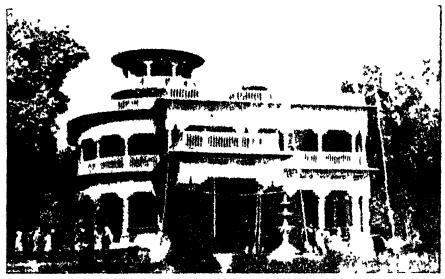
HITLLR roared in Berlin Mussolini squeaked in London, and the world shook under their combined, if various, noises

Before the air attack began, in 1940, Indira, summoned by her father, left by ship for India Because of the war, she had to sail by way of South Africa She arrived at Capetown the local Indian merchants, obsequious not only to the South Africans but to the daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, of whom, in a vague way word had been heard by the rich Sindhi shopkcepers, invited her to speak to an audience of Indians She spoke a small figure, made smaller by the large platform she stood on Jawaharlal would have been astonished by her attitude Feroze who knew her real character more closely (though they were not yet married) was perhaps less astonished, but astonished none the less. She told the rich Indians, to reduce it to a phrase she did not use but which was the main point of her speech, that they were bastards that while salting away money in South Africa, they not only did not help the nationalist movement in India, but they did not help the beaten African tribes now abused by British and Boeis alike whom Gandhi had once fried to issist. Then she left The Sindhi merchants were surprised

As the first hombs dropped on to London heard in the Strand Palace by Feroze, where he was presumably glo wered at by Mr Mulla from the opposite bed, Indira reached the India she was to hold, in the tradition of the Moguls, courtiered and bowed at for many years. This time was still far away. She was twenty three Her father and she met. Shortly after the bombs started to fall, I eroze left London for Allahabad, where Indira was Here he continued to reside with his family.

I spoke to an aunt of his, Rhoda Gandhi, who now runs a small hotel in Allahabad After I eroze's return from London, he staved with her She is an elderly, talkative woman whom I interviewed on the balcony of her hotel, tacing a garden full of trees 'Feroze put up a lovely garden, full of roses,' she said, 'when he came home He was very good at that kind of thing' Her

They (Feroze and indira) returned to enter into a married life which was much more of a fire hazard than the ceremony which had initiated them into it could have ever been.



An ind Bhavan in Allahabad

voice was by no means soft, but she seemed a kind lady, and anxious to convey her impressions of her nephew to me 'He was not a big eater,' she said to me, and though this informa tion seemed to me irrelevant as re gards the character of Feroze, she continued in the same vein 'He was,' she informed me, a very clean and precise eater. He particularly loved to eat eggs' She paused rain dripped from the eaves of the hotel 'Once, after he came back from London,' she said, 'when I was pregnant, he used to make a habit of coming home late at night and waking me up "Come on," he would say, "get up, make me some eggs" I felt,' said Mrs Rhoda Gandhi concluding this saga, 'like bashing in his head'. I hrough this dieticiary story, I began to form an impression of Feroze she had tears in her eyes I had

What Jawaharlal thought of Feroze at this time is hard to determine When Feroze was in Europe they cor responded frequently, though despite the affectionate term of address and salutation, the content of the letters was somewhat formal on both sides, and particularly on Jawaharlal's Feroze, for example, wrote to him from Switzerland, enthusiastically describ ing a series of photographs which he had taken of Indira He then sent the photographs to Allahabad Jawaharlal replied, 'If you have taken these photographs, I must congratulate you To a bouncy young man, this sort of answer could not have been less defla tory Jawaharlal was obviously grate ful to bergze for his caretakership of Kamala, but Feroze's courtiership of Indira did not appeal to Nehru 'I don't think he liked it at all,' Mrs Rhoda Gandhi told me She paused, eyed a gluey lizard on the ceiling, and amended her statement 'At first,' she said.

How long 'at first' was is debatable.

Feroze had known Indira since 1931 By the time they were both back from England, they were obviously in continual close contact, for they both lived in Allahabad, and Allahabad was by no means an enormous city The Congress workers there bumped into one another all the time and Feroze and Indira were both Congress work ers. In pickets, in processions, in ral lies they must constantly have encoun tered each other Jawaharlal was usually away from the house, and was perhaps not entirely aware (or perhaps interested) in the solidifying of the relationship between his daugh ter and Feroze Indira, as she had been and was to be throughout her life, had nobody to talk to, nobody to communi cate with, except l'eroze himself They grew to be closer and closer

IN 1941 Leroze was offered a post by the Fimes of India, a newspaper owned by a British concern, and work ing out of Bombay He refused this offer on nationalist grounds, but, rather strangely, wrote articles for it and its associate publications under a pen name At some point in 1941, Indira told her father she wanted to marry beroze Her father started, in the hesitant way that was typically his, to pick over the points, the pros and cons, relevant to the wedding. The pros were Leioze's long connection with the family, his long attachment to Indira, his long dedication to the na tionalist cause. The cons were that he was Parsi, not Kashmiri Brahmin, that he came from a completely different hackground, and that he was poor Nehiu peered at the cons, and decided that, since another member of the family, still alive in Allahabad today, and now Mrs S K Kahan, the widow of a Muslim police officer, had done it already, there was not an awful lot of harm in Indu, the affectionate name for Indira, marrying a person outside



Indua with parents

7

the caste But he could not overcome the fact that Feroze was poor

Nehru, throughout his life, relied on people as props. He himself was usually wholly indecisive He never made any firm decision unless it was backed by others In his very early years he had the crutch of Motilal to support him Then it became Gandhi These were his two great crutches, to take him through to independence, when he started to lean heavily upon people like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, upon his private secretaries, and, as we shall later see, upon Indira If, in 1941 or 1942, Feroze was not exactly a main crutch, Feroze was one of the many little stilts supporting Nehru's main crutches and when a small element falls from a large frame, the frame itself tends to fall Indira had demonstrated some stubborness about her marriage if Feroze un hooked himself from Nehru's propping mechanism, it was likely that it would slip in the mire of Indian politics . By this time there was an open fight between the Congress and the elegant. precise leader of the Muslim League, Mohammed Alı Jınnah Jawaharlal said Yes

Nehru's concern with words, with a war crucial to the world raging around him, drew to a halt while he wove, on his personal handloom, a pink cotton sain for his daughter to wear at her wedding There was one more problem, apart from the clothing of Indira in what way should she be married? Feroze was a Parsi, Indira a Hindu apart from the register office, there was no way, and the register office was anathema to a family which considered itself aristocratic Eventually it was decided that a ceremony of the same kind as was apparently performed at the time the Vedas, the Sanskrit scriptures, were written, would do somebody had to design this ceremony, someone did. Tents, or 'sha

mianas' were erected on the lawns of Anand Bhavan

On March 26 1942 with hundreds of Allahabad socialites and Congress workers present, a sacred flame was kindled in the main shamiana, a fire hazard probably, but nobody minded Nehru brought his daughter into this tent, where Feroze and his people sat awaiting her Nehru then placed her hand in Feroze's, giving his daughter up to her husband, and the couple walked, seven times, around the sacred fire They then repeated mar riage vows, unclasped hands, and rushed off to Kashmir for a honey moon They returned to enter into at married life which was much more of a fire hazard than the ceremony which had initiated them into it could have ever been Nehru now had Feroze a prop to support him he also had Indua

BY 1942, the year of the marriage the Quit India movement had reached its peak. There seemed little doubt that the British, with most of Asia an antheap of Japanese, and jackboots stamping down the streets of nearly every European rapital would not be the rulers of India for very much longer even if they were not evicted by the Axis powers, they were certain to be so financially crip pled by the war as not to be able to atford colonies, which were expensive

as well as profitable

Feroze and Indira were, in a way, creative people, in that their minds were open and they were alive in a true sense They did not inhabit a vacuum they breathed the world, and the world came alive to them They lived in a small two room flat in Ta gore Town, an area in the old part of Allahabad, where his hands tended roses in the damp earth, and hers collected them and arranged them in vases 'It was so sweet,' says a surviv ing Allahabad aunt, 'to see her when

RIELIEL T. she came to Anand Bhavan—quite the little housewife though she'd never been raught how to keep a housewith two bunches of keys pinned to her sarr Mrs Gandhi, actually has never learnt to cook though according to the same aunt, 'Indu once told me, when she was married "I can cook much better than you "A short while after her mairiage the ability to cook became irrelevant for her she was supplied with cooked food by the British in prison

After the marriage Leroze decided not to involve himself in political marches But Indira did These marches and rallies were forbidden, but in August 1942 she addressed a rally in Allahabad while I eroze watched from a window above the street. A large number of policemen arrived and a British police serge int threatened In dira with a revolver. At this Feroze huitled down to try and protect his wife the upshot of which was that they were both irrested tried and impris oned. Indica had become a member of the cub What apparently surprised people at the time who thought of her as sweet shy and basically unadven turous was the boldness with which she defied the order against public meetings and the stoicism with which she faced a British revolver

Thirty five years after this incident, Mrs Gandhi, in New Delhi, murmuring partly to her hands and partly to me, said. I have always been very quiet, and when I was younger people thought there was no fire in me But this fire has always been there only nobody saw it except when it flared But it has always been there, and she raised her head and looked at me with one of her more bewildering express ions the large hooded and strangely beautiful eyes defiant against denial, inger in them but also posing a quiz zical kind of question. The question would not have been asked by those eyes to many of those people with whom she dealt as Prime Minister and with the question unasked, and the eyes presenting their answer, I have never been surprised that so many people were afraid of her, and

still are

NDIRA used Leroze as a link with the Congress workers underground, passing on money and political litera ture Feroze, indeed, did the mole act himself, persuaded his upper lip to produce a moustache, and clad himself in khaki Because of his pallid skin, ruddy cheeks, the moustache, and his consequently English appearance he evaded the police who were looking for him. On one occasion he slipped off from Allahabad to I ucknow to escape arrest when he returned he dis embarked at a small wayside halt, feeling that he might be recognised at the station in Allabahad He then found there was no transport available and eventually harched a ride in a truck full of British soldiers, who were not only unsuspicious but so solicitous of his welfare that they tried to stop him from getting off the truck in

She told the rich Indians (in South Africa), to reduce it to a phrase she did not use but which was the main point of her speech, that they were bastards



Nehru Indira and her two sons

Allahabad The bloody natives they said would chop him to pieces. Feroze allayed their fears and disappeared into the dark heading for home and India.

In 1938 Jawaharlal tounded a news paper called the National Herald in Lucknow This was to play an important role in India , life. The import ance was in the sense that I eroze had no income apart from the very occasional articles he wrote. How the couple survived in the early years of their marriage is difficult to say though it is likely that they were financed by their respective relatives. In 1944 Nemu decided that heroze should be gainful ly employed. He created a appoint ment for him on the editorial taff of his paper and sent the couple off to Lucknow Considering the finances of the National Herald, it is probable that Feroze's employment was not very gainful nevertheless he was now an employed person and that was probably what Nehru wared him to be

On the election in a ray not

himself a man who could live alone Without a wife he needed a daughter to look after him since it was not very proper in the terms of the culture in which he lived against his will for him to remarry. He therefore sent for Indira to come to Allahabad, every month. Obviously I had to do it, Mrs Gandhi said to me in 1977, 'because my father was doing more important work than my husband' She became a sort of housekeeper to Nehiu as well as to Feroze.

So frequently a grass widower, it was little wonder that these months formed a winter of discontent for leroze It was also little wonder that his discontent turned to a degree of resentment When, in 1944, Indira produced a son, who was named Rajiv, I croze may have felt that she would spend more time at home in Lucknow This did not prove to be the case She continued to flutter to and fro between her husband and her father, and wherever she was, the child, naturally enough, was with her This deepened

and solidified the inchoate feelings of deprivation already within Feroze It did not seem to him that Nehru really needed Indira, whereas he himself did, nor could it have seemed fair that having given his daughter away in marriage Nehru should so frequently, if only temporarily, wish to reclaim her Leroze had been gregatious al ways and he became more so, not that Lucknow society offered many oppor tunities for a wild life. He solaced himself, like his boyhood idol Krishna Menon, with a continuous stream of tea, and doubtless pondered upon the future

Nehru's wiltulness and his sharp temper were allowed full play through most of his life. Feroze, his worshipper at the start of the relationship, is sented these patterns of behaviour more and more. The pleasure I eroze took in his mairiage became less and less. For India to rush to the side of her tather in case of dire need was one thing the situation that had been created by his wife as well as by her father was another Even the child was rushed away to accompany his mother and grandfather on their trips together. This was by no means an understandable factor in the lives of the Leroze Gandhi family

Indira was politically nothing at that time simply Nehru's daughter and Teroze's wite However, her watchful eves showing little were perpetually upon her father as he moved within the Congress tramework among people who were not always in agreement with his views and as he went outside it to do battle with Jin nah who riddled with cancer remained crisp incisive and resolute in his demands for a Muslim state in the subcontinent. The British commissions hat came and went in the last years of the war listened to everyone they drew their own conclusions one of which was that the creation of Pakis tan was inevitable

Indira may have been, in a sense, wedded to her father, but Feroze was still her husband. In 1946, the war over independence on the horizon, and the last British viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, seated in the enormous palace built by Lutyens, now the residence of the President of India, she gave birth to a second son. He was named Sanjay,

had an extraordinary lunch, in 1975, Lin the palace where Mountbatten had once presided over the partition of India The hostess was Mrs Gandhi, and the occasion was in honour of Prince Charles In the garden of the presidential palace, filled with roses and trees, the guests lined up before lunch while Mrs Gandhi introduced the royal party to them That is, she introduced Charles, and the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, but for some reason she omitted to introduce Mountbatten He wandered along be hind the rest, explaining to everyone, My name is Mountbatten,' and, was ing his hand around the lawns, 'and I had those trees planted'

I had never previously met Mount batten, but my father, who died in 1974, had, in Burma during the war, when he accused Mountbatten, then Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in Asia, of having used Indian troops as cannon fodder in attacks on the Japanese There was apparently a rather acrimonious exchange of words, but when Mountbatten later became Viceroy, my father and he became friends They came, in fact, to know each other fairly well

I tell the story of this lunch because three people important in Indian politics revealed certain aspects of them selves to me during it. I was seated at a table with the Gloucesters and Y B Chavan, now leader of the Congress, amongst others. Since nobody appeared to have anything to say, the Duke started to talk, saying that if he had not been a Duke he would have liked to have been a photographer. He then described the equipment in his possession There was then another short silence. Mr Chavan a stout brown, rather toadlike person, broke it 'Oah,' he said in my youth in Maharashtra I was famous for my photography Particularly I was mak ing pictures of weddings and funeral processions. Another short silence then the Duke having already de scribed his own Rolleiflexes and Nikons said, 'How splendid What cameras did you use?' Mr Chavan beamed proudly and replied 'Oah, I was using only the best equipment. I was having one Baby Brownie' The Duke did not reply I looked at him he was shaking all over, though it was hot ın Delhi

After lunch the Gloucesters shot off. I needed to see Mrs Gandhi, so, as she was saying goodbye to Prince Charles I hovered around The Prince having departed I asked her for an appointment 'Yes, yes,' she said 'Tomorrow Phone my secretary' Her normally impassive face displayed some irritation 'Where,' she asked, 'are the Gloucesters? Weren't you sit ting with them?' I said yes, but I thought they had left 'From which entrance? inquired Mis Gandhi I said from the front (the Prince had left from the side entrance) 'Come with me,' said Mrs Gandhi abruptly She then sprinted across the lawn towards the front entrance Though I had be come a sort of unofficial equerry at that moment, I could not match her speed Panting behind her I heard her ask somebody where the Gloucesters were This person said they had left Mrs Gandhi turned back to me and she was obviously furious 'They didn't even say goodbye,' she told me 'Don't they know that I am the Prime Minis ter of India?

The third somewhat revealing incident of the afternoon was that, while trying to catch breath beside a rose bush, I found myself standing beside Lord Mountbatten, who was peering at the flowers with a rather Emsworthish expression. He glanced round, saw me, and smiled 'Oh, Frank,' he said, 'nice

'I have always been very quiet, and when I was younger people thought there was no fire in me. But this fire has always been there, only nobody saw it except when it flared...but it has always been there'



Indua and Jawah ulal mourning Fereze's death

to see you I thought you were dead' My father, who had he been alive, would have been seventy might have been pleased by his remark I must confess that I certainly was not

THERE are certain distant ho izons, I some of which can be reached in a lifetime, though the farthest is only reachable at the end Feroze reached his farthest horizon a few years before his wife reached a skyline which must once have seemed impossibly far A close friend of hers Mrs Pupul Jayakar, now an elderly lady with beautiful, quietly burning eyes who has been a key figure in the preserva tion of Indian handicrafts and ancient arts, has known Mrs Gandhi since 1931, and she described Feroze's wife to me as she was in the middle of the 1940s at the time of independence

It was March Delhi was warming itself up after winter. The dry wind from the north had ceased to be cool Mrs Jayakar sat in front of the french windows of our drawing room, the garden ablaze with flowers behind her, sipping iced lime cordial. She said, Indu was fourteen when I first met her The impression she had on me was of apparticularly withdrawn and-well, how shall I put it? -a grave child She's changed but there is still some thing in her which shrinks from peo ple, a shyness, a sense of madequacy left in her from the overpowering influence of her aunts, particularly Mrs Pandit Betty was fond of her in her own way When Indu was pregnant with Rajiv, I met her in Betty's house in Bombay She seemed very shy, very delicate and still very withdrawn'

I ater they spent a holiday together in the hill resort of Mahabaleshwar, not tar from Bombay 'I travelled back with her in a car,' Mrs Jayakar said. You know certain people make impressions on your mind Either they are remembered as strong people or as weak ones Indu simply left a vague impression, the impression of an undeveloped personality. It was only after 1946 that she started to have a proper relationship with her father This was after her aunt left on her first mission to the U N Indu was no longer overpowered by Mrs Pandit She started to come out of her shell in fact, she blossomed She started to read she started to meet minds on equal terms.'

One mind she does not seem to have met in this way is that of Feroze. I think it true to say that while Feroze had a sort of inbuilt shrewdness and brightness, Mrs Gandhi possessed intelligence and determination, and his were completely different qualities from hers. Her intelligence may not have manifested itself much before 1946, though her determination had, but, however shy and withdrawn she may have appeared, however vague an impression she left on those who then met her, this intelligence was clearly present in her Yes said Mrs Javakar, finishing her soft drink there are so many sides to her which were never allowed to grow so many springs inside her which were never allowed to flow because of her peculiar circumstances. She fell silent thinking back.

INDIA-PAKISTAN HANDSHAKES, BUT...

There was a positive side to Agha Shahi's visit, reports PRAN CHOPRA



Indo Pak talks at New Delhi, Agha Shahi (left) and Narasimha Rao (right)

N recent years no meeting between Indian and Pakistani leaders has ended on such a sour note as has Mr Agha Shahi's visit to New Delhi The contrast with the cordiality which marked the visits to Pakistan by Mr Swaran Singh and the foreign secretary, Mr Ram Sathe, was total.

Yet the contrast is more in appearance than substance The Indian visits to Pakistan were not nearly as successful as might have been suggested by the orchestrated cordiality Nor has Mr Agha Shahi s visit been as unsuccessful as might be suggested by the gloom reflected in Indian Press reports (in which also I suspect some orchestration). Whether on bilateral matters or regional, the differences between India and Pakistan have not grown more substantial as a result of Mr Shahi's visit. In fact, the contrary would be slightly more true. The differences are still wide, in fact unbridgeable But they are less wide than they were in the immediate aftermath of the Soviet action in Afghanistan.

On the bilateral plane, Pakistan is responding more positively, certainly in words, but to some extent by actions

too, to Indian proposals for greater economic exchanges Pakistan is going to buy Indian iron ore for a steel mill, and has indicated willingness to sell natural gas to India if it can find deposits elsewhere than at Sui (the Sui production being all committed to consumption within Pakistan). There has also been talk of increased trade in other items, and these prospects did not suffer diminution as a result of Mr. Shahi's visit. They became a little bit brighter.

In a negative sort of way, there has also been some improvement, or at least some has become possible, on the regional plane India and Pakistan appear to be slightly less apart about the problem of Afghanistan, which is the most lively issue in this region and one which is bound to have a powerful influence on bilateral relations between India and Pakistan.

When Mr Swaran Singh and Mr Ram Sathe went to Islamabad their main purpose, as also Mr Agha Shahi's in New Delhi, was to explore this regional crisis. The Indian visitors were able to carry to Islamabad a clearer picture of the attitudes in Moscow and Kabul than Islamabad could have collected itself in the pre-

sent state of its rather strained relations with both of these capitals. They were also able to bring away a clearer picture of Islamabad's apprehensions and reactions. Since this is all that the Indian visitors could have done at that stage, they were understandably satisfied with the success of their efforts, and as often happens with mediators who have more goodwill in their hearts than political clout in their diplomatic baggage, a pound of success becomes a ton of optimism. Hence the cheerful tone of the statements by Mr Swaran Singh (than whom there is no more incorrigible optimist alive!) and Mr Ram Sathe after their visits to Islamabad. But a careful scrutiny of the statements showed that they had no success at all in weaning Pakistan away from the two initiatives, both very unwelcome to India, on which Pakistan had embarked.

By the time Mr Agha Shahi came to New Delhi on 15 July, both these initiatives had exhausted themselves. In fact, it would be more correct to say that they had collapsed, and at least one of them had become dangerously counter-productive. The initiatives were, first, encouragement and support for the Afghan insurgents, who

have been receiving training and equipment at bases located within Pakistan; and second, a diplomatic intervention through the Islamic Con-

Where were these initiatives by the time Mr Shahi came? Let's take the first. The insurgents have indeed given some sleepless nights to the Babrak Karmal government in Kabul. They have also shattered any hope Moscow might have had that after some time Afghanistan would settle down under Soviet control, or the world would come to believe that the resistance had ended. But beyond that? The resistance has in no way made the position unbearable for the Soviet Union Uncomfortable, yes, but intolerable, no. And certainly not enough to persuade the Soviet Union that the consequences of getting out in the face of hostility would be easier to

In fact the position now is that despite the political costs, which the Soviet Union can bear much longer than the United States could in the case of Vietnam, at the present level of hostilities the insurgents have far less capacity to accept the military costs than the Soviet forces have And Pakistan can still less bear the political and economic side effects of the presence of nearly one million turbulent afridies in an area which even without them is turbulent enough.

Can Pakistan break out of this impasse by stepping up the level of the conflict? Most unlikely. There can be only three kinds of escalation. One by direct US intervention that would make all countries of this region irrelevant and perhaps leave Pakistan in a bloody mess. The second can be through massive arming of the insurgents. The consequences of that Pakistan fears even more than Afghanistan would. As it is, the insurgents are proving to be an unsettling factor within Pakistan. They would become even more so once they are heavily armed. The third possibility is that with American and Chinese backing, Pakistan itself might play a more direct military role. But with the immense Soviet military power 'so close at hand, this gamble can involve risks which Pakistan cannot afford.

Pakistan's diplomatic initiative has not fared any better. It has reached a stalemate. Moscow refuses to talk directly to the three-mancommittee set up by the Islamic Conference; it wants the committee to talk to Kabul. But Kabul says it cannot talk to the committee but only bilaterally to the governments of Pakistan and Iran. And that would mean recognition of the Kabul regime, which is unacceptable to the Islamic Conference and therefore also to Pakistan and Iran So Pakistan's second initiative is also not getting anywhere.

In a mood chastened by these failures, Pakistan has moved much closer to what the Indian position has always been first, that the Afghan problem can be solved only by political means; second, on terms which the Soviet Union can also afford, and third, terms which must include, among other things, withdrawal of theAmerican presence also from the whole of this region Repeatedly and frankly in the

learly supported each of these three ingredients of the Indian position

This is not a gain to be scoffed at, because it prepares the ground for the only kind of political initiative which at some propitious time in future might lead to settlement, namely, a joint political initiative by the countries of this region itself (which, of course, can only get off the ground if India and Pakistan are agreed about its essential ingredients). Such an initiative would be free of the irritants contained in any initiative sponsored either by the western powers or the Islamic bloc

Mr Narasimha Rao was therefore absolutely right when on 18 July he described the outcome of Mr Shahi's visit in much more positive terms than the Indian Press had done for the preceding couple of days One simple reason why the Press was so negative, and so uniformly, could be the unfortunate fact that the New Delhi correspondents have got into the habit of faithfully reproducing what the foreign office official spokesman says, without cross checking with other sources. But why the spokesman gave such a negative picture needs more probing.

What the spokesman said was not incorrect. There was obviously friction both on Kashmir and on the military spending by India and Pakistan. But this was not the whole picture, as the Press made it out to be. Whether the spokesman is more responsible or the Press for making a part appear to be the whole, is perhaps a point on which the Press and the spokesman have different opinions.

Goodbye to illusions ofparity T IS heartening to note

course of his visit, Mr Agha Shahic-

that at long last, 33 years after independence, Pakistan has given up its post-Partition quest for politico-military parity with India. The Pakistani Foreign Minister, Agha Shahi, during his recent visit to India, acknowledged India's preeminence as a military power in South Asia, and spoke of the need for talks between Indo-Pak military experts to mutually agree on the ratio of forces and level of armaments between the two countries. India argued that talks on troop reduction could only take place if there was sufficient "trust and confidence" between the countries and they agreed on mutual security needs.

The strength of India's armed forces (1,096,000) is more than two-and-a-half times that of Pakistan's (429,000). India's annual defence spending is more than three times Pakistan's (3.72 billion dollars to 1.05 billion dollars in 1978-79). But, in terms of both per capita defence ex-penditure and defence expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product, Pakistan spends twice as much as India does. India has two to three

By VIVEK SENGUPTA

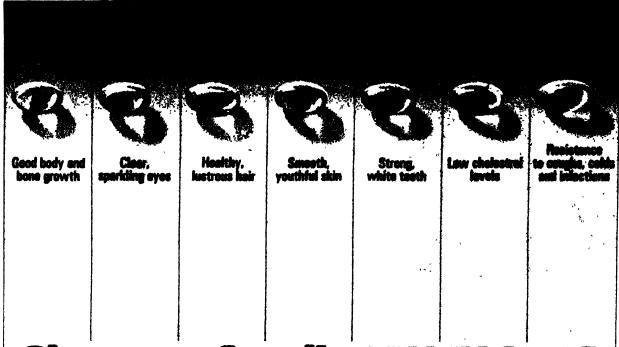
times as many tanks, helicopters, air craft and naval vessels as Pakistan A major portion of India's military requirements is indigenously manufactured, whereas Pakistan's domestic defence production capacity is negligible. The list of items India manufactures ranges from tanks to combat aircraft to frigates.

But, these statistics are deceptive for the simple reason that India has to depoly a considerable portion of its armed forces (all of its 11 mountain divisions, for instance) to guard its 3,861 km border with China. Since 1959, China has been aggressively inclined towards India. The 1962 Chinese aggression marked a watershed in recent Indian history for it shattered the national complacence and led to a complete reappraisal of India's foreign and strategic policies. Last spring, China invaded Vietnam to

"teach it a lesson". It was beaten back but it was plain that China had not lost its fondness for military action against its neighbours.

Between 1970 and 1976, Pakistan imported arms worth 675 million dollars while in the same period India bought foreign arms worth 1.648 billion dollars. As a part of the US response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on 27 December 1979, President Carter offered Pakistan arms and economic aid worth 400 million dollars to shore up its defences. This offer was accompanied by a lifting of the ban on cash sales of US arms imposed last April when Pakistan defiantly went ahead with its programme to build a nuclear bomb While Gen Zia rejected the American package as "peanuts", the lifting of the ban on sales enabled it to buy 150 million dollars worth of arms it had ordered earlier. Simultaneously a consortium of countries (US allies and Arab nations sympathetic to Pak needs) got together to fund Pakistani purchases of US arms.

Recently, India signed a package agreement with Russia which enables it to buy 1.6 billion dollars worth of .



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Narasımha Rao (centre) at Delhi airport to receive Agha Shahi

Soviet arms. On 14 June, the US administration decided to sell India TOW (Tube-paunched, Optically-tracked, Wire-guided) anti-tank missiles worth 32 million dollars. The deal awaits Congressional approval and reflects the US desird to prevent India from being entirely dependent on the Soviet camp for its military requirements

The three-dozen odd Indian ordnance factories manufacture stores and equipment ranging from tanks and projectiles to floating bridges and parachutes. India is one of the very few developing countries whic makes its own armoured vehicles. After manufacturing a thousand Vijayanta MBTs (Main Battle Tanks) India is developing a new battle tank. The first 1500 engines has been successfully tested. India is now going in for the purchase and eventual manufacture of the advanced Soviet T-72 tanks. The Soviets have always been a generation ahead of the NATO powers in the field of armoured vehicles and the 'armour gap' is an obsession with Western strategies. The T-59 and the M-48 Patton, the Chinese and Pakistani MBTs are both inferior to the Viiavanta.

India manufactures a variety of aircraft and helicopters ranging from Chetak, Avro, Gnat and Marut to the sophisticated Mig-21s. These are built either under licence or from indigenously developed designs. India's plans to produce the Jaguar DPSA has come under a cloud with conflicting reports about a decision to go in for the m. nufacture of the French Mirage 2000 instead. Another report suggests that Pakistan is going in for this futuristic aircraft.

Pakistan's own defence production

effort is negligible. It manutactures Alouette and Hughes 500 helicopters and Cessna light planes. It assembles Cessna T-41D trainers from inported components. The Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) will soon manufacture the Mushak (Swedish Saabsupporter), a trainer-cum-ground attack aircraft. PAC has a Mirage rebuild factory near Attock, NWFP and another for F-6 near Islamabad. There is, however, a growing awareness in Pakistan of the need to upgrade its domestic arms manufacturing capacity.

ing capacity.
In India, defence planners are trying to lessen its dependence on

Soviet arms. Since 1962, Russia has been the largest single supplier of arms to India. Thus if India has signed a 1.6 billion dollar arms deal with the Soviets, she also signed the 1.2 billion dollar Jaguar deal with Britain last year and will buy TOW missiles worth 32 million dollars from the US. Most of the advanced weapons systems manufactured in India are produced under licence. The need now is to develop indigenous designs by integrating civilian and military R and D efforts. The government has just set up a separate department for defence R and D with Dr Raja Ramanna, scientific adviser to the Government of India, as its secretary.

In sum, Pakistan does not pose a military challenge to India. But Pakistan has a highly unstable domestic polity and adventurism on the part of its reigning generals cannot be ruled out. Cognizance must also be taken of the worst case scenario of China ganging up with Pakistan with tacit or active US support. It almost came to pass in 1971, when the Soviets, reliable friends, unequivocally backed

India

Is Pakistan going nuclear? Indian analysts say yes. How should India respond? P B Sinha and R. R. Subramaniam, two analysts from the Institute of Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi have suggested in a recent book that not only should we reject the Pakistani proposal of a nuclear-free South Asia but "project a profile of power, equal to China" to deter both. On the other hand, Brij Mohan Kaushik and O N Mehrotra, also from the IDSA, have, in another recent publication, proffered the more pacifist suggestion of nuclear cooperation between India and Pakistan. The onus for this, they say, lies with India which by the Pokharan explosion, has induced Pakistan to tread the nuclear path. Can India take this course?

| | INDIA | PAKISTAN |
|--|-------------------|---|
| Population | 652,820,000 | 80,170,000 |
| Military service | Voluntary | Voluntary |
| Total armed forces | 1,096,000 | 429.000 |
| Estimated GNP (1978) Defence Expenditure | \$ 106'40 billion | \$ 18 50 billion |
| (1978) Per capita military | \$ 3 72 billion | \$ 1 05 billion |
| expenditure(1977) | \$ 6 | S 11 |
| Army | 950.000 | 400.000 |
| -uniy | 330,000 | (Including 29,000 Azad Kashmir troops) |
| Tanks | 1,900 | 1.050 |
| APC | 700 | 550 |
| Navy | 44,000 | 12.000 |
| Submarines | 8 | 6 |
| Alforafi-carrier | 1 | O |
| Cruiser | . | _ |
| | 00 | 1 |
| rigates | 22 6 |] |
| Bases Naval Air Force | | 1 |
| | 2,000 | |
| W Force | 100,000 | 17,000 |
| | 620 | 256 109,100 |
| Combet aircraft Paramilitary forces | 300.000 | |

What is happening in the Youth Congress?

HETHER a structure is a house of cards or a steel skyscraper depends on the foundation To begin with, the Youth lobby, 1980 model (very different, indeed even from the 1977 model, and unrice ognisable from the early Seventies model of "progressive" Privaranjan Das Munshi) had not yet fully taken shape when its foundation, Sanjay Gandhi, suddenly died. In fact, the very use of the term 'Youth Congress' is a misnomer in the context of 1980 Because there is a fundamental differ ence between what Sinjay Gandhi was trying to achieve in 1977 and before and what he was trying to do in 1980 Earlier, he was winning his spurs, the horse was the Youth Congress In the 1980 elections he won his spurs. And changed his horse. Now his efforts

BY M. J. AKBAR

were concentrated upon taking over the parent Purty by filling up the key positions with a combination of the young people he had turned overnight into politicians and a selection of the volder members who he could trust Given the tradition of gerontocracy which dominates Indian politics, these older members were not very old Many of them were not very competent either but they had the stamp of one virtue which converted them from mere mortals into VIPs they had pledged complete loyalty to Sanjay

Such in effort is not without precedence in Congress politics. The first time it happened was in 1969, and it was Mrs Gandhi who led what might be called the first Revolt of the Young

That was about twelve years ago, and the names which have become estab lished now then belonged to people who were on the sidelines of the Congress structure Chandrashekhar a decade ago was around 40, to give perhaps the best example. In June 1969, the Bihai legislature party of the Congress sat down to discuss whether then vote should go to Sanjeeva Red dy or Mrs Gandhi's "conscience candi date" The Congress High Command had sent instructions that 'disciplined soldiers of the Party must vote for Sanjeeva Reddy, and a resolution to that effect was accordingly placed Dhaim Bu Sinha, then an MI A (now a Lok Sabha MP of the Congress(U)) tore up the resolution in the presence of the shocked senior bigwigs, the a meeting broke up in pandemonium, and no resolution was passed. He was a

Mrs Gandhi with Youth Congress people after Sanjav's death



only in his early thirties then-quite the right age for a Youth Congress member! True, Mrs Gandhi's marshals then were Jagjivan Ram and I akhrud din Ali Ahmed (Y B Chavan realised on which side the bread was buttered only later), but the momentum which carried her to the 1971 victory was really provided by this group of people who came to be known as the Young Turks, it was these Lurks like Chandrajit Yadav who took over the Congress organisation and rebuilt it in their fashion

Sanjay was, in essence, doing the same thing, and hardly less dramatic ally Of course there are differences but in content, not style of operation The Young Turks owed allegiance to a political philosophy which is known as "left of centre". In a polity where nobody knows what is 'centre", people still manage to call themselves "left" and "right" of the still themselves. "left" and "right" of it but that is another matter. Fnough people be lieved that using the word socialism once every hour made them 'left of centre and they all joined Mrs Gin dhi' war against the right of centre Sanjay Gandni did not believe in "left" "centre" or "right". He be heved in himself, and he believed that one part of private enterprise mixed with one part of vouthful political management and the hash boiled on tervour and fear, would produce enough cake for the Indian masses The Young Turks won on their Garibi Hatao promise, Sanjay Gandhi won on his personality based slogan. But he died before he could really effect the change in his Party

And his young followers were caught in limbo to paraphrase Matth ew Arnold between one world not fully dead and the other waiting to be born. The world which was not fully dead which was lying on its sickbed but whose medicine supplies were being gradually reduced, and would in a couple of months have been termin ated, suddenly this world revived, got up from its bed, and began giving orders. The man who was in charge of the Euthanasia Programme had him self-left this world.

The confusion that this created is obvious Immediate instability in the states was one fallout. There is no specific pattern in this instability, which is basically anti Chief Minister groups standing up and shouting want more' The point of course is that these dissidents would never have had the courage to raise even a whisper if Sanjay Gandhi had been alive, or not so early The Andhra dissidents can at least trace their origins from the encouragement given by Sanjay himself, but Kedai Pande in Bihai, or Ram Kishore Vyas in Rajasthan would have done nothing worse than continue sulking in their corners had a vacuum not suddenly arisen in Delhi

The New Elite of the Sanjay Bri gade had come from two main crucibles One was the Youth Congress; the other was the Doon School social crowd circuit, the Sanjay Friends' Society (Of course, these are not strict



demarcations, there is some overlap ping but by and large these categories hold) The first result of Sanjay's deith was that the man who could convert their wishes/needs/sugges tions into decisions which would be implemented, had disappeared, their source of power was gone and now which Minister or bureaucrat would listen to them with the tear and re spect which they once commanded? Theirs was a power oriented politics Their survival was not dependent on the work they had done among the people (in fact not more than a hand ful had any contact with the people), but on the services they could now render to their friends and constituen cies through their hold on power. They had been given constituencies arbit rarily the only criterion being whether the constituency would vote for the symbol rather than the individual. But if Rac Bareli was not a safe constituency for Mrs Gandhi in 1977, then no constituency in the country was safe enough. And they were all young people who had to win future elections if they wanted to remain in politics Ergo if Sanjay was dead, another Sanjay had to be created

But, in the first place, Sanjay's followers were not a homogenous group Among them existed all the problems of jealousy and groupism that marked conventional politics. So, how could they get together? Under what banner? The Youth Congress, which had lost its meaning with Sanjay becoming a general secretary of the parent body, suddenly acquired im portance once more This could be the magnet which could attract at least about 50 MPs, and thousands of young activists, which could form a signifi cant pressure group and bid for power when the time came So the once dormant president of the Youth Congress Ramchandra Rath woke up and held a cabal at which notice of intent was given Mrs Gandhi blessed this group with her presence at the meeting

But this was only the beginning of this story On their way up the execu tive ladder, many of Sanjay's close heutenants had left wounded comtades behind. These comrades were not going to forgive easily, and predictable infighting has broken out within the Youth Congress ranks. The tussle for power is now at its peak. The confusion is worse confounded by the absence of any recognised leader, who can arbitrate when needed, and squash rebellion when required.

The Given the nature of Congress politics, such a leader could only come from the family of Mis Gandhi Because the leader would have to be a surrogate for Mis Gandhi, she is the sole source of power in the Party and government, and only a family member could have that unique access to her car, could have that special closeness that could facilitate two way communication

Therefore the war Rajiv Gandhi versus Maneka Gandhi What an irony, and so symptomatic of current Congress politics, that Rajiv's "decency" is said to be, by the more vociferous elements within the Congress (1), to be his biggest weakness Obviously, politics is becoming the prerogative of stiff lipped Bruce Lees with limited vocabularies Ideas and commitment do not seem to be the criteria for a person scion or not, joining politics

In practice, the youth lobby within the Congress (I) is fragmented The best chance of survival lies with those with some experience in the harsh grind of the political climb college activist, student leader, Party worker, DCC member, PCC member, then perhaps MLA before finally reaching the fringes of power in Delhi Doon School, or for that matter Oxbridge, are very poor institutions when it comes to teaching how to handle a rape in Baghpat, or who controls the sugar market in the country, or how to improve primary education in the villages Doon School and Oxbridge remain good at what they have traditionally done producing bureaucrats, assistant editors of newspapers, academics, and, these days increasingly, sophisticated business executives. Let us see who survives

Maneka is too young to enter politics

GUFRAN-E-AZAM

Member of Parliament elected from Madhya Pradesh Mı Gufran e Azamıs also a general secretary of the Youth Congress (I) During the Emergency he had been given special charge of UP **af**fairs

How do you visualise the post Sanjay era in the Youth Congress?

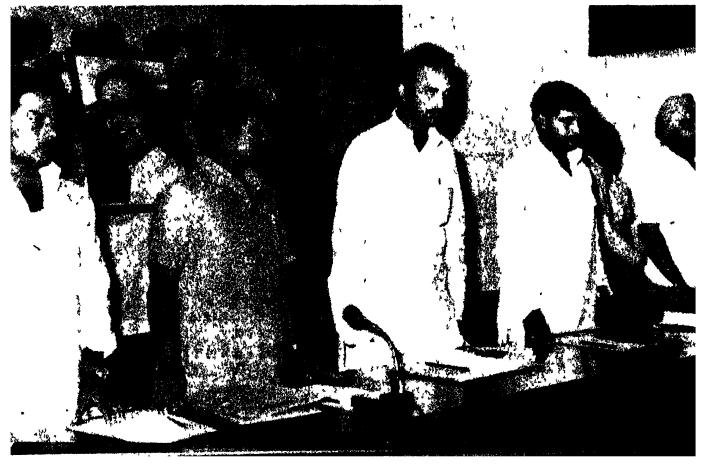
A Sanjay had his own way of making a youth team Youth leaders who were elected to Parliament, Assemblies, PCCs etc., were those who were directly con nected with him For the first time in the Congress the youth got import ance Several of them were elected to the Lok Sabha and many others be came important Ministers in the states In our political system the be lief was that only old politicians were matured and responsible A person, therefore, could come to the forefront after a certain age Sanjay demolished this age factor Before Sanjay Gandhi's advent, the young Congress worker was not sure about his political future, whether he had any chance of rising to the front rank leadership or not It is only natural for a political worker,

whatever be his age, to aspire for political power But the old Congress men did not want to give any import ance to the youth I remember that before Sanjayji's time often we youth workers used to discuss among ourselves that our role in politics will only be limited to "Dariyan bichhao aur jhanday uthao" (to lay the carpets for the political meetings and lower the Party banner after the meetings) Sanjayji ensured that the youth who laid the carpets for the meetings also got an important place on the plat form After Sanjayji's death there is apprehension in the minds of the vouth that the old guard would again try to reverse the process and try to return to the politics of the days before Sanjayji The youth is feeling that minus Sanjayji they are without the kind of protection which they got in the last few years Sanjay Gandhi had accommodated many youth lead ers including those who had crossed the age of (being a member) of the Youth Congress (35 years) into the Parliament and nine state Assemblies where elections were held recently He had personally supervised the dis tribution of Assembly tickets It was not possible for him to have satisfied everybody who had spent ten to 12

years in the Youth Congress move ment, as an MP or an MLA and those who could not be adjusted were hoping to be accommodated in organisa tional posts which Sanjayji would have done after taking over as general secretary of the Party But before he could do anything his untimely death came The Youth Congress today is leaderless Of course, Mrs Gandhi is our leader She was even Saniavii's leader apart from being his mother But she is also the Prime Minister, who has to tackle numerous problems fac ing the nation Therefore she cannot devote that amount of attention to the youth The youth had access to her through Sanjayji And there is no direct access between her and the youth at present though she is very interested in promoting the youth Moreover, even the youth activists hesitate to go and directly approach her like they used to do to Sanjay Gandhi, because they feel that as she is so busy with the work of the Govern ment, it may not be advisable to dis turb her with petty problems

How to fill the gap which the death of Sanjayji has caused? That is a very difficult problem The Youth Congress existed even before Sanjay Gandhi There used to be a president and a team of general secretaries and even now the Youth Congress is still there with a president and a team of general secretaries But Sanjay was above all these He had emerged as a youth leader, who was respected and listened to even by the office bearers If

Youth Congress (I) leaders observe a minute's silence in Sanjay Gandhi's memory before the National Council meeting on 9 July (Left to right) k V Panicker, Ram Chandra Rath, Ghulam Nabi Azad, Arun Kumar Singh and Satvitt Singh



anybody was dissatisfied with the office-bearers then he could go directly to Sanjayji and get his problem solved But now to whom can you go?

Many people are going around claiming that they were very close to Sanjay Gandhi and were his personal friends and that Sanjay Gandhi used to consult them and listen to their advice This is a lie. I do not think that anybody can claim that he had exclusive access to Sanjay Gandhi.

Q: Don't you think that none of the present Youth Congress leaders is in a position to command the same authority as Sanjay Gandhi?

A: Sanjay Gandhi was above all of us, in his personality and in his status. It is impossible for any of us to take his place.

Q Then what is this talk of succession?

A. No such controversy was started by us—the politicians. To be very frank this controversy was raised by an editor of a leading daily. Within a few days of Sanjayji's death this gentleman wrote a piece in which he talked of succession and created confusion among the people, more so because he is known to be very close to

Mrs Gandhi's family. This talk of succession is ridiculous specially from among the youth leaders because they are all of equal stature and cannot emerge in the dominating position of Sanjay Gandhi. Among the youth leaders also there are two categories. One, those who had worked in the Youth Congress movement for ten to 15 years and have risen from the grassroots. The second category is made up of those who have been propped up to the present positions as MPs etc. within one or two years of Congress work. I do not think anybody from the first category would accept the leadership of anyone from the second. Some people claim that they won the election on their own strength. Time will only tell if they are right or wrong-wait till the next elections. From my personal experience, I can say apart from the candidates' personal values, the fact that he represented Mrs Gandhi's Party mattered. I have won from Betul which has less than one per cent of Muslims among the population and the sitting MP there was from the Jana Sangh and also a youth. I belong to Bhopal, where I participated in the youth and student movement. Therefore, I can claim

the Party.
Q: Some of your friends, Ashok
Vajpayee, Akbar Ahmed, Rajesh Pilot
have started a signature campaign in
favour of Maneka Gandhi. Do not such
moves give credence to stories about
the Maneka-Rajiv rivalry?

some following in Bhopal but not in

Betul. If I have won, it is mainly due to

A: Those undertaking such signature campaigns are doing a most infantile and foolish thing. Never can anybody emerge as a leader out of a signature campaign. Only a person who has rapport with Party workers will emerge as a leader like Sanjayji

did soon after joining the Youth Con-

77 7 1 7 4, 7 3

As far as Manekaji is concerned, we have high regard for her because she is the widow of our dead leader. And the entire Youth Congress is prepared to rise and do anything for her. If you ask me whether she should come into the Youth Congress as a leader or Rajiv Gandhi should, I can say with conviction that 99 per cent of us favour Rajiv. This I am saying after talking to many youth MPs and MLAs.

This does not mean that I am against Manekaji. But as far as the immediate question of filling the vacuum is concerned the choice has to be Rajiv Gandhi because in this country after a brother dies people prefer another brother, because of the blood relationship. Rajivji is very polite, sober and mature And Manekaji is too

young to enter politics. She is not even old enough to contest elections. This signature campaign is absurd. And it is motivated by people who have no idea of either politics or the realities of this country.

country.

Q: What future do you see for the people who were political non-entities before and were propped up and exploited the name of Sanjay Gandhi in

the last six months?

A: Many exploited Sanjayji's name during his life time. But it was also the duty of senior politicians to have brought these things to his notice. Whenever he came to know such things he used to personally reprimand the errant person. These people can last in politics if they work hard and behave like politicians. There is no future for manipulators in the political life of this country.

In a democratic set-up there is nothing like succession

SARVJIT SINGH

Incharge of foreign affairs of the Youth Congress (I)

O. How do you visualise the post-Sanjay era in the Youth Congress

A. Sanjay Gandhi has left behind a well-organised Youth Congress set-up at all levels During the period of struggle, most of the units were allowed to grow freely. The demoralisation caused by the exit of the leader is only natural but the momentum set by him is carrying on the activities of the Youth Congress with continued vigour However, it is good that our president, Ram Chandra Rath, has tightened the reins and has introduced the ten-point programme of Sanjay Gandhi with a timebound implementation plan. This is bound to carry on the momentum much longer. Also, since the drive for membership of the Youth Congress is now going to start, that will also keep the tempo on However, it is too soon to say, how much effect Sanjayji's death is going to cause.

Q: What is this succession controversy?

A. This controversy is quite unnecessary and harmful for the organisation. It is sad that so many weak elements in the Party are becoming a game in this controversy.

In a democratic set-up like ours there is nothing like succession. Everyone has their own place. Even Sanjay had to struggle hard before he was universally accepted as a leader. Both Rajiv and Maneka have a political background, being in the midst of

political activity for so long. Rajiv, of course, has had a much longer association in politics being the son and grandson of such eminent politicians of this country. At the same time one cannot ignore the knowledge that Maneka has gained by being so closely associated with her husband specially during the period of his adversity. Her political contribution through the medium of Surya is certainly commendable. Therefore, they both have a right to be in politics.

Q: Some of your colleagues like Ashok Vajpayee, and MLAs from UP, have started a signature campaign in favour of Maneka Gandhi. Don't you think such a campaign gives credence to reports about the Rajiv-Maneka rivalry?

A: It is unfortunate that some people, although with good intentions have started such campaigns. They probably feel that by doing so they are reiterating their loyalties to the departed leader. However, I feel this is not necessary and may even have retrogressive effect.

Q: Do you feel that after Sanjay's exit from the political scene, the old guard of your Party is trying to regroup and dislodge the youth from their party and dislodge the youth from

their hitherto dominant positions?

A: I suppose this is partly true, but the dislodging of such an organised youth of which a large number are MPs and MLAs is surely going to be a Herculean task. Specially because of the support that Mrs Gandhi gives to the youth. She has gone on record in our national council meeting to say that she is looking up towards the youth to provide a vision for the 21st century.

Interviews by UDAYAN SHARMA

Communist giants woo CPM

L1HOUGH to know the final results we will have to wait for a tew more weeks, the keen competition be tween the Soviet and the Chinese Communist Party to win over the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has already reached an inferesting stage Both the grants of the international Communist movement have made very attractive offers to the (PI(M) as they are keen to develop close fraternal relations with the Party. They are also trying to cultivate individual leaders of the CPI(M) The game was first started by the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) The CPSU initially ignored the CPI(M) after the split of the Communist Party of India in 1964 and supported the CPI Soviet patronage in all its forms went to the (PI During the long decade when Mrs Gandhi's government tried to muzzle the CPI(M) in every possible way, the CPI and the Soviet Party stood by her But then in 1977 when Mrs Gandhi was defe ated the CPI and the Soviet Party started thinking afresh The CPI became a bitter critic of Mrs Gan dhi and the Soviet government went all out to cultivate the Janata government. Both also realised that the CPI(M) had become an important factor in Indian politics, spe cially after the Marxists captured power in West Bengal and Tripura So both started cultivating the CPI(M) immediately, the CPI open ly and the Russians secretly. The CPI cagerly initiated negotiations with the (Pl(M) for "Left and democratic unity" readily offering its leadership to the Marxists. And the Russians and their East Luro pean allies went all out to establish contacts with the hitherto untouch able Marxi t leaders in every possi

Both of them succeeded to a large extent in their moves, which were of course coordinated covert ly The CPI(M) started cooperating with the CPI in different spheres, diluted their own formulation (that "authoritarianism was the biggest danger before the country and hence all the antiauthoritarian forces should try to fight at tirst') and ultimately joined hands with the CPI and all the other pro Moscow forces of India in bringing down the Morarji government In spite of strong negative pressures from inside the Party, the CPI(M) also supported the Charan Singn government about which the CPI and the pro Moscow lobby had high hopes But alas Mrs Gandhi and the Indian people upset all their calcu-



By BARUN SENGUPTA

lations Very soon Charan Singh's government came down like a house of cards and Mrs Gandhi came back to power with a thump ing majority There was tremen dous disarray inside the CPI, CPI(M) and the entire pro Moscow lobby after this Inside the CPI the Dange fraction started asserting it self for closer cooperation with Mrs Gandhi and against "a policy of surrender to the CPI(M)" Within the CPI(M) the West Bengal lobby launched a vigorous attack against the central leadership of the Party for endangering the future of the West Bengal and Tripura govern ments by paving the way for Mis Gandhi's return to power The so called giants of the pro-Moscow lobby in other non Congress(I) Par ties were in a worse position—some of them tried vainly to join Mrs Gandhi's bandwagon and some others virtually went into the political wilderness for the time being

But Moscow did not lose heart immediately The Russians' first attempt was to woo Mrs Gandhi for which every possible effort was made Soviet diplomats started even seeing Sanjay But alas again, all their attempts failed. In spite of repeated requests Mrs Gandhi did not agree to support the Soviet position on Afghanistan unequivoc ally Her government also showed a keenness to normalise relations with China Moscow got hints that Mrs Gandhi was frantically trying to expand relations with France and West Germany to neutralise



India's dependence on Soviet arms It was also observed that Mrs Gan dhi's government was keeping a closer watch on Russian activity and the covert inflow of money into India than before Moscow then decided upon a new strategy of keeping up both diplomatic and internal pressure on Mrs Gandhi On the diplomatic front the greatest pressure was excited dur ing Narasimha Rao's latest Moscow visit. He was told almost bluntly 'Look here, we do not like you meddling in Afghan affairs You are a regional power-you must not forget that And the Atghan de velopments are a battle between two super powers. We do not like your latest China policy also'

In India, Moscow concentrated all its efforts to forge a Left and democratic unity so that pressure could be exerted on Mis Gandhi from inside also Everyone knows today that this pressure cannot be of much significance unless the CPI(M) agrees to join this move And so, Moscow became keen to get the CPI(M)'s support for this move even by paying an unusual price

But from all these one should not come to the conclusion that Moscow has decided to attack Mrs Gandhi Russia cannot afford that, especial ly now Even if the Bharativa Jana ta Party comes to power in Delhi tomorrow Moscow cannot go against it completely. It would just like to keep up pressure on Mis Gandhi, blow hot and cold and wait for the opportune moment. It adopted almost the same policy towards Mrs Gandhi during the 65

69 period

Whether Moscow will succeed in getting Mrs Gandhi's foreign, arms purchase and trade policies changed or not depends on many 'ifs' and 'buts'. But it can be said with certainty that the Russians would have succeeded in their attempt to forge a strong pro Moscow Left and democratic press ure group in India but for the appearance of a big hurdle all of a sudden. This hurdle is the political offensive of the Chinese Commun ist Party (CPC) The Chinese want to build up good relations with the government of India as early as possible, specially after the Afghan development They do not expect the Russians to quit Afghanistan and they are apprehensive that with the help of India (rather, by "fooling India"), the Russians may try to set up a puppet government in Pakistan too, in their ultimate effort to get a strong grip over the entire Indian sub-continent. The Chinese think that the Soviet advance in South Asia can only be stopped by a joint effort by China, India and Pakistan backed by the USA Bejing is now frantic for such a joint effort

Secondly, the CPC thinks that if the CPSU succeeds in forging a strong pro-Moscow Left and and democratic force in India it may ultimately turn out to be dangerous for China This front may, a) go on exerting pressure on the government of India to follow a pro-Russian policy, b) if not directly, then indirectly it may oppose nor malisation of Sino-Indian relations and C) ultimately it may even help the Russians set up a puppet government in India So, the Chinese are trying to oppose the formation of a Pro-Moscow Left and democratic front in India by all possible means One way is to win over the CPI(M) The Chinese also know that no strong pro-Moscow Left and democratic front can be formed in India without the CPI(M) So they have made some unusual offers to the CPI(M) although during the last decade or so in almost every foreign policy matter the Indian Marx ists have supported Moscow and condemned Beijing

Ultimately, in this keen competition both Moscow and Beijing have requested the CPI(M) to send high

power delegations to their countries during the next CPSU and CPC gatherings. Both of them have expressed eagerness to establish strong fraternal relations with the CPI(M). Moscow has said, let a Left and democratic front be formed in India and we will accept you as the leader of the front Beijing has gone a step further and said that in spite of "our differences on some issues we would recognise you as the real Communist Party of India." Both of them have come forward with profound apologies for past "mistakes" of attacking the CPI(M) and both have requested the Marxist leaders to consider the "past as past"

Whom will the CPI(M) choose? Which side will the Indian Marxists go? Till now, most of the Party's politbureau members are maintaining equal relations with both the 'CPSU and CPC. They do not want to opt for one or the other; they want to mainfain formal relations with both. But there is a small group (headed by Promode Das Gupta of West Bengal) inside the politbureau which is opposed to any sort of formal relationship with the CPSU. According to them, the CPSU is still an out and out revisionist Party and CPI(M) cannot establish fraternal relations with such a Party. A large number of the

Party cadres are also opposed to the establishment of any formalrelations with the CPSU in the light of Moscow's public support to Mrs Gandhi during the 71-77 period and the role the CPI played during those years Unlike in the polit-bureau, the supporters of a-no-truck-with-the-CPSU line are probably in a majority inside the Party as a whole These Marxists, on the other hand, do not consider the CPC an adventurist Party any more, though they have strong re-servations about Beijing's pro-American stand on different international issues. But still, they are not unwilling to establish Party to Party relations with the CPC since it has agreed to recognise the CPI(M) as the real Communist Party of India. They are also enthusiastic about the Chinese proposal of hosting a high-power CPI(M) delegation during the next political gathering in Beijing. But a majority of the leaders of the Party are strongly opposed to sending a delegation to Beijing if none is sent to Moscow If the politbureau and the central committee of the Party decide to send a delegation only to Moscow and shun the CPC's offer completely then the Party will face a major split again and the leaders will not be able to prevent it.

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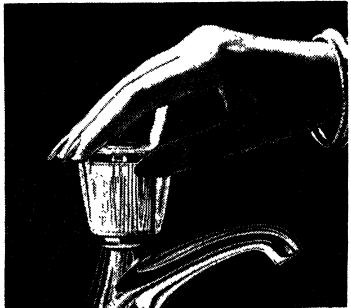
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Home Minister guilty

Look who tabled the report

FIFTEEN minutes before the Punjab assembly adjourned sine die on July the state CM Darbara Singh tabled the three interim reports of the Gurdev Singh Commission of Inquiry into Emergency excesses in Punjab, which was set up by the Prakash Singh Badal government on 14 April 1978 The reports find Giani Zail Singh, now Union Home Minister, guilty of 35 of 50 charges of bypassing or violating rules and procedures and making political appointments during his tenure as Puniab CM This is the first time that a Congress(I) CM has placed be-fore an assembly a report that indicts a senior Union Minister and member of his own Party. Darbara Singh and Zail Singh have been in opposite camps of the Punjab Congress(I): was this taking the battle into the open?

But the bigger question is: can a Home Minister be so inducted by an inquiry commission and remain a

Home Minister?

In one case, Justice Gurdev Singh has found Mr. Zail Singh, Mr. Nasib Singh Gill, then Punjab Deputy Home Minister and Mr Kulwant Singh, the then Punjab Home Secretary, guilty of violating "the administrative conven-tions and procedure and misusing their position and authority for the benefit of Mr Udham Singh" by appointing him the director of the state's prosecution and litigation de-partments. The judge said that the appointment was made solely to place him beyond the disciplinary jurisdiction of the High Court where he was facing a departmental inquiry "inter alia because of his doubtful integrity' In another case, the judge remarked on the elevation to the post of member, State Public Service Commission, of Mr Niranjan Singh Mitha, from his original post of public relations officer in the Punjab State Electricity Board.

Justice Gurdev Singh has found unjustified the promotion of Mr J R. Bansal to the chairmanship of the State Public Service Commission during Zail Singh's tenure as CM The appointment was made on the basis of seniority But there was no basis to Mr Bansal being considered senior to Air Marshal Shivdev Singh, another aspirant for the post: both Mr Bansal and Air Marshal Shivdev Singh were sworn in as members of the Public Service Commission on the same day. In fact, Mr Bansal neither claimed seniority nor produced any material to prove that he was the seniormost member of the Commission at the time of appointment. The report of the Inquiry Commission says that according to the Air



Gianı Zaıl Sıngh

Marshal, the promotion orders were passed by Zail Singh at a time when he (the Air Marshal) was away in Delhi to attend his daughter's wedding. Mr Bansal lost no time in taking over his new office on 27 December 1975, notwithstanding the fact that the date of retirement of the then Chairman, Mr Lal Singh was 18 January 1976.

Lal Singh, was 18 January 1976. Giani Zail Singh has, however, claimed that the Commission was biased. Shortly after it was instituted, he had filed a writ in the Punjab High Court which sought to quash the notification appointing Justice Gurdev Singh in charge of the Inquiry. Justice Gurdev Singh has denied the allegations He has said that Mr Zail Singh had kept him in office as president of the Sikh Gurdwara Tribunal for more than two years after his retirement. Therefore, if he had shown any bias it would have been in favour of Zail Singh himself. The report stated that none of the allegations made by Zail Singh against the Commission accusing it of being biased had been raised in Zail Singh's writ petition and the High Court division bench of Justices P C Jain and J. M. Tandon dismissed it on 5 September 1978. Again, Zail Singh has said the Commission was politically motivated. In fact he reused to appear during the hearings of the Commission. Justice Gurdev Singh remarked: "Some persons at whose instance the inquiry was initiated and instituted chose not only to render no assistance to the Commission in arriving at the truth but also refused to come into the witness box or produce the relevant evidence."

Could the tabling of the report at this juncture have been avoided? According to Section 3(4) of the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, under which the Gurdev Singh Commission was set up "The appropriate govern-ment shall cause to be laid before the House of the People or, as the case may be, the legislative assembly of the state the report, if any, of the commission of the inquiry made by the action taken thereon within a period of six months of the submission of the report by the commission to the appropriate government " For this reason, the Punjab CM Darbara Singh says it was necessary to place the report before the House. He had also studied and discussed the matter before tabling it in the assembly. He says he had been informed by his senior officers that under the statutory provisions of the law he had no other alternative, as the period of six months was due to expire. The report had been submitted in February. According to Darbara Singh, he reluctantly laid the report on the table of the assembly just before the House was to adjourn sine die, when attendance had thinned, to avoid any kind of discussion which could have embarrassed Zail Singh and the Party. Further, he had sent the chief secretary to meet Zail Singh for his opinion on the matter.

Congress(I) members close to the Home Minister feel that Darbara Singh could have avoided placing the report when he did and see it as an extension of the rivalry between Darbara Singh and Zail Singh. As political contemporaries, Zail Singh and Darbara Singh have been involved in a leadership struggle first for the Congress and then the Congress (I) in Punjab, They have also had disputes over the constitution of the PPC(I) and the distribution of tickets in both the Parliamentary and assembly elections. As a matter of fact, though Mrs Gandhi wanted Darbara-Singh to contest the Parliamentary elections, he did not. With Zail Singh having gone out of the way to the centre there was nothing to prevent his becoming the Chief Minister and leader of the Congress (I) in Punjab. Darbara Singh could simply have said the government did not accept the Gurdev Singh Commission report, calling it politically motivated. Since the legislature had set up the Commission, it could also do away with it. The matter would have ended there.

The report is likely to increase the infighting in the Punjab Congress (I) between the supporters of the two

,30

leaders. Most Congress (I) MPs from Punjab who support Zail Singh accuse Darbara Singh of indulging in "personal vendetta". Darbara Singh should have consulted Mrs Gandhi before tabling the report, they say. Some of them are even threatening to organise the dissident Congress (I) members in the Punjab legislature. This of course could make things difficult for the CM as the Congress (I) enjoys only a slender nine-member majority in the assembly Zail Singh's group in also trying to muster the support of the non-Jat members in the Congress (I) legislative Party, who add up to 43 out of a total of 63 members. If this succeeds, Darbara Singh, who is a Jat, may lose considerable bargaining power in the Party

The report of the Commission is however, unlikely to affect the Home Minister politically. To begin with, the Congress (I) has never taken much notice of commissions of inquiry started during its days out of power. Second, the commission can be called politically motivated Third, no charges of financial corruption have been brought against Zail Singh.

The Congress (1), it seems, has worked out a way to ease the growing infighting After Darbara Singh's talks with Mrs Gandhi, it has been decided that the committee comprising the Home Secretary of Punjab, the Inspector General of Police, the Advocate General and the Director of Vigilance set up by the Punjab government to examine the findings of the Commission and make recommendations on them will conclude that the the report is politically motivated and suggest that the matter be dropped

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

The CM's night out

One 'tour' he will not forget

MR Abdul Rehman Antulay, Chief Minister of Maharashtra, has been compared to the legendary Haroon Al-Rashid who went incognito round Bombay after dark to take stock of what is called the chief "criminal sub-culture" One wonders if this comparison is not unfair to the fabulous Al-Rashid Mr Antulay hardly disguised himself, he took the conspicuously tall and goodlooking, Inspector J Rebiero Accompanying them was the well-known Shiv Sena legislator, Pramod Navalkar, sporting a walrus moustache.

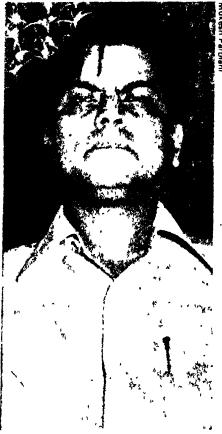
The itinerary of the convoy, that included three cars, began in a dingy bylane in the heart of Bombay's business district, Flora Fountain. In a dilapidated building there, Mr Antulay and his entourage trundled up the rickety steps at the end of which was a liquor bar and a welcome smile from a hefty lungi-clad owner. Lungi-clad South Indians are anathema to Shiv Sainiks like Mr Navalkar. And more so when they run hooch and vice dens without financing the local Shiv Sena 'shaka'.

They were asked if they wanted whiskey or fruit juice. The 'cronies' whispered among themselves. The broad smiles and their owners immediately disappeared. Mr Antulay left soon after. From Flora Fountain the convoy speeded its way to Grant Road. They went to Pavavala Lane which has rows of tumble-down buildings. Each building has prostitutes and bars. The bars were crowded and business and fun were in full swing, when Mr Antulay arrived. He was shown into a 'less crowded' bar. They were then accosted by pimps with a 'saab chokri chahiye' request. Girls dressed in bright, colours talked on unconcerned near by.

From Grant Road to Dongri, the party made its way as dawn was break-

ing. They did not visit the narcotic dens and passed on to Sion-Koliwada, where they saw the feverish activity of hooch makers. There were trucks loading and leaving with the illicit liquor. The Chief Minister is believed to have counted about 200 vehicles After the tour, the Chief Minister is said to have said: "All this is a shame. I will announce my plan in my reply to the

Abdul Rehman Antulay



Home Department's budgetary demands in the state legislature." Very Victorian, one almost expected him to swoon.

The CM's tour was treated with a cyncial shrug by most newspaper read ers next morning. In fact, they were as bored as the prostitutes of Pavavala Lane. A Congress (I) member said, if Mr Antulay wanted to see liquor being distilled he could have walked behind his spacious bungalow. Just a few yards away liquor is brewed in several manholes.

The more knowledgeable saw this night-out as a further cooperation be tween the ruling Congress (I) and the Shiv Sena. According to one source, the Shiv Sena allegedly takes regular 'protection money' from dancing schools, brothels and liquor joints in the form of donations to their 'shakas' in the area. It is also a well-known fact that almost all political Parties give protection to some sections of the underworld. The ruling Party being the most powerful, naturally gives the largest amount of protection money. The Party consequently receives the largest underworld funds. Mr Antulay's message to the underworld is loud and clear, according to one source. It is: "We are the only ones you should deal with."

There are also those who believe that Mr Antulay is genuinely worried about the law and order situation. The opposition he knew were going to get a lot of mileage from the deteriorating law and order situation in the city. Day light train robberies, many of them a stone's throw away from Dharavi which is not only the largest slum pocket in the city, but also has the most powerful vice kings of the city. It is said that soon after he took over as Chief Minister, Mr Antulay requested Police Commissioner Kasbekar to send his policemen in disguise round the city to check on the trouble spots. Mr Kasbekar failed to do this, so the CM took Mr Kasbekar's deputy and went around. The very next day it was known that Mr Kasbekar was on his

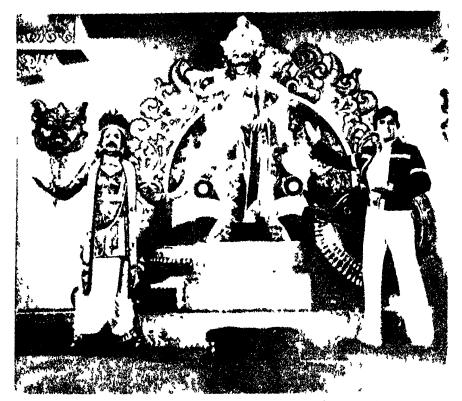
The 40-year-old prohibition squad and anti-gambling squad of the Bombay police have been disbanded and the beat system has been introduced.

The Chief Minister told the Assembly, the morning after his midnight foray: 'Nobedy can say there is anyone who expressed more concern on the law and order situation than I did. This is an extremely serious matter. Every section of society is dependent on an efficient system of law and order. So it is not enough merely to feel concerned, we must give deep thought to the problem. Nobody can say that there are no solutions, but they have to be found and effectively implemented.' But according to the bootleggers and vice-kings 'the show will go on. For a while we will shut down, but only for a while.'

OLGA TELLIS, Bombay

Cut!

"Lok Parlok" is taken off the circuit



(From left to right) Deven Verma Premnath and Jeetendra in Tok P ylot

The exhibition of the Hindi film Lok Parlok has been suspended for two months pending an inquiry under Section 6 of the Cinemato graph Act. This Central Government notification was sent to the film's producer 5 Venkitaratnam, who is also the script writer and photographer Reason Apparently the film mocked Hindu mythology Released first in Calcutta, the film stars Jeetendra Premnath Deven Varma and Javapradh and is only a mediocie film In lune it was screened in Delhi, but no sooner was the first month over when the self proclaimed Hin calots approached the auth the and had the film suspended

"Practically every preson in volved in this film is a devoit Hin du,"producer 5 Venkatar itn im told me in his Madras office. We have not invented or twisted mythology in this film. Our hero has a dream and enters the Yamaloka life has an argument with Lord Yama and per suades him to come down to earth for a brief period. The film is an entertaining satire, and it was never our intention to huit the sentiments of Hindus It's true that Lord Indra sent Menaka to seduce Vishwamit ra" assects the producer "ft's part of the Hindu mythology. In our film

when the hero turns up in Yamalo ka he finds Yama punishing a man for sending call girls to fich businessmen residing in fivestar hotels Suddenly he remembers the mythological episode. What kind of justice is this he ask ford Yama. When ford Into con send Menaka to Vishwamiti you tolerate it but when somet dy does similar things you call him + pimp (1) a debauch.

Lok Partok is cremake of a three year old alithme Telugu hit made by the same producer and

director "N T Rama Rao, who has several mythological hits to his credit and whom many people sincerely adore as the avatar of Puranic gods played the role enacted by Jeeten dia in the Hindi version," continued S Venkataratnam The Telugu ver sion ran for 100 days in 29 centres throughout Andhra and it cele brated silver jubilees in 14 cer tes, a record run for any Felugu film till then "Even in Tirupati, the most famous temple town in India, the film attracted full houses for over 100 days recalled its producer "And after a gap of two years when we released it again the rush to see it was so great that four people died in a stimpede in Vishakapatnam" He was inspired to make the original version after seeing films like Death Takes a Holiday and Jhuk Gaya Aasmin The original version was released in 1977 Incidentally the Tamil version of the film Yamanuk ku Yaman tarred Sivaji Ganesan and Supriya Though it did not have th expected succes, it was termed as average according to the trade cucles Imagine Sivaji Ganesan acting in a film that has to do anything against Hindu gods," continued Venkataratnam 'Iwenty tive years ago he broke away from the DMK film scene since he did not want to act many atheistic films The Hindi version closely tollows the feluge one. We translated the dialegue ind Charan Das Shokh re wrote them in Hindi. There are many political digs in the film but they were not aimed at any political person or Party as such

The Hindi version cost Rs 70 lakhs and so far it has netted only Rs 20 lakhe "If the film had enjoyed an uninterrupted run, we would have been able to recover the investment in the course of the next two years specially from 'B" and "C" stations' lamented its maker

ARTHUR PAIS, Madras

'Kashmir is in east India'

A school textbook says this

A book published by the National Research and Teaching and prescribed as text for class III students of St Joseph's Girls' High School in Bhubaneshwar, says that Kashmir is in the east of our country and Assam in the west, discovered Swarup Jena The book entitled Elementary Social Studies says in its very first chapter on the "Himalayan Range" that it "extends in

the northern part of India from Kashmir in the east to Assam in the west." In the same chapter rhinos are said to be found in the Terai region. The book is written by an educational bigwig, J. Fuste, deputy secretary of the Council for Indian School Certificate Examination, and has been published by Pitambar Book Depot of Delhi, The class III students of St. Joseph's, who have implicit faith in what is written in their text books, are currently having long arguments with their parents on what a where in India.

-Delhi's criminals are undeterred

Crime rate rises

Ell(1 a Government that works improve law and order in the country. These had been the issues on which the Congress(I) had been elected. But look what is happen ing now in Delhi. There are burglaries and discotties here nearly everyday. said Arun Goy il a resident of Tagore Park which adjoins Delhi's Moder Town On two consecutive nights dacoitie took place here despite police patrol. Ino people were hospit alised with severe injuries. Between 6 July and 16 July there were seven case of decorbes and burglaries While crime in the capital is on the increase and the people are technic mere isincly insecure. Delhi's Police Commissioner P S Bhinder is in Moscow tudying the security are three ments for the Olympic to prepare for he Asi in Cames to be held in Delhi in 1982

There has been a lot of exaggera tion True crimes have been 'aking place but he entire thing is being blown out of proportion said Delhi's Deputy Commissioner of Police (Crime) Dr. K. K. Paul - I don't think there is much panie among the people of Deihi People still move about free ly It is just that news is Leing picked up by one newst per tien another and cases of crime are being splashed all over This i probably what is causing panic though there is no real basis to it

Despite what the police maintain, it is true that residents of Delhi are beginning to feel insecure as the crime rate riscs. Said Mr Bajaj of Model Town. There is a general feeling of anxiety among us now Inspite of increased police patrolling we still feel insecure As far as I can remember this is the first time that crimes have been taking place at such a fantastic rate And it is happening right under the nose of the police We women have to face the worst of it," said Mrs Shourie, also from the same area "Before, during the day at least, there was no reason for feeling scared Now, when we women are alone at home, we enquire before we open the door After all, if dacoities can take place during the day, why can't some mis creant justwalk in, knock us cold and

In fact, on 9 July, six young men raided the shop of a leading dry fruit seller in the Karol Bagh area They made off with Fs5,000 in cash, four wristwatches and a gold chain, after ying up the five employees and blind folding a woman receptionist The dacoits ionsacked the premises for 90 minutes in broad daylight. They are yet to be apprehended

rob us and go away?

But what has caused the most panic

in Delhi are thetwo consecutive dacoities in Model Iown in North Delhi On 14 July in the early hours of the morning a number of dacoits armed with lathis and iron rods en tered the house of Mr Bhandari in Model Icwn beat up Mr and Mis Bhindari collected all the cash and jewellery in the house and ran away The Bhandari couple were beaten up so badly that they had to be hospital ised for facial fractures. Asif this was not enough the very next night dacoits raided the house of Mr H Maheshwari just a little over a kilometre away from the house of Mr Bhandari The dacoits escaped with seven steel trunks full of clothes and jewellery. A police picket of three constables was on duty on the road just outside the house while the thieves collected their booty. When the cry of chor chor went up and the dacous escaped the police were just 15 yards from the house. The ame night the Additional Commissioner of Police Range: Mr Surpt Singh Depu ty Commissioner of Police (North) and Assistant Commissioner of Police(K.

ingsway Camp), were patrolling the

"WE feel so helpless If, while senior police officers are patrolling an area, a dacoity takes place there can you imagine what will happen where the police patrolling isn't particularly heavy?" asked an irate resident of South Delhi "This panic," said Dr Paul, 'is really all psychological Peo ple still go for night shows restaurants are crowded and there are cars on the road. This just shows that there is no real fear. And the crime isn't really on the increase

But according to the annual report of the Ministry of Home Affairs, there is evidence of an overall increase in the incidence of crime in the capital in the fiscal year ending 31 March According to this report as compared to the previous year in 1979 80 mur ders rose from 176 to 197 attempts to murder from 228 to 304 roots from 330 to 353 and thefts from 24,829 to 25 560. Even criminal incidents have been on the rise. Though the Deputy Commissioner of Police (Crime) main tains that we should not see a mons ter where there is no shadow," it is true that crimes are taking place and incre ised police patiolling has made no visible difference in the city

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

A marriage of consequence

ON 15 July 1980 Milapchand Jain of Akola Manarashtra married Manju Jhurad a 22 year old widow with a two year old daughter at Chhattisgarh MP. The widow marriage a taboo in the lun community created a sensation and perhaps marks the beginning of a social revolution in the community

Soon after her widowhood Man ju returned to live with her father Sampat Lal Bohra at Raipur The plight of his daughter moved Sam pat Lal and he resolved to get his daughter remarried despite the existing taboo. But the hurdles were many, the greatest being the task of persuading Manju to agree to another marriage let alone the opposition from the community But Sampat Lal let his convictions get the better of him and forged thead with the full support of his tamily behind him

lam very happy As a father it was my prime duty to make my daughter happy and provide her security in her future life And I have done my duty," Sampat Lal told me when I met him on the night of the marriage. His fears of facing a strong opposition from the orthodox Jains of the community were dispelled by the presence of a large number of important Jain personalities on the occasion



Manio Tain

Milapchand Jain, the groom told me that a young widow must have the right to remarry and should be given the opportunity, if she de sired to get married. He was opposed to the custom of not allow ing a widow to remarry and grab bed the first opportunity that came his way to take a revolutionary step

The community has taken the marriage in good spirit. Some prominent members opined that they would probably formulate a rule whereby a widower would be allowed to marry a widow provided both are young

M. V. KHER, Raipur

Dubai: Fortune seekers' nightmare

Indian labourers get a bad deal

The jumbo jet took off for Dubai from Bombay on 26 April 1980 On board were 72 Indian masons absorbed in their dreams of becoming rich in the not so distant future. According to the terms of the contract under which they had been recruited, they were to work for one year on a monthly wage of about Rs 2,500 Free food and accommodation awaited them in return of the eight hour a day work. It was an attractive offer that brought them from their villages in Rajasthan, Pun jab and Gujarat But the dream was short-lived. Disappointment turned to desperation forcing them to flee But only a few were lucky enough to get

Soon after reaching Hatta, the worksite, 140 km from Dubai, the masons were separated into groups and sent to various parts of the site. Work was to begin immediately. Thus began the routine work starting at five in the morning and often continuing till eleven at night. Work was to proceed nonstop. Refusal to do so often resulted in severe beatings by the Pakistanı contractors who used iron rods, shovel handles and every other object that they could lay their hands on. Sometimes hot water was



poured on their bodies.

Finally, they could bear it no more Around forty masons tried to run away But in vain. The Pakistani contractors caught up with them and despite police intervention, they were severely beaten up and sent back to the worksite.

Subsequently they tried to escape once again. This time four labourers succeeded. They reached India on 7 July 1980. Baluram, Mool Chand, Siyaram and Tomaram described the situation to me. "Our people are forced to work there day and night. If

somebody does not work he is beaten up mercilessly Ten Indians are put under twenty Pakistanis and as a result, our people are unable to face them. Out of four masons from our village two of them (were beaten up so badly that they) were unable to stand up They were asked to work or face corporal punishment. We are afraid they might have succumbed to their injuries by now."

Before returning to India, these and other labourers had taken their story of plight to the authorities and labour courts but to no avail. "We pleaded in vain with Lal Sahib (the Indian consulate officer) to go to Hatta and see for himself the plight of the Indians engaged by the Pakistanı contractor. But every time he would say that he was helpless and could not do anything in

the matter", said Mool Chand. Meanwhile, a letter from Dubai describing the misery of the Indian labourers reached Danta, Ramgarh A cable was sent inimediately to the Indian consul in Dubai requesting prompt action. Lal went to Hatta accompanied by the Pakistani contractor Ghulam Sarwar. A very perfunctory survey was made and Lal left soon after with the 80-odd masons at the mercy of the contractor.

MILAP CHAND DANDIYA, Jaipur

RANBAXY'S GARUG PEAR

A few facts you should know.

Why not raw Garlic?



Raw garlic cloves have to be chew ed before the extract ınsıde

But when chewed, leave an unpleasant smell. When swallowed, they are difficult to digest. And the extraction is incomplete



Why not cooked Garlic?

On cooking, the effective medicinal properties of garlic are lost

Garlic has been wellknown from earliest times for its medicinal properties. Medical authorities have accepted the value of garlic in correcting various health problems. Garlic can be taken raw or cooked or in capsule form. But to derive the maximum medicinal benefits from garlic, it should be taken in the most effective way.

Why RANBAXY'S CIRUG PERRIS ?

Ranbaxy Laboratories, a trusted name with the medical profession, now gives you all the benefits of raw garlic without the come! Bank and Carlie Bank and San and Sa -without the smell Ranbaxy's Garlic Pearls contain the pure extract of raw garlic in easy-to-digest, soft gelatin capsules—the most effective way of deriving the medicinal properties of garlic

RANBAXY'S ŒRUG PÆRUS

- Help relieve gas and indigestion, ease heartburn.
- Reduce high cholesterol levels.
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- Prevent and control recurring coughs and colds.

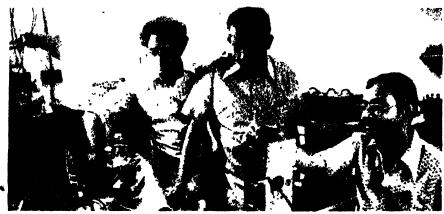
Take Ranbaxy's Garlic Pearls --- everyday It's a healthy habit.

The natural way to all-round health.



Behind the Phantom Leaf

Scientists achieve a breakthrough



Prof Kejariwal, Dr J K Choudhury and A Chattopadhyay

A sutosh came running in to tell me he has got the first Phantom Leaf Effect But I did not believe him", said Dr J K.Choudhury, the Head of the Department of Electrical Engineering, Jadavpur University, Calcutta He was describing the major breakthrough in Kirlian photography, which he and his teammates had recently achieved. We were sitting in an anteroom of the University's Electrical Measurement and Standardisation Laboratory with Dr Choudhury, the team leader, a distinguished professor in his own field, Dr P C Kejariwal, another teacher of the department and of course Mr Asutosh Chattopadhyay, a research scholar.

It all began towards the end of 1977 when Dr Choudhury and Dr Kejarıwal submitted a proposal to the Department of Science and Technology (DST). The proposal was very matter of fact: "We have no knowledge of the field (Kirlian Photography), but are aware of the immense potentiality of research in the line". It was not until March 1978 that the DST got in touch with the scientists. But when it did, there was good news. A grant of Rs 1.82 lakhs had been sanctioned. With the money work began in earnest.

The Jadavpur team concentrated on the fabrication and the development of the proper equipment which they referred to as the 'pulse generator'. "I stressed the development of the pulse generator and other ancillary equipment", explained Dr Choudhury. "Once that was done the various parameters would be controllable, after which obtaining the Phantom Leaf Effect would not be very difficult". However, Mr Chattopadhyay was more keen on obtaining the Phantom Leaf Effect and carried out experiments secretly along those lines. The first indication of the affect was obtained in March 1979. Like its predecesors, it was obtained more by chance and the ideal conditions could not be pin-pointed as yet.

What essentially is the Phantom Leaf Effect? Described in simple

terms, it is a phenomenon in Kirlian photography in which, after a section of a leaf has been cut-off and actually removed, the photograph of the leaf, complete with internal structure and contour of the entire leaf, is obtained. As though the leaf has not been cut at all. The fact that the whole leaf appears in the photograph, when in reality a part of it did not exist at the time of the photography has earned for itself the name 'Phantom' leaf effect it was not until October 1979, that the team succeeded in developing a highly sophisticated pulse generator "The next step was simple", said Dr Choudhury That same year in December, 40 out of 100 leaves yielded successful results.

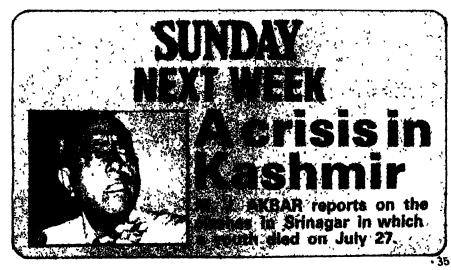
Attempts at Kirlian photography, an X-ray like photography of the internal structure of soft living tissues, dates back to the late 1930s, and have been tried by many scientists the world over. Till the winter of 1979, the repetition rate was only two to five percent: that is, out of 100 leaves, only two to five leaves yielded the Phantom effect. The Indian group's achievments, were twofold. First, by the beginning of 1980, 50 to 80 out of 100

leaves gave the effect. What was more important, the conditions best suited for the effect were specifically obtained. Thus, photography of the Phantom Leaf Effect ceased to be an accident as had been the nature of a few stray cases in the past Second, although Kirlian photography of living tissues had been obtained in colour by a few American scientists, coloured photographs of the Phantom Effect were yet to be got The Indian scientists obtained photographs in which not only the internal structure of the remaining part of the leaf is coloured, but the Phantom Effect also appears in colour "This has never happened before", put in Dr Kejariwal, "and is an extremely high achievement

Response from the western world was spectacular In January 1980 Dr Warren J Kurtz, Research Associate of the department of Orthopedic Surgery, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, New York wrote to Dr Choudhury "I would like to congratulate you and your colleagues for your fine efforts towards objectifying the "phantom leaf" phenomenon. I have myself attempted to reproduce the effect and know the amount of work required to find the correct electrical conditions I am looking forward to receiving complete papers detailing your work." In March, the executive director of the International Kirlian Reasearch Association, Edward S. Graff wrote to the secretary of the Institute of Engineers (India) stressing the importance of the contribution

Indeed, the importance of Kirlian photography lies in its multifarious applications in cancer research, psychiatry and metallography Especially notable is its use in cancer research where the phenomenon enables the detection of the disease at a stage when conventional methods of cancer detection do not give any indication of the disease.

S. URMILA MAJUMDAR Calcutta





Sheikh Abdullah's Controversial Speech

On July 13 which is Martyrs Day in Jammu and Kishmii Chief Minister Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made in impassioned speech to the youth which became very controversial because of certain references to India and Pakistan The point was thrown up whether the Sheikh had by interence questioned the fact that Kishmii was a part of India Many political leaders reacted sharply to the speech and the Sheikh himself came to Delhi to clarify to Home Minister Zail Singh and Prime Minister India Gandhi that there was no question of challenging Kishmir's accession to the Indian Union. We reproduce the full text of this speech

hope you will patiently listen to what I have to say I cannot speak standing because of my indisposition. Exactly 134 ears upon the people of this state sustained a big stigma. The blot was in the shape of the sale of this land by the British to Gulab Singh in 1846 at Nanak Shift for Rs. 75 lakhs. Against this price, the state along with its people its rivers and its mount ints, was sold as a salable commodity. This deal concerned a people with a glorious past a land which had given birth to great and illustrious kings like Lalitaditya, and Zain ul ab Din, and whose fronticis extended upto China, on the one side, and Peshawar Punjab Sutlej and Beas on the other. The people of this son had once turned back the army of Akbar the Great. The same people were condemned to the extent that they were publicly auctioned through a sale deed.

The people of Kashmir struggled for a century to wipe out this ugly blot, which hung over the minds of sensitive Kashmiris whether they lived here or fled the Lind under duress. One among them was the poet philosopher. Iqbal, who invoked world opinion against the sale deed in this

mannei

muer Badi saba agar ba Geneva Guzar kuni, Haifi Zama bi mujlisi akwam bazko Dehqan wa kisht wa jo wa bayaban farokhtand.

Quomas fuokhtand wa chi aizan tarikhtand

(O Morning Breeze, if thou passeth by Geneva, convey an appeal from us to the League of Nations they sold the faimer the field the rivulet and the vile they sold a

people and how (heaply!)

I am addiessing the youth who participated in this procession today. On seeing their enthusiasm and zeal I wonder whether they were aware of the pight of their forefathers under lavery who were bartered away is if they were not human beings but the merchandisc of a warehouse.

The people of Kashmir strove for over hundred years to remove this stigma. Our movement did not start in 1931. In fact, history has it the people made efforts to erase the stain of slavery at various points of time. But it called for sacrifices. It called for the blood of the people of Kashmir. At last, with divine mercy, the blood flowed down the arteries of the martyrs whose sacrifices we commemorate today. These martyrs showed the path to the people as to how the stigma of slavery could be removed. It is to freshen the memory of the martyrs and their sacrifices that we assemble every year at their graveyard. We shower flowers on them and renew the pledge that never again shall we subjugating this land, its people, its mountains and its rivers' again.

In 1931 we took a plunge with the unshakable and irrepressible determination that either we free ourselve or vanish in the process. We stepped onto the field, nimed with confidence in the Almighty and in ourselves. Our steps did not halt till we wiped away the stigma of slavery. We ended the supremacy of the dynasty which had forsted itself on us claiming to have bought this land and its people, indiconsidered itself to be the ole arbiter of their desting. We axed the fetters that bound as for centuries. In it freedom called for sacrifices is what repeatedly warrants the attention of the youth of today. After attaining freedom one has to sust in it and ensure that the happenings which enslived our past generations, do not recur

In the past such happenings landed us and our ancestors into innumerable travails. Such conditions should not occur again as had in the past to include thousands of our suppressed and innocent compatrio occi tarvation of to flee their hearths to seek refuge in It can be possible only when we preserve our free should understand that constant vigil and alacrity price for freedom I very year we observe 13th July a is Pay Applicatly it is a function but behind it le ; philosophy and a lofty objective. The day reminds the youth of the times when this land its people, its rivers and its mountains were sold as a commodity. What followed then is a tragic chapter of history when during the autocratic rule our places of worship were turned into stab! and armourses Our Miulti esciped this shrines were burnt. The Khank wrath miraculously. The Jamia M rained sealed the years, with even the Azan banned 1 t the plight of religious places, one could guess the of the people One cannot suppress one's tears on gon h the pages לי נות of history

T last a time came when the provid-i ricrey on Aour pitiable conditions The Almight, 15, It was the divine will that an urge for freedom w d m our hearts. We struggled and our youth shed in ood to remove the stains of slavery. Inis thirsty lair d the same blood. The martyrs exposed their breat before bullets. None of them got a bullet in his back. The commissions set up at that time were presided over by Britishers They were confused that all the Kashmiris i got bullets on their breasts. This was the sentiment the enabled us to remove the stigma of bondage. But a question remained that if we do not preserve and protect our treedom, we would find ourselves in the same conditions as in the past. It is for this reason that we assemble at the martyrs' graveyard every year. We take a pledie that we will uphold the honour and sanctity of the blood he I by the martyrs to wash off the stigma of our forefat ie-VIL WILL never again allow our land and the people to be a nisidered a salable commodity. It is unfortunate that frorts are being made. People from outside cannot 1 is the depth of the wounds of our hearts. We washed the country by the blood of our martyrs. If anyone is under the more sion that we will degenerate to the same plight, to grossly mistaken

Kashmiris are a people with a glorious past which touched low depths at one time and emerged out of it by offering a great many sacrifices. Then they achieved freedom Today, we take a pledge before the martyrs that we will crown their dreams with success and make their sacrifices fruitful. I remember the scene of 13 July, 1931, when some martyrs were breathing their last and their relatives were crying here. At that time, one of the martyrs, before taking his last breath, called me and said, "Sheikh Sahib, we have eischarged our duty. Now it is my wish that

you will remind the people that they never forget their

duty "
This wish of the martyrs echoes in my ears even today 1 am worried, any negligence on our part may land us in the same conditions. Our state does have such people, who can afford to barter away the honour and dignity of the entire people, not to speak of their own, against a bottle of wine What happened in 1953? We had waged a long struggle to preserve our honour and to completely erase the stains of slavery. Then what material desire again engulfed us on to the fetters? Those who deceived us were amongst us and this time too a similar group of people is active. So far as they are concerned, when they jumped into the election arena you made it clear to them that they could not enjoy your confidence and trust. They forefeited their deposits But this time they have money

They are trying to buy the loy ilties of our innocent youth. They are always anxious to misuse the young. Then objective is to trifle with Kishriin individuality and integrity, and to make as dence to their tures. We don't want to allow anyone to reate the old conditions. We have warned them that you have complayed hour tate and if similar efforts are repeated he consequence would not be pleasant. We have reached this corelution it it me days life of a lion is equal to the fire discression ackil

These people even have been head a rest at Stakh Sahib was now getting old and we have to we coult at the These people think. We tried to bribe people by the race and cash and exiled Sheikh Sah b for long the coist intiplace from his home, and yet we have not succeeded in making the people forget him. It is betier now to write a any in or so, as he is getting oid and then the fround will be open for us. They don't want Kashmiris to have a strong leadership. they want Kashmiris to be led by those who have to character and courage of conviction. They know Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah can't be bought

When such a situation arises you should make it clear that now there is not only one Shere Kashmir but every child of Kishmir is Shore Ka hmir I very full here has resolved that we will not allow any comprenie e with our honour and dignity is was done by the British through Gulab Singh. A proof of this has to be given to the world This can withstand and rep ilse any onstaught of the enemy This shield is the National Confe er e which his ilway challunged selfish interests. Maharija ffari Sinch a d others. A shield which challenged Pakistin in 1947 and suffered the onslaughts in 1953. Everybody had talon i for a sold commodity, and a cowardly bakward paper

Pakistan also thought that by sending some solders and a few raiders they would be able to occupy us. We sud you cannot dominate us a long a we are three you can advance only on our dead bodics. We have resolved that we will not allow anyone whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim. Pil ist ini or an Indian, American or Russian to play with our destiny or accept a situation where we are forced to dance to somebody's tunes. We prefer death to such white We have seen many bitternesses in life. We have observed the darkened and gloomy faces of our brothers and sisters, and the tears of their near and dear ones. At that time we resolved either we change this life or we sacrifice our lives We suffered untold miseries and numerous tortures were committed on us, but we stood like a rock, thinking that as long as blood flowed through our veins and there was life in us, we would not allow anyone to play with our destiny. For this, it is necessary that you have an organis from it has a leader, and whenever a danger appears, the organisation, becomes a wall of steel to stop the onslaupt. If there is no organisation, there is nothing. The firs message of the martyrs was to make the organisation strong. Anyone who tries to weaken the organisation, is our enemy which dances according to tunes given to them for paltry considerations

SOME people do not like a strong leadership for the suppressed people of this land so that they can walk with their heads raised. The people have, in practice made it clear that the days of oppression are gone. The youth who are here ready to offer their blood any time, but will not let Kashmir and its principles suffer. It is said that National Conference is a regional Party and has no influence in other

The people of Kashmir have firm faith and confidence in National Conference and, for this reason, they do not care for anybody, be it general Zia or Mrs Gandhi

parts of country But regional Parties do not exist in Kashmir alone The people of Kashmir have, in view of their endemic and peculiar conditions and problems fos tered and made strong this Party with their blood. They have firm faith and confidence in this Party even now, and for this reason, they do not care for anybody, be it General Zia or Mrs. Gandhi. We have no score to settle with these per ons but nobody should harbour the notion that we could be led away This will never happen. So long as we live and blood flows through our arteries, such a situation will never crop up

You must add to the strength of your organisation, the National Conference, and turn it into an impregnable fortiess so that no enemy can do any harm to it. The minor differences that occasionally surface in the organisation should be significe I for bigger objectives. For, we remain if this fortices stands and if it goes we all go. In this context, it is obligatory on its all to make National Conference tromer and keep its banner aloft. Safeguarding the hopour and dignity of the people her with you now for, we

have played our part

We will keep discharging our obligation for whatever time is left with us. But the time has come that you take ever the leadership and discharge the obligations. And, now it depends upon you whether you preserve the freedom or not. We effaced the 134 year old stigma of subjugation with the sacrifices of the marryis. The marryrs also represent the martyrs laid to rest at other places in the state like Rajouri Poonch Kotli Jammu and other places These martyrs offered the blood happily and courageously that wa warranted to wipe awity the stain of slavery. It is to be remembered that never shall such a weakness overtake us again. You have to see how this stigma affixed itself on a copic who c command held good up to China on one side ed taled half of India on the other

WHA! after all made the people of this line fall to such a despicable iesel in the eyes of the world that it wa regulated is in assembly of living dead? None is to thin for it a we cur clies cried by becoming a victim of nu all divisions. At that time also traitors were there amo a the accele as new who blow their trumpets-on the di) u die exision. The youth are bribed with money and er ployment. The youth who get roped in not only barter way the hora or and dignity of the whole people, but also repeat the ale deed struck between the British and Gulab Singh I want to pose this question to the youth will that situation crop up once again? Is there any such Kashmiri who would like to put on the fetters of slavery once again? If we live we have to live with nonour and dignity A day of a lion. life is better than one hundred years of a jackal's You live tike hons and talk like lions so that the world is assured that none can trifle with your dignity and honour

This is our real foundation and those desirous of eroding and weakening this foundation are our enemy. We have to safeguard this fortress which in turn is our sentinel. This fortress should be so strong that nobody musters the courage to weaken it. All this lies in the hands of youth and is possible only when you have character. A major chunk of the population here is Muslim and as Muslims you are bound to tollow the Holy Quran The life of the Holy Prophet is a beacon light for you. You have to create faith in the Almighty God and yourselves and show to the world that Kashmiris are a people (chiracter With this alone you can lorge ahead You should abstain from the wander ings of the present day world. The wordly life alone was not the aim of our existence. Spiritual life should never be forgotten. As we seek food for bodies so do our souls demand nourishment which is good deeds and lofty character Ramazan is about to set in Have faith in God Once you have faith in Him no power on earth can harm vou

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LIVING

Vintage passion

Ahmed Abdul Kareem of Bareilly owns an 1896 Hum ber Beeston perhaps the old est car in India and certainly one of the most expensive How expensive can be gauged from the recent offer of \$100 000 for the car which Kareem promptly turned down And not so long ago, when the Humber company in Fingland got to know of the existence of the ancient Bees ton they wanted to buy it for their musuem Then too Kareem had said a flat no The Beeston is made of cop per and brass With a small five hp, one cylinder, water cooled engine, it weighs 500 kg Reflecting the era in which it was made, it has no shock absorbers, meter, dyna mo or horn Kareem bought it off an old man who initially refused to part with the beau ty But Kareem kept visiting the old man once a month for seven long years until he re lented "Old cars console me I can t resist them, particular ly if they are in a bad shape



The Beeston with its owner

And need my attention," Kareem, a collector of antique cars, told Prakash Bhan dari "It took me three years to restore the Beeston to its original shape and make it roadworthy," he added And it was obviously well worth all the trouble, considering the current resale value of the 84 year old car

Daddy cool

Biddu was once a lonesome singer in Bombay, today he is a multi millionaire. He is the creator of Carl Douglas' Kung Fu Fighting - the LP which hit the top of the charts all over the music world - Tina Charles' Someone taught me how to dance last night and You set my heart on fire and, more recently, a Qurbani number which has taken In dia by storm Biddu has gone places where no Indian music director has ever managed to arrive - the world's toughest music bazaar, the USA And then, with the Qurbani num bers on the "Premium" list of

Polydor, Biddu has staged a triumphant homecoming His music is essentially disco and Biddu has always had an uncanny ear for the big hit How Feroze Khan roped him in for Baat Ban Jaye is not known Nonetheless, the suc cess of the film is due, by and large, to that single numberthe other Kalyanji-Anandji compositions are hardly sensational And Biddu had not only provided the music but also chosen the throaty schoolgirl from London, Nazia Hassan, to sing the number The rest, as they say, is his-



Record inflow



Video recording studio

Video cassettes are being smuggled into Bombay in such numbers that Hollywood distributors seem to be releas ing popular films in the city with frantic speed so that they can be exhibited while there is still an audience left This is much like internation al publishers releasing Indian editions simultaneously with world releases to beat the pirate editions Bombay's filmgoers are pleasantly sur prised by the speed with which the Oscar-winning Kramer Vs Kramer is coming to the city That film, incidentally, was among the first te hit the video circuits in Bombay after the boom began. The circuits are so elaborate that literally within days of the first arrivals you could find someone who knew some-

one who had seen the film Apparently these days it is The Deer Hunter, based on the Vietnam war, which is making the circuits in a big way And not so long ago copies of Death of a Princess were circulating widely, each subsequent recording worse than the previous copy as the circuits got bigger Ads have even started appearing in the papers "Video K Library--Exchange your cassettes with latest Fnglish/Hindi casset tes" (Times of India 27 June) How much the business is booming can be gauged from the contract that Esquire Video Film Services has signed with B R Chopra Hc will make 20 feature films (fees Rs one crore) in a year exclusively for them for sale through video cassettes Situ ated, as Esquire is, in the Santa Cruz Electronics Ex port Processing Zone, thereby having to export all its output, these B R Chopra films will be for foreigners But Chopra wants them to have a wider market By foreigners he means "not just foreign-based Indians but real foreigners." But after such genuinely phoren stuff has been ex ported out, it will presumably return to India by a not too circuitous smuggling channel

The northerners have come!

Fating habits in the conservative city of Madras are changing with the times, reports Arthur Pais Four years ago, lassi was hardly known in the city, now every fourth restaurant sells some version of it And Madras, albeit slowly, is also acquiring a taste for kababs and the various tan-

doors preparations, thanks to the few snack bars which have sprung up recently The vegetarians have discovered batura—which they call bimpurs—and naan After having exported masala dosa to the north, it is now Madras' turn to open its doors to the invasion from Aryavarta

DUBIOUS DISTINCTIONS

Misdirection of the fortnight Nargis Dutt's tirade against Satyajit Ray

Bully of the fortnight, the Indian Olympic hockey team which won the Gold

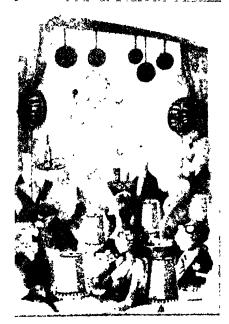
Vacationers of the fortnight West Bengal officials who went to Moscow on 'work' during the Olympics

The Germans are coming

By PRITISH NANDY

THERE is a touch of the common Mario's heart warming book, Ger-PHERE is a touch of the carnival in many in Wintertime It is a magic world of festivity A sensitive joi de vivie For, if you manage to look beyond the frontiers of Deutschland trapped in snow, you will discover Mario's very special way of celebrating life despite inclement weather and often, trying Teutonic ambience And this is where he really excels Mario's forte lies in his sensitivity of perception, his tremendous ability to catch a fleeting moment, a chance expession, or a stray incident by the hair and drag it into immortality In quite unforgettable detail, impeccably executed

Strange as it may be, it seems that the Germans are always coming! You meet them at airports, inside pubs and restaurants, on the sidewalks, in the market place of in a park, in a hectic medley of sin, sex and celebration. Whether it is the stripper in a sleazy Hamburg nightclub or the fashionable transvestite baring his/her wares before the stiff-upper-lipped members of an otherwise quite staid clubhouse, the East German Woman-guard who can freeze the warmest of hearts or the student with a guitar doing his own thing at the Hiedelberg castle, the lady taxi driver in Munich the buxom beer belle balancing



transvestite show: phoney sex, real



East German guard: an iceberg in miniskirts

the mygs between her ample boobs or the kinky lovers in a telephone booth, Mario captures them all with all their frailties, their idiosyncracies and, most important, with a touch of humour that is so evocative, so thoroughly memorable As one who has travelled much in Germany, and loved many of its foibles and kinks, I have seldom seen an artist who has so successfully captured the magic and the memorabilia of first impressions These are first impressions which linger on forever, even after the scales have fallen from one's eves and honest, wideeved awe has given way to a more blase familiarity with the scene

Mario has no malice and this becomes obvious the minute you open the first few pages of the book. He is not interested in tearing people apart or making fun of them slyly. He takes no sides, he has no obvious political positions, thank heavens! What fascinates him are the incongruities of life, the many shades of madness that makes any situation beautiful and mortal and, hence, totally unique. His drawings have a strong sense of detail and the canvas misses out nothing. Every fork or knife is on the table, every bit of facial expression is captured and you cannot but wonder at Mario's dexterity, his facile pen that lingers on every little nitty-gritty. The old fashioned hanging light in the corner coffee shop, the asinine grin on the face of the camera-crazy. Japanese tourist' in the cellar of Hiedelberg castle, the dog tak-

The Reeperbahn black garters in the red light zone





ing the elegant old dowager from Wiesbaden for a walk through the wintry countryscape, the light filtering in through the stained - glass window of the cathedral as the organist plays Bach amidst the silece and splendour of a Gothic shrine

Mario has done a wonderful book His observations have alway managed to reveal more than what istensibly meets the eye. His drawings are uncluttered and yet invested with a camaraderie that makes every detail intimate, exclusive. And if you look away from the human faces, the hustle and the bustle of the Frankfurt flea market, the crowded taverns, the melee of stockings and garters and the red silken undergarments of red light district, the celebrated Reeper bahn, or the bored hoj polloj at the opera, you discover the real Garmany. Shorn of humans, the wintry landscape becomes desolate and lonely. Yet overriding this isolation is an invisible cosmic force that constantly breathes life into the un fathomable scheme of things.

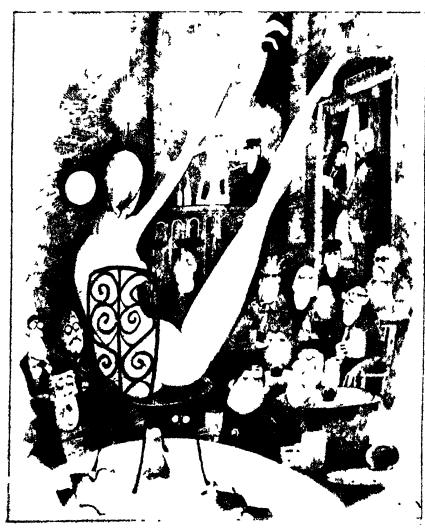
I or Winter in GermanyMario deserves more, much more than fresh bouquets and encores What all of us who have seen the book should give him is an

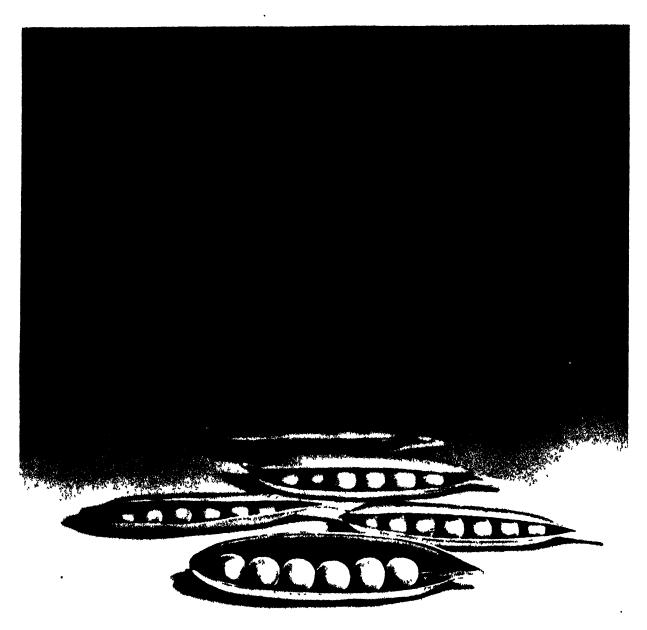
hourlong standing ovation

Germany in Wintertime a portfolio of drawings by Mario Miranda (Published by Mario Miranda Rs 50)









PRECISION ASSEMBLY

The whole game of watch-making is of parts—teeny-weeny parts that have to be assembled very carefully To learn this art, it takes dexterity, patience and time—None can learn it overnight. After 15 million watches and 20 pioneering years, HMT can tell you this With authority

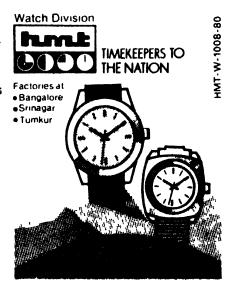
One hundred and seventeen tiny parts make a handwound watch. And these parts are to be assembled into a generous 3 centimetre wide casing!

Obviously such a feat demands besides dexterity a tremendous amount of patience and training. Plus an assembly hall that is as clean as an operation theatre.

At HMT every assembly operator goes through a 3 month induction course. It is to put it lightly, tough And before passing this course no one is even allowed to step into that sanctum sanctorum — the Assembly Hall. It is a dust proof, hermetically sealed air conditioned hall where cleanliness is the pass word.

Of course to set this up takes time A long long time

So, if HMT watches work hard, it's because HMT worked hard for them For 20 long years



7

No right to sue the state

HE citizen's right to sue the state, its minis ters and officials in a civil court for damages for violating his rights or his freedoms and, in extreme cases, to prosecute them in a cri minal court is the surest guarantee for the protection of all his other rights. A district magistrate, for instance, who mechanically signs a detention order throwing a citizen into prison will think ten times before taking such a step it he knows that it can land him in prison or mulct him in damages for false imprisonment

But the Indian legal system has retained those obnoxious features of statutes of the Rai which ren dered the right illusory. Only recently, in July 1980 the US Supteme Court tuled that good faith on the part of a tederal official is no defence to an action for violation of the citizen's rights. In India, however not only is good faith a complete detence to a suit against a government official for exceeding his authority or for violating the law but the expression has been given an actificial meaning which leaves the citizen completely at the mercy of the bureaucrat

An illustration will suffice to bring home the injustice embedded in the law itself. Section 16 of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act 1971 lays down that no station other legal proceeding shall be against the Central Government of a State Government, and no out prosecution of other legal proceed.



By A. G. NOORANI

ing shall he against any person, for anything in good faith done or in tended to be done in pursuance of this Act."

But what precisely is meant by 'good faith'' Ihe General Clauses Act, 1897—which is an omnibus statute defining expressions which occur in all other statutes including the Constitution—says that "a thing shall be deemed to be done in good faith where it is in fact done honestly, whether it is done negligently or not' Is this anything else but a charter for official negligence? And section 16 of the MISA is a stindard protective provision which is found in almost every

central or state law

The net result of this artificial and archaic definition of "good faith" is that the citizen can have no legal remedy for securing compensation for a violation of his rights no matter how negligent a bureaucrat has been unless the citizen proves actual dishonesty on the bureaucrat's part. This is a virtual impossibility in a court of law As Lord Radcliffe recognised, "the reservation in the case of bad faith is hardly more than a for mality."

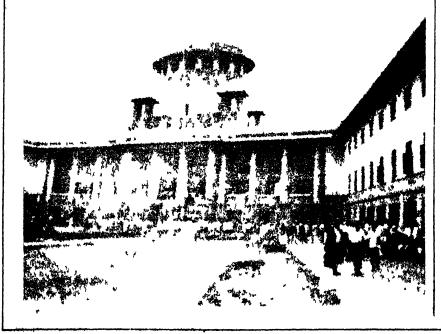
Yet, this right to damages is an integral part of English law As Dicey said, "With us every official from the Prime Minister down to a constable or a Collector of taxes, is under the same responsibility for every act done without legal justification as any other citizen

"The Law Reports abound with cases in which officials have been brought before the courts, and made in their personal capacity liable to punishment, or to the payment of damages, for acts done in their oficial character, but in excess of their lawful authority"

In statutes conferring powers on public servants the definition adopted in section 52 of the Penal Code would be more appropriate, "Nothing is said to be done or believed in 'good faith' which is done or believed without due care and attention"

As for the remedy by way of a prosecution, section 197 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 grants the bureaucrat complete protection It says that when "any public servant who is not remov able from his office save by or with the sanction of a State Government or the Central Government is ac cused of any offence alleged to have been committed by him while acting or purporting to act in the discharge of his official duty, no court shall take cognizance of such offence except with the previous sanction" of the appropriate gov ernment, central and state, of which he is an employee Thus, the government is made a judge in its own cause

A vast body of case law has grown on what is and what is not an act done by an official "in the discharge of his official duty" It will not protect the cop who commits a rape while on duty But it protects a large number of wrongs and shields the wrongdoers from receiving their just deserts. The protection of the Indian official from both civil and criminal liability makes a mockery of the rule of law.





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THE WORLD

Amazonian fury



The militury coup it Bohvia has raised a turore Among the many indignant person are the Bolivian women attending the alternative UN Women World Conference in Copenhagen These brave ladies staged a demonstration against the military coup in their country Unfortunately they could not toin their latin American sympathics in the official conference centre. The doors

to the office were locked. But the Bolivian Fidic, would not be deterred. They began to push forward, and a fight broke out the fight was not confined to the outside Mone. Inside the centre, the latin women delegals injected at the Bolivians being kept our staged a sit in protest. Plain clothes, policewomen intervened as the picture show, and did their best to break up the demon tration.

Written off?

What is happening in Buenos Aires smacks of what happened during the Imergency in India The editor of the English language, Buenos Aires Herald James Neilson has come under tremendous pressure from the military government

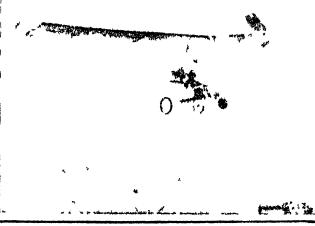
The forms of harassment by the military leaders have been varied often bordering on the ridiculous Mr Neil son's flat has been advertised for sale at a very low price bringing in a host of in terested callers as well as numerous telephone call s There was mother advertisement regarding sale of two guns supposedly owned by the editor This brought in the police who interrogated him for not reporting the guns. Mr. Neilson's wife Julia has also faced a lot from the militury. She has received bills in the post asking for payments incurred by Mr. Neilson tor illeged use of brothels. This apart the Her dd has received threats from guerrila organisations. In short Mr Neilson has been t ked to leave. So much for the freedom of the Press

Heat of the night



It was like trying to sleep in a lurkish bath, said an old resident from the south of Washington USA. He has a solid basis for his sleeping in the oven USA is in the midst of a sweltering heat wave. It began in Texas and spread castwards. Apart from the terrible discomfort it has caused the people the heatwave has caused a sudden increase in the demand for electricity The overnight temperature tor some days did not fall below 91 degrees F. Agricul tural prices too have started rising sharply. Animals are dying and crops have started wilting In Texas for example only two inches of rain has tallen during the past 10 months the photograph above shows scorched grounds and a dead steer

No fear of flying



He calls himself Lagle Sar mont because he loves flying but his real name is Joseph Citter Whitmore Confessing dout his love of flying he said. I'm addicted to it. And his addiction is taking him places in his strange tlying michine a powered hang elider which he has named the Spirit of Cilitor nia The California diredevil plans to hang glide for over 6 000 miles from New York to Paris and circle the Liftel lower. His tlight is going to take 22 days with stopovers in Canada Greenland Iceland and Scotland Best of luck, tlving Lagle!

Now there are some

American teachers are a vanishing breed Once upon a time there were a lot of teachers and the employment opportunities were almost nil Feachers began looking for other types of work Now once again teachers have found, to their happiness, that there are tremendous opportunites opening up However, till the new teachers join the school

districts are finding it difficult to get staffers. The number of people who recruit school teachers from college campuses across the USA have gone up for the first time in recent years.

The main reason for the shortage of teachers is money. They are not paid as well as they should be in this profession. Said Calvin Frost, an

employment officer of the Los A n g c l e s c 1 t y schools "Feaching simply is not as desirable a profession as it used to be 'ln spite of this disturbing trend most forecasters are not worried. The Government has a reserve pool of around a million qualified teachers who can be brought into service if required.

Bourn for the unborn

Bourn Hall, a 50 toom Flizabethan mansion near Cambridge has been bought and transformed into a ch nic by the test tube baby famous Edwards and Step toe It will open this autumn and the treat would cost women £1,000 Patients will be accommodated in the mansion which will contain 30 beds The clinical proce dures will be carried out in five luxury Portakabins in the grounds housing labor atories and an operation theatre Already thousands of women all over the world are on the list. Dr I dwards makes it clear 'We do not guarantee pregnancy in every case So far, the doctors had experimented with 32 fertilisation cases out of which only 4 had been suc cessful Of those four two had produced live babies— Louise Brown in Oldham and Alistair Montogomery in Glasgow"

VERYONE is talking of ≱the fantastic edge Zeenat Aman had over her co star Hema Mahin in Ali Baba Ain Challis Chor Zeenat scores over Hema not only in looks but in performance too. Com ing as it does on top of the many wrangles that Hema and her mother had with Producer F C Mehra regarding payments, this has certainly tarnished Hema's image. It all looks like the beginning of the end of her film career She has been heard saying that her role was cut and deliberately put down to bring up Zeenat Where is that confidence she showed all these years, which made her boast that she could not see a single competitor on the field to challenge her No. 1 position? Coupled with the unsavoury Alibaba incidents are the tales of her marriage to Dharam which she hotly denied. It was merely the anniversary-day puja of the actual marriage which had been solemnised earlier, she said. Then her mother complained to the Press about the raw deal her daughter has given her and Hema issued a rejoinder to this Seems like too many nasty things are going round Hema

NOW that *Danny* has completed his first directorial venture Phn Wohi Raat for N N Sippy many producers

are heaving a sigh of relict He will possibly now return to acting his first love, and complete the pending films But what seems to have sent Danny running back to acting is the fact that Shakti Kapoor has suddenly shot up to his position with just one film Our barn Shakti has the same image as Danny and, more important, the same EHI background Even if Danny has come back to acting only to throw a challenge to Shak ti, it will mean better per formance and of course, suc cess of the films

SHF clung to him like a leech and seemed to thrive on him at least for some time. And now she has been cast off by U.G. Krish namurthi who indeed gave her a new lease of normal lite. Parveen Babi has been. packed off to Bombay with a note to Mahesh Bhatt just when Mahesh and his wife were heaving a sigh of relief that Parveen was okay and they need have no more trouble from her Kiran has mean while splashed around the film-mags all those photographs making Parveen out to be a downinght vamp What is worse, no producer is going near Parveen They don't want to burn their fingers thrace!

WE all know that Tina Munim is slim and her complexion is very nice and tair. But of late she has been α Parveen Babi shunned by all

ghost and has not recovered yet. Not only has she turned white and pale but she has become thin and bony Agreed she was ill recently but she should buck up and

gain some weight and a bit of colour too If she looks around she will see the bursting colour and weight of her more successful colleagues like Padmini Kohlapure and Poonam Dhillon

RAJESH KHANNA and his household staff wait on at-Aashirwad hoping Dimple will walk back home with her kids Rajesh has moved back home from the hotel he had checked into after a reconciliatory round of talks through Raj Kapoor, which was intended to make Dimple see reason But this time it looks like Dimple is not going to pay heed to her godfather. She is absolutely certain there will be no come-back this time. If Rajesh is staging a hungerstrike and dharna, she feels, it's going to prove good for him especially to his paunch which was showing even through loose shirts pulled out in true Rajesh style.



KHAASBAAT

What Zaina Wahab used to call producer director Sankaran Nair while Mada notsavam, her first film in Malayalam, was being shot Zarina in those days had only one or two Hindi films on hand, and was thinking of settling down in the South if Madanotsavam clicked. In fact it turned out to be the biggest hit of the year, but since her Chitchor had also clicked, Zarina was getting more offers from Bombay gerody error.

*i*producers However, she did accept southern assignments now and then One of them was Swath (Property), another Malayalam social by Sank aran Nair Though by now Nair was a married man, Zari na continued to call him "honey" She would also say, "I'm your second wife," and tease him All this goodwill vanished the moment an in fluential technician in the unit decided to do a rush job for another producer and seduced Zarina into bunking the shooting. She told Nair that she would be going to Bombay to shoot for a Vinod Khanna film, and wanted to

go to Bangalore en route soon after the shooting was done "I control my unit "Nair told Sunday 'I had made arrange ments for a car to take Zarma and her sister to Bangalore but she wanted to leave in the night. We were shooting in Ooty then, and the roads around there are quite dan gerous, so I said, no "Zarina's protests went unheeded and she could leave only the next morning But not before de manding an additional pay ment A few days later she sent a notice through her lawyer that Nan had extorted additional "dates" from her through force and she had obeyed him to "safeguard my life'

"Imagine me thi eatening her" said Nair "I was suffer ing from an asthma attack around that time If I could extort dates from her, why would I pay her an additional Rs 5,000 as per her demand?" /arina's efforts to convince the local Film Chamber au thorities regarding her innocence didn't yield results and she was advised to report for shooting. Which she did as soon as she received a note from Nair's lawyer threaten.





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- I. for Iron Ore
 - N M D C Salgaccar Chowgule, Dempo Timblos, Bandekars, (Goa), Tata Iron, Indian Iron, Hindustan Steel, Bhilai, Rourkela etc
- II for Lime Stone
 ACC, Birla Cement, J K Cements, Dalmia
 Cements, Kesram Cements etc
- III. for Coa
 - Eastern Coalfields Ltd Central Coalfields Ltd Western Coalfields Ltd Chasnala Coalfields of IISCO West Bokharo Coalfields of TISCO etc
- IV. Other Mining Applications, such as in Hindustan Zinc Ltd Dalmia Magnesite Phosphate Mines etc Bharat Aluminium (Bauxite Mines)
- V Construction Projects Kalinadi Project
 - Kalınadı Project Godavarı Project Beas Dam Project
- to name a few

Whether it be for open-cast mining, civil engineering applications, prospecting or down-the hole drilling - Killick Halco have the right 'down the hole' equipment, backed by complete and reliable aftersales service

For further information why not write to us today?

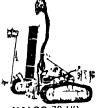
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Beginning August 17

This week the Sun and Jupiter are in Leo Saturn and Mars are in Virgo, Uranus is in Libra, Neptune alone is in Scorpio, Kethu is in Capricorn and Venus is in Gemini. Rahu and Mercury are conjoined in Cancer. The Moon will be moving through Scorpio and Sagittarius from Libra.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20)A successful week lies ahead of you New and original ideas adopted in business will bear fruit Do

not hesitate to seek the advice of elders and act according to them. There will be progress in a secret matter. Womenfolk are advised not to write confidential letters this week. Your financial position will improve and you might have to go on a journey suddenly. The time is ripe for love affairs and matrimonial alliances. Good dates. 17, 21, 22 and 23. Lucky numbers. 2, 7 and 8. Favourable direction.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22)A good week for businessmen Do not lose time m entering into new contracts You should acquire

new stocks and your sales will be increased Do not shirk any new responsibilities that come your way. Your financial position, improves substantially. Members of your family are likely to receive gifts from well wishers. The time is good for holding auspicious ceremonies. You might have some periods of high tension. Good dates. 17. 18. 22 and 23. Lucky numbers. 4, 7 and 9. Favourable direction.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) Those with intellectual and artistic pursuits will succeed this week You are advised to take full advan-

tage of any opportunity that comes your way Make changes when necessary and travel if desired. Keep an eye on expenditure and avoid speculations for losses await you. A beneficial change in your profession is likely. Not a good time for making new friends. But concentrate on your work and enjoy a great degree of success in your profession. Good dates 17, 18, 20 and 21 Lucky numbers. 3, 6 and 9 Favourable direction. South west



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) Adopt new and original methods in business But exercise caution in correspondence and in dealing

with documents. There will be a rapid improvement in your financial position. Promotions are likely for those in services. This is the time to put your plans into action. You might have to leave town for a while. The time is good for acquiring a new friend and pursuing some new interests. Keep an eye on your health and that of your family. Good dates. 18, 19, 20 and 21. Lucky numbers. 1. 3 and 9. Favourable direction. South



LEO (July 23 — August 22) You have to exercise caution with your superiors this week Do not retort back under any ciroumst-

ances, but avoid trouble and controversies. The second half of the week will be pleasant. You will succeed in establishing good relationships with your friends and relations. Keep a close watch on your finances for you might run into heavy debts. Do not feel dejected for good times are right round the corner Good dates. 17, 19 and 21. Lucky numbers. 3, 5 and 10. Favourable direction. Northwest.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22) This week your health will cause you some problems. The first part of the week will see some

minor set-backs in business. Do not let these get the better of you. Happiness is foreseen on the domestic front. The time is favourable for courtships and marnages. Take extra care when it comes to dealings with your superiors. Do not undertake any new financial ventures. Do not indulge in extravagances, but try to conserve your resources. Good dates 19, 20. 21 and 23. Lucky numbers. 7. 9 and 11. Favourable direction. East



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) Your recent difficulties will gradually disappear You will continue to experience some minor

obstacles in business or in service. Do not undertake any new ventures. Wait for some time before you make some changes that you had planned. An elderly person of the opposite sex is likely to come up with a great deal of opposition. Beware of thefts. Exercise caution in your speech and avoid controversies. Good dates. 20, 21 and 23. Lucky numbers. 4, 6 and 9. Favourable direction.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) Promotions are likely this week Let your intuition be your guide and you will be crowned

with success Keep a watch on your expenses and check extravagances Avoid controversies with your superiors You will make friends with a person of the opposite sex, but the time is not ripe yet for romance. There might be a journey towards the end of the week. The health of your spouse might cause you some worry Good dates. 20. 21 and 23 Lucky numbers. 2, 9 and 15 Favourable direction. North



SAGITTARIUS (Nevember 22 — December 22) This is a good week for love affairs and matrimonial alliances You will acquire new

friends and interests. The health of your family will improve remarkably. Your financial position will not change perceptibly. The end of the week will see a certain measure of financial improvement, but do not get carried away with it. Keep an eye on your expenses. Exercise caution in your dealings with your superiors. Good dates: 17, 21 and 22 Lucky numbers. 8, 9 and 12 Favourable direction: West.



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) Faith, patience and self-confidence will be necessary to combat the difficulties that you

will meet this week Hard times are ahead There will be cause for anxiety Watch your health and fortunes closely for your finances might follow a downward trend Do not change your residence this week The end of the week will bring some good news through a letter Elderly relatives will help you to regain your status gradually Good dales 17, 18, 19 and 20 Lucky numbers 2 3 and 6 Favourable direction North-west



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19)This is a good week for you Your meetings with elders and seniors will be helpful You

will be able to overcome difficulties and face your opponents boldly Exhibit all your talents this week and chalk out plans for success and prosperity You and your family members will enjoy perfect happiness and peace this week Good dates 17, 18, 19 and 21 Lucky numbers 4, 9 and 7 Favourable directions. South and West

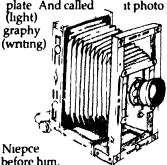


PISCES (February 20 — March 20) This is an eventful week for you Much will depend on how you take decisions Property mat

ters, speculation, dealings with authority, courtship, auspicious affairs and changes are well signified Do not be careless in business interviews and correspondence. Take care of your health. New friends will enter your life and contribute much to your happiness. Children and womenfolk may cause some anxiety. Good dates. 20. 22 and 23. Lucky numbers. 1, 2, 3 and 10. Favourable direction. South

M B RAMAN

Daguerre taught the world "writing with light"



before him, had obtained a photographic image, but in reverse, like the negatives we know today Daguerre created the first positive image, and gave the world daguerreotype

Early photography was a great affair, with powder and flash, a thing of pomp and paraphernalia. In fact, subjects had to hold still for so long, they got sunburnt in the process! Photography for everyone with itching fingers came with the roll-film camera the Agfa Box Camera, that set all Furope clicking. Even in India there are four-generation families that have chronicles recorded by the original Agfa Camera!

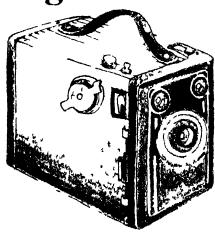
A flashback

Agfa and Gevaert entered the field separately over a century ago. Not long after the Brothers Lumiere worked the miracle of moving pictures. Agfa established its silent film factory.





Agfa brought it to India.



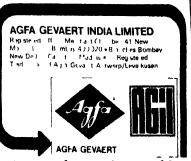
silent pictures began to talk and Gevaert started man-, ufacture of sound movie film The Agfa Camera Works began as the enterprise of an optician who shifted his

attention from the human to the camera eye

A full half century \(\sqrt{after} \) developing photography in parallel ushering in the advent of the roll film camera technicolour movie film X ray film the first true pocket camera, Agfa and Gevaert converged to rationalize research and development And the Agfa and Gevaert agencies in India going back individually to 1946 came together as Agfa Gevaert India I imited—AGII in 1966

First with everything in photographics.

Agfa Gevaert brought photo graphy to India Not just the photography of the family album. Photography for medicine printing communication criminal investigation reconnaissance for defence education, research. Playing its historical role in India as in furope, helping people to discover one of the most important tools in use today. And the great gift of keeping precious moments and memories forever.

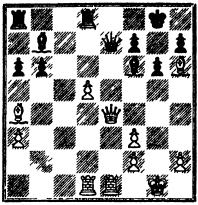


1st for everything in photographics.

SIMOES/AG/C/1A/80

chess

Lein (Black) to move



Sax (White) Position after White's 24th move

Game of the month - when it comes to the crunch

I was recently asked during a tournament whether I became nervous during the criti-cal phase of a game, to which I replied that I probably would if I knew just how critical my position really was. The trouble is that nobody rings a bell when the game is in the balance. To the players each move seems as difficult and as important as the last and it is only with the aid of that magical quality known to annotators of their own games a insight, and everybody else as hindsight, that the true turning point of any game ever comes to light it is a rare and valuable ability to be able to recognise those crucial moments during the game Fischer and Spassky could do it, to some extent Karpov also For Korchnol the question is quite immaterial as he calculates every position

The following game illustrates the point very well. Black is gradually outplaying his opponent, but fails to feel the tension in the position coming to a head. He consequently plays a lax move based on general princi-ples at the very moment that hard, concrete analysis was most required, with disastrous results it was not so much a question of Black failing to see White's 24th move, but that he didn't bother to look for it

White G Sax Black A Lein Amsterdam 1979 Caro-Kan Defence
1. P.—K4, P.—QB3; 2. P.—QB4, P.—Q4; 3.
BPxP, PxP; 4. PxP, N.—KB3; 5. N.—QB3, NxP; 4. B.—B4, N.—N3; Not the best choice N-N51? would be awkward for White (7

6 N-N51? would be awkward for White (7 P-Q4? Q x P!)
7. 8-M3, N-B3; 8. N-B3, P-K3; 8. Q-Q,
8-K2; 10. P-Q4, Q-Q; 11. P-Q83,
8-B3; 12. B-K3, N-Q4! Having the courage to admit his earlier mistake Black's play from this point onwards is very

Impressive

13. Q-Q3, N x N; 14. P x N, P-QN3; 15.

8-82, P-N3; 16. B-R6, R-K1; 17.

QN-Q1, B-QN2; 18. B-R4, Q-K2; 19.

P=84, R(K1)-Q1; 20. P-Q6, P x P; 21.

P x P, N-K4; 22. Q-K4, P-QR37 Abcolutely the wrong moment for a caretises move Correct was 22 QR-B1 with the threat of R-B5 when White can do no better than 23 N x N Q x N 24 Q x Q B x Q 25 B-86 B x B 26 P x B, but after 26 . P-B31 (oflowed by K-B2-K3 the advanced QBP would soon be lost 23. KR-K1, N x N + 24. P x NH

23. KR-K1, N×N+ 24. P×NH DIAGRAM

A remarkable idea which Black had totally

failed to consider If 24 QxP 25 B—B6 BxB 26 PxB R(Q1)—QB1 27 P—B7! with unstoppable back row threats, the main one being 28 Q x RI! R x Q 29 R-Q8+ R x R 30 P x R=Q+ B x Q 31 R-K8+ mating As a result Black is forced to change the queens and present White with a steamroller pawn centre

24. . . Q x Q; 25 P x Q, P-QN4; 26. 8 B—K2; 27. P—K51 B x RP; 28. P—Q6, B—B6; 29. R—Q4, B—B3; 30. R—K84, The end If 30 B—K11 then 31 P—K61 is mur-

30. . R—KB1, 31. P—K6I B x QP; 32. R x P, R x R; 33. P x R + K—R1; 34. R—K6, winning a whole piece If 34 R—Q1 35 R x B 34. . B—KB1; 35. B×B. R×B; 36. R×B, P—QR4; 37 R—N6, P—R5; 39. B—Q5, K—N2; 39. R×P, R—Q1; 40. R—R5, P—R6; 41 B-R2, R-Q6; 42. R-R8, Renigns

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

ONE of the recurring problems in this game is whether to lead the Ace of an unbid suit against a small slam. You may be leading into the declarers K x on the other hand declarer may have two top losers and, if you don't lead the Ace, you may never make it

You have to listen to the bidding and decide whether there is a danger of the losers going away on dummy's side suit When the situation is uncertain, my advice is to lead the Ace Many more contracts are made because an Ace was not led than are made because it was led

The problem is especially acute when you have a likely trump trick on the side. This deal from an international trial led to much heart-searching

Dealer North Love all ♥ A 5 3 ♦ J 10 9 7 4 K862 **♠** Q 109764 ♥ 9 N Q 8 4 A Q 8 2 w F ♦ 63 S 4 Q 10 7 3 **▲ AK53** KJ 10762 ♦ K 5

When the professional team known as the 'Aces' held the North-South cards the bid-

| SOUTH | WEST | NORTH | EAST |
|-------|------|-------|------|
| _ | | No | No |
| 1.4 | No | 1 🌲 | No |
| 2♥ | No | 3♥ | No |
| 3 🌢 | No | 4. | No |
| 4.6 | No | 4 🛦 | No |
| ŔŴ | No | No | No |

The opening One Club was conventional and the response indicated three controls

counting two for an Ace and one for a King West began with Ace and another diamond The declarer thought to himself. Would West, after I had shown second-round control of diamonds, have led the Ace unless he had hopes of a trump trick?

Following his hunch the declarer ran ♥ J at once, cashed & A, rufled a spade low, and made his contract

The moral for the defence would seem to the moral for the opening opening the that against an astute opponent it is unwise to lead an Ace when you have hopes of a trump trick. But this is an area of bluff and double-bluff in certain circumstances it may be clever, with Qxx in trumps, to lead an Ace because declarer may think that with this belief the Ace. this holding you would not lead the Ace (lest he follow the reasoning adopted in the example above)

TERENCE REESE

stamps



A new Canadian series featuring flying-boats includes a 35-cents stamp showing the Canso in which Fit It David Hornell of Mimico Ontario won his Victoria Cross on 24 June 1944 Returning to the Coastal Command base at Wick after a 10-hour patrol Hornell's Canso engaged and sank a U-boat about 250 miles north of Shetland but was so badly damaged by the German gunfire that Hornell had to ditch. A Norwe gian Catalina spotted the surviving mem bers of the crew in their dinghy but Hornell died of exposure a few hours after they were taken aboard an Air-Sea rescue launch. The new stamps are the first in a series devoted to Canadian adiation. Four stamps featuring military aircraft will be issued in November. The former Prime Minister John G Dietenbaker and Dame Emma Albani the Canadian opera and oratorio singer who died in 1930 will be honoured on other Canadian stamps this year

C W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

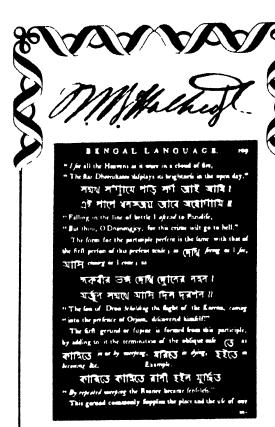
- 1 Grasshoppers rub their hind legs across their wings to produce about 13 different kinds of sounds. What are these sounds good for?
- 2 With what would you associate the name Noh?
- 3 Jabberwocky is a form of nonsense unintelligible speech or writing Who invented the Jabberwock?
- 4 After more than a 100 years, Essex won their first major honour by defeating Surrey at Lord's, London on 21 July Essex won by 35 runs What was the name of the trophy?
- 5 What is the currency of Vatican City?
- 6 In the 1976 Summer Olympics at Montreal, the gold medal for Floor Exercise in Gymnastics for men was won by Nikolai Andrianov of USSR Who won the gold medal for the same event among women?

6 Nelli Kim of USSR The Lira

4 The Benson and Hedges Cup the Looking Glass" in 1872 called Jabberwocky in "Alice Through 3 Lewis Caroll who wrote a poem

associated with Shinto worship in the 14th century from dance rituals S A form of Japanese drama evolved sects as a means of communication 1 The sounds are used by the in-

. VARMERS



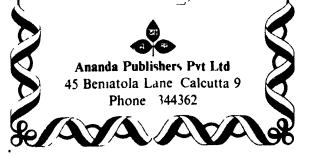
The first book printed in Bengal

A Grammar of the Bengal Language

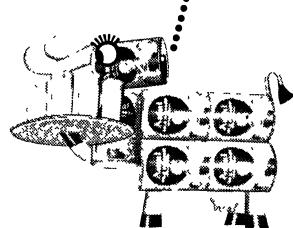
By Nathaniel Brassey Halhed

This is a unique facsimilie edition of the first book printed and published in Bengal 202 years ago, along with a valuable introduction by Nikhil Sarkar on the author, printer and the times when the book was born Savour the period feeling of the original manuscript brought to you with all the fine elegance at the command of modern publishing.

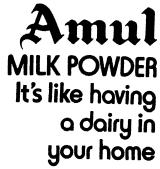
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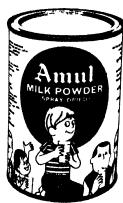


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BOMBAY Mechanical staff of loco sheds of the Central and Western Railways in Bombay have resorted to a novel form of agitation "langoti andolan" While on duty they strip to their undergarments during the last hour of their working day to focus attention on their demand for regu lar supply of protective garments. Mr B M Shukla, general secretary of the Loco Mechanical Staff Associa tion (Western Zone), told newsmen here yesterday that the agitation was one month old and the association planned to continue it throughout the country till August 15, covering about two lakh loco mechanics—The Hindustan Times (Baldev Singh Saini, New Delhi)

BARÁBANKI A peon in the local District Industries office became father when he was only seven years old. The records show his age as 28. The age of his son also employed in the same office as a peon, has been recorded as 21. Both of them were given jobs in the office during 1979—Indian Express (T. P. A. Jaleel, Tri vandrum)

NLW DELHI Even the gods come in the way of land reforms some times, Rao Birendra Singh, Union Agricul ture Minister, observed in the Lok Sabha He said that four units of land belonging to a religious endowment in Madhya Pradesh had to be distributed among Lord Rama, Lava, Kusa and Sita This in spite of the fact that Lava and Kusa could no longer be considered minors. It was even con

tended that Sita had got separated from Lord Rama Likewise, it had been contended that Lord Siva, Kar tikeya and Ganesa were each entitled to one unit in another case The matter went up to the Revenue Board which upheld the contention—The Hindu (R Muralikumar, Madras)

SIMLA Himachal Pradesh Universi ty has many dubious distinctions. It was the first university where sons appeared in examinations and results were declared in the names of their tathers. This happened when the University was just a year old But it has persisted in its errors and corrupt practices ever since its inception in 1971. It has now come to the notice that in the Political Science Department of the University, some of the research fellows have been on the job over the last five years but the doctorate degree has remained elusive for them- Hindustan Times

(S M Mehta, Chandigarh) NEW DELHI The Ganga's water is pure and nothing could pollute it Shri A P Sharma, Minister for Tour ism and Civil Aviation told the Rajya Sabha the other day The Minister made this statement when Shii Rameshwar Singh (I ok Dal) asked a supplementary regarding steps the Government proposed to take to keep the water of the Ganga in Varanasi clean as it was polluted When the member wanted to repeat his question, the Chairman told the Minister that the Ganga water might be pure or sacred but what about other filth getting mixed with it Undaunted Shri Shurma said that there was philosophy behind the pur ity of the Ganga water and Shii Singh must understand it, nothing can pollute the water of the holy Ganga It purifies everything which mingles into it. The Chairman then quoted a Persian saying that one who goes into a mine of salt becomes salt-MP Chronicle (Sumitro Samaddar, Raipur)

ındıa abroad

LONDON The Greater London Council has declared Indian diplo mats among the top "30 dirty" for committing parking offences but they are "cleaner than their French, Soviet and Pakistani counterparts" Top among the so called "30 dirty" are Nigerian, Egyptian, French, Saudi Arabian and Libyan diplomats who during 1979 80 committed 5,100, 2,621, 2,141, 2,030 and 1,761 parking offences respectively While Indian diplomats figured 23rd among the

offenders, their counterpaits from Pakistan, Cuba and Iraq were listed 14th, 13th and 12th respectively Indian diplomats were issued 677 parking tickets, 30 less than in 1977. The Chinese are among the "cleanest" An Indian High Commission spokes man said diplomatic plate holders were being asked to obey the law of the land and not to involve them selves in parking offences. 'We shall tell them again and emphatically", he said —Indian Express.

without comment

PEOPLE who make such criticisms have not seen more than one or two of my films — Satvajit Ray in reply to Mrs Nargis Dutt's allegations that his films project poverty and tarnish India's image

If is evident that the performance of the economy during the Janata rule was far superior to that in any two year period in the past 30 years of Congress rule and that included the period of Emergency as well—Subramaniam Swamy at a Press Conference

WHFTHER Rajiv is anointed the new crown Prince or not, the court intrigues are paying tribute to the institution of modern royalty in India — S Nihal Singh in India loday

AII. this talk about Sanjay succession is meaningless. Sanjay has not left behind any constitutional 'gad di' to be filled. — Arif Mohammed khan, MP and AICC(I) joint Secretary.

FVEN if you sneeze, you have to get the permission of the centre — May I sneeze Sir? — Sheikh Abdullah

THIS (Baghpat) is the land of the Mahabharata war. They tried to strip Draupadi and there was a war the police have now dishonoured a woman of this area. There will be another. Mahabharata — Madhu I imaye quoted in India Today.

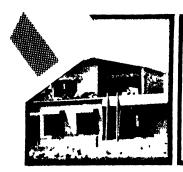
If is wrong to consider external aid as manna from heaven. It has extremely damaging repercussions—
The Times London

WI would not permit any Soviet aggression against any Arab or Muslim country and there would be no noi mal relations between Egypt and the Soviets as long as they are occupying a Muslim country—President Anwai Sadat on Moscow's designs in West Asia

I DO not believe it is appropriate for a close relative of the President to undertake any assignments on behalf of a foreign government — President Carter on his younger brother Billy Carter's activities on behalf of the Libyan government

VIVIAN RICHARDS seems to have three strokes for every ball—lom Graveney

THE only way Borg is going to hurt his arm is carrying his wallet—Vic Brade



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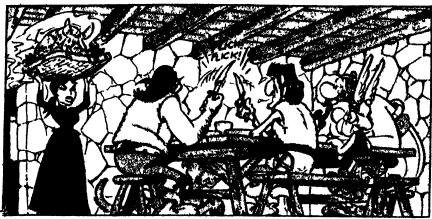














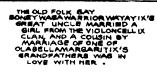




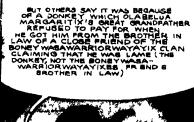
















BHAJAN LAL'S EGO

MASTER defector Bhajan Lal, Chief Minister of Haryana with the brain of a fox, had an experienced and amiable person as his public relations officer in New Delhi Recently the PRO had been given an extension of service for six months-but then suddenly Bhajan Lal got angry with him Why? Bha jan Lal was furious that his mes sage of a "deep sense of sorrow" at the "tragic death" of Sanjav Gandhi was not published prominently enough in the Delhi newspapers When the PRO pointed out that the

statement had been used by the Press, Bhajan Lal was not appeased- he had wanted the news to appear as a box item! And he was desperate to know whether Mrs Gandhi had read his statement or not, so he asked his PRO which paper Mrs Gandhi read each morn ing Obviously the PRO could not name any single paper as presum ably the PM reads whatever is worth reading in all the papers But Bhajan Lal was furious that his PRO did not know which paper Mrs Gandhi read! The PRO got the message He wrote out his resigna tion and handed it to the CM right then and there

A MINISTER'S ARROGANCE

A Cabinet Minister in A. R. Antulay's government in Maharashtra got 70 police officers and police men transferred through a wireless message in the first week of July The cause of the net the Minister's car had got stuck in the traffic jam on the busy Bombay Pune highway, and the police had been unable to extricate him from the jam quickly Only 15 of the 70 who were trans terred were actually on duty then But it seems that the Minister had threatened the traffic sub-inspector on duty at that time that he would transfer the entire traffic circle. Lo and behold it happened! The Minister spoke to the CM and the CM promptly ordered the transfers After a furore, transfer orders against 50 of the policemen were withdrawn But our question is why should the other 20 be victi mised? Sop to a minister's arrogance? a Youth Congress faction

SOCIAL WORK FOR MANEKA

MRS GANDHI, like any grand mother, is very attached to Feroze, her four month old grandson, and she cannot bear the thought of any separation from him, she naturally would like Sanjay's son and Man eka to stay on in the house. So that Maneka may not get bored sitting at home, she has given her daugh ter in law the green signal—to get involved in social work. Mrs Sheela Kaul, a relative and the Congress(1) MP from Lucknow, has been asked to organise this However, Maneka's mother, Mrs Amteshwar Anand, along with a strong faction in the Congress(I) led by Rajesh Pilot, Akbar Islam and Ashok Vajpayee, is keen on bringing Mancka into politics. Maneka is expected to tour Uttar Pradesh in the near tuture, and address a convention of

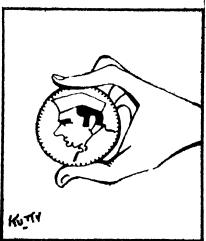
UP CM'S DISRESPECT TO SANJAY?

IN the month of February, Sanjay Gandhi and Mrs Gandhi made an issue out of the police atrocities at Natainpur, and eventually dismissed the Banarsi Das government because of it A film on Narainpur was made and shown by the govern ment media Sanjay Gandhi deman ded the immediate arrest of the policemen who were involved Un like the present CM of UP, who seems determined to protect police officers who indulge in atrocities, Chief Minister Banarsi Das had ordered immediate action against the police officers, and one of them. Mahabir Prasad, was suspended

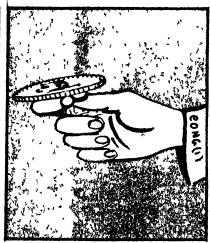
One of the first things that the new Congress(I) Chief Minister of UP, V P Singh, did was to reinstate Mi Mahabir Prasad as CO in Faiza bad Why Because the police offic er is a close relative of the president of the UP Congress(I) Mr Dharmveer And what about the women who were raped and abused in Narainpur? Who is bothered ab out them, once the political objective has been fulfilled. The Congress(I) is now showing its true colours in UP, at least as far as rape cases are concerned. Not a single Minister has visited Baghpat, Bara banki or Banda where hemous atrocities against women have been committe d

D E NIZAMUDDIN

From this week Kutty contributes an independent cartoon on the goings on in Delhi - Editor

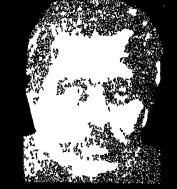






Rasimir

Natwarlal



Super Conman



The Living Witches of Karnataka



Syndicate Bank has helped more than two and a half lakh economically backward families, especially Harijans in the rural areas, to free themselves from the clutches of unscrupulous moneylenders. We have even reformed and directed groups engaged in begging and thieving, and street urchins to gainful occupations.

Grant of loans at a Differential Rate of Interest of 4% p a has helped these people to improve the productivity of their small farms and to streamline their traditional occupations like basket-making, mat-making, pot-making, brick making, toddy tapping, gur making, weaving, stone-cutting carpentry, and blacksmithy. They have regained their confidence, and are experiencing security, and they have freed themselves from bondage and despondency

We have also indirectly assisted several scheduled caste and scheduled tribe multi-purpose co-operative societies to enable them to resettle on land allotted by Government, and financed minor irrigation schemes to bring the land under cultivation. In addition we have initiated them into profitable part-time occupations.

like dairy, poultry, piggery etc to generate supplemental income

Besides, we have uplifted a large segment of the economically weaker sections in urban and semi-urban areas, like bangle sellers, barbers; cobblers, coolies, cycleshop owners, cart drivers, milk vendors, dhobies, sweet makers, fish vendors, flower and fruit merchants, garment makers, hotel-keepers, aerated water makers, house-ware makers, net makers, paper and book-sellers, pan-beeda shop keepers, radio-watch-pen repairers, retail traders, rickshawallahs, tailors, and vegetable vendors.

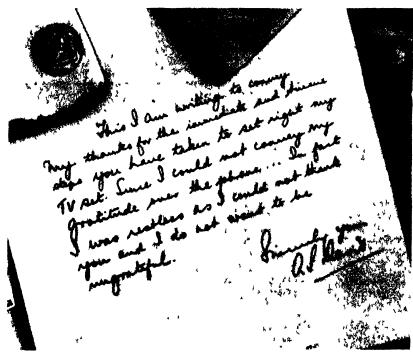
We have also persuaded the Rampani group of fishermen in coastal Karnataka to form themselves into cooperatives and go in for mechanised boats to increase their catches and improve their standard of living.

Implementation of the Twenty Point Economic programme has always been a strong point with us.

SYNDICATE BANK

maa SB 90

It's time we made a public acknowledgement of our private letters.



Yes, we have received so many unsolicited testimonials from Dyanora TV owners on our aftersales service, we thought we would express our deep gratitude through a public acknowledgement.

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This is a bij advantage because a TV after all, is a complex device. It may occasionally need a slight adjustment. And even if it's a Dyanora TV on rare occasions, it too could fail, right?

Country-wide service network

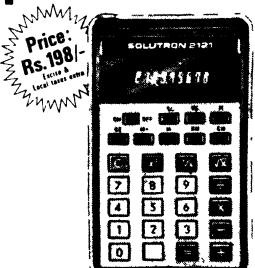
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Glycodin works against all four cough-starters.

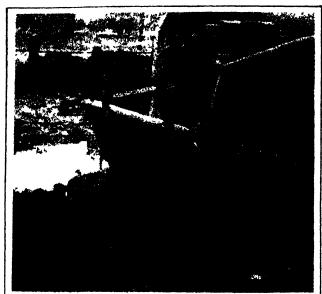
- 1 In the brain to suppress the urge to cough
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On the night of July 26, a number of jawans, provoked by an attack on an army driver, went berserk in Srinagar city, smashing taxis, tempos, and terrorising people. The next day, there were massive demonstrations by the people. The incidents once again highlighted both the sensitive nature of Kashmir, and its ability to control the fires before they get out of hand.

The 30,000 songs that Mohammed Rafi sang over 40 years have created a permainent niche for him in the hearts of music-lovers in the country His voice will remain immortal Page 20

Natwarial, the conman extraor dinary from Bihar has escaped from the clutches of the police once more. His methods are unique and elegant. PRITISH NANDY traces the career of the famous artist. Page 32.



A series of strange occurrences in two districts of north Karnataka, allegedly the work of sorcerers, have spread terror among the population. People are getting strange brand marks on their bodies, beating their heads on stones and going berserk—all because angry sorcerers have made them targets for their weird rituals. An on-the-spot investigation Page 14

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Mind of the masses

THE magic of Hindi films" (20 July) by Pritish Nandy was marvellous Unlike the routine gossip of film magazines yours was a fine study of early and contemporary. Hindi, films spiced with humour and nostalgia, which afforded an insight into the minds of thousands of tilmgoers.

G S Mohanty Cuttack

MR NANDY pinpointed the reason for the Hindi screen's mass appeal. The country's masses do not like to spend their hard earned money on seeing films that magnify the sordid aspects of life. They would rather watch the daredevil acts of their favourite heroes the triumph of good over evil through a concoction of elegant irrelevances like voluptuous heroines and, of course, listen to their favourite songs—which Hindi

A tragedy

THE tragedy written on the faces of the mute victims of The Mandar massacre (15 June) supplements the word picture drawn by M. J. Akbar. The injured orphans seem to be isking the older generation whether Gaudhiji was right or wrong

Subhas C Panigrahi Bol ingir

YOUR reports very clearly reveal how the so called national Parties encouraged the LUJS to demolish the CPI(M) surfluence. If there is anybody who can be blamed for the Tripura carriage it is the local units of the so called national Parties, along with the LUJS, Amra Bangali and the Ananda Marg. I was formerly a bitter critic of the Left Front, but the honesty of the leftists in the north easily has made me sympathetic towards them in protecting the rights of the minorities in

films have in plenty Phani Bhushan Ghosh 24 Parganas

RFADERS will definitely identify them selves with the author in the first two pages, though tew would be so bold to admit seeing wet dreams. However, I could not understand Mr Nandy's view that Hindi films are true to life. You will not find many who would beat the hell out of a hooligan or say, burst into a love song at the appropriate moment. B S Visweswar, Bangalore.

AFTI R seeing a number of Hindi films, the idea I get is— the hero cannot have a father but the heroine has a rich villain for one, the hero is adept at fighting and singing, the heroine, even if poor, man ages to use the best cosmetics, the Bom bay police are worthless, mothers in Bombay usually have twins who are separated in their childhood and meet when older—usually after each has bag ged a heroine Realistic, isn't it? Sandip Bhattacharya, Calcutta

MY COMPLIMENTS to Mr Nandy for such a thought provoking article, it re tlects the emotions and sentiments of the common masses barring some self styled intellectuals

P C Bhattacharjec Bhilai

MR NANDY's adjective infested article was nothing more than verbal diarrhoealt is precisely to eccentrics like him that Hindi films mean so much 1 do not see why he should announce the fact that he is Thesaurus personified Dushyant Parasher New Delhi

MR NANDY is no authority to comment on the acting kill of either Dilip Kumar or Raj Kapoor, I have grave doubts about whether he understands or has ever tried to understand the nuances of sensitive acting Deepak Misra Cuttack

HINDI films have no magic about them as far as I am concerned. I have not seen one for the last 12 months and I do not

Assam Barun Sengapta in a previous issue of Sunday termed the leftists traders. He should know that the leftists have not indulged in political opportunism in Assam Mr Nripen Chakraborty's Ministry in Tripura must be supported in order to preserve national integrity Marmabina Sen, Bangalore

DF SPITE vour extensive coverage of the Mandai massacre you turned a blind eve to the brutal killing of a busload of tribals in Agartala, the burning down of 35 tribal villages in the reprisal by Bengalis, the large scale starvation of diseased tribals driven to the deep forests, and the wanton destruction of several Christian buildings in Agartala during curtew hours Many more atroctites on the original inhabitants of the land could be cited, which you assiduously left out of your reports Tripura's deep wounds would heal only when the issue is placed in the proper perspective P C Muanthanga, New Delni

have a "dream girl" Bimal Kumar Mohanty, Khurda

INSTEAD of doing justice to the talent of the stars whose names he mentioned Mr Nandy was more interested in talking about himself Shahid Jamal Siddigi, Calcutta

MR NANDY's assertion that to enjoy Hindi films one has to give up one's pretensions and intellectual hang ups is pretentious in itself. In my teens these films were part of my regular diet Later the craze faded, today I find these films utterly boring. I feel they have a very corrosive and degenerating influence on society and the younger generation. Banibrata Mukherjee, Silchar.

MR NANDY is right in saying that Hindi film songs play a role in every walk of life. But this is not why Hindi films are popular. Even those who hate Hindi films hum Rafi or Kishore.

Kablu Mukerjea, Shillong

PRITISH NANDY has entered the arena of not too serious film writing, after failing as a poet (thanks to his omission from Daruwalla's anthology). His "filmi' account is very flimsy, and I bet he has not seen many films himself. The poetic description of his childhood was partly successful. Such films, however, are not an obsession with students alone, there are thousands of others who are enthralled.

A & Chatterjee, Ranchi

ZIFNAT proves that she is one of those who look better undressed than dressed Rajesh Pai Secunderabad

II PAINS me to see that your covers are drab and dull Your only favourite colour seems to be a depressing blue, a monoto nous gray or an abominable blue black, issue after issue We are tired Just as the monsoon broke over Calcutta, Sunday should have appeared on the newsstands with a riot of colour Kulo Hazarika, Margherita

Gentle professor

Will reference to "Bihar's tortured tribes" (20 July) by Abhimanyu Singh and Neeraj Roy, it is a fact that Bihar's tribals are suffering even after the state government has introduced a large scale welfare programme for their benefit But I am sorry to note that the story about Jaganath Lohara is politically motivated. It is aimed against the professor of political science of Ranchi University It is not true that Jaganath Lohara, the rickshawpuller, went mad the day he discovered he had lost his land to the professor Even before this happened, Jaganath showed signs of madness The learned professor is a very gentle person who helped many adivasi students in his department. Other rick shawpullers have no complaints against him Besides, the additional collector has legally ruled in favour of the non tribal Vikas Narayan Upadhyay, Ranchi

Muffled voices

IN ASSAM we, the minorities, are being deprived of our democratic rights If anyone tries to speak out, he is severely tortured by the people who are supporting the agitation. We have no other way except to bear with this P Dutta, Tespur

IN ASSAM we cannot express ourselves freely and no one has the courage to say anything against the agitation leaders, even if they forcibly collect money from you by selling a piece of polythene with the words "Jai Ai Assam" written on it, for Rs 50 to Rs 500 They write poems, plays on the "Rape of democracy in Assam" and compel you to buy the publications immediately on presentation if you hesitate to buy a four-page booklet for Rs five you are a "deshodrohi" (traitor) and "anti-Assamese" Government officers are so directly connected with the agitation that they in-

spire the junior employees to join the agitation The Assam State Warehousing Corporation, a Government of Assam undertaking, has congratulated its employees for actively participating in the agitation and abstaining from their duties. The corporation has issued a greetings card to its employees with a large photograph of the agitators on which is written "Your service is not greater than the agitation" If you support all this, you are a "true Assamese" Binoy Hazarika, Gauhati

WHY are you wasting your valuable space on Assam now, considering you have neglected us in the past?

Manick Kumar Brahmaharee, Goalpara

ON BEHALF of the unfortunate Hindu and Muslim Bengalis of Assam, I send you my heartiest congratulations. The agitators claim that the movement is peaceful and democratic. But it is precisely the reverse.

Binov Bhusan Banik, Gauhati

Justice, please

ACKNOWLEDGE the facts published about me in Sunday (8 June) But a subsequent development has prompted me to clarify one aspect of the matter After my suspension from Saptahik Nilachal on 23 January I had applied to the president of the Assam Journalist Association (AJA), a branch of the National Union of journalists (NUJ), on 29 January seeking justice (I was formerly a vice president of the AJA and am now a member of the executive committee) The AJA in a meeting on 8 February had decided to negotiate with the employer for a reconciliation But the months passed, and even in April I was not informed about the result of the negotiations. I applied directly to the secretary general of the NUJ On 9 June I

received a copy of the instructions issued by him to the president of AJA regarding my case Let me quote the relevant portion of the copy. "It appears from the details she has

"It appears from the details she has sent to us that the action has been taken without basis of law Nor do the charges against her have anything to do with her duties as a working journalist. If what she says about the domestic enquiry is the correct position, the entire procedure seems to be vitiated. I am sure your association will be taking up the matter and giving her the necessary aid to fight the unjut treatment. Any legal and you need in this matter will be provided by our legal cell."

I hope these lines vindicate the NUJ However, till the time of writing I have not received any communication from

the AJA Nitupama Borgohain, Gauhati

Simply misunderstood

COUR 29 June cover story made a commendable attempt to reveal the truth about Sanjay, the most misunder stood and maligned man of the country. His role in the Emergency was distorted in order to discredit him, he was depicted as a drunkard and womaniser. A section of the Telugu Press was particularly vicious. After reading all these stories, one can hardly believe that Sanjay was simple and never took liquor Rajan Cherian, Hyderabad

"GLIMPSES states Barely three days after his death the nameplate of Sanjay Gandhi was removed from the door of his room in the AIC((I) office at 24 Akbar Road This is contrary to facts. The nameplate of the departed leader still adorns Sanjay's room. Further, it is also stated the new nameplate said (Kuppaiah Moopanar, the general secret ary of the AICC(1) from lamil Nadu" This is also not correct. It is true that G Karuppiah Mooppanar works in the room previously occupied by the late Sanjay Gandhi But neither in the room nor anywhere else in the AIC C(I) office can one find Mr Mooppanar's nameplate K V Rakkun, MP, New Delhi

Politics of rape

NO DOUBT the "Rape at Baghpat" (20 July) was horrible But why are the police so beastly and sadistic? It is political Parties which arm them with arbitrary powers to achieve their own narrow ends Every day there is news of rapes and gang rapes Even five-year-olds are not spared And in most cases the police are involved But the culprite know they will go scot-free because some Party or the other will stand by them.

Nilma Sanyal, 24 Pargenss

THE report does not shock us to the point of disbelief. This time too the guilty

policemen have been protected by the Congress(1), the fuling Party in UP The opposition has also falled to handle the situation properly Although Lok Dai leaders staged a demonstration in Bagh pat and other places, their protest failed to rouse public sentiments As for other political leaders outside Baghpat, they have not cared to visit the place at all B Mukherjee, Calcutts

AFTER the cases of Mathura at Agra, Radha Rani of Lucknow and the group rapes at Narainpur in the Deoriu district this year, the Baghpat rape is the fourth known incident in which the UP police have been involved. What would the

Other victims

THE innocent-looking "persecuted" persons ("The persecuted", 8 June) speak of their "left" philosophy They have smply proved it by going left of the masses on a genuine problem Subir Roy would do justice to all if he spoke of the fate of persons like Prof Biman Kar of Gauhati University and Prof Suhash Chattopadhyaya of Silchar They have been beaten mercilessly and excommunicated by fellow Bengalis because of their support to the Assam movement. They even apprehend danger to their lives. J K Goswamy, Gauhati

Good work

THANKS to Sunday for "Biju Patnaik's award" (20 July) Biju Patnaik, one of Orissa's top leaders and the founder of modern Orissa, has been acclaimed as the "Bhumi Putra" of Indonesia While no Orissa journal mentioned the news, Sunday did

Srikumar Sukla, Puri

INDONESIA has not forgotten Mr Bijayananda Patnaik, better known as Biju Patnaik, for his invaluable services in winning independence for the country But your reporter Swarup Jena did not mention one important trait of Biju his intolerance of any insult to his country. One recalls how he made a senior British official stand during a flight on which he was pilot in chief for uttering the words "bloody Indian Mr Patnaik even risked his life on the flight when the officer threatened to shoot him Nibedita Ray Puir

Costly error

SAUMITRA BANFRJEI should have checked the figures that were supplied to him by Mi A K Sivanandan (Better flight in sight '15 June) To Mi Sivanandan several crores of rupees do not seem to matter A hike of Rs 1 100 per kl of fuel that pushed the present price to Rs 3 645 per kl really means an increase of just over 43 25 per cent and not 50 per cent—and 43 25 per cent of the earlier estimated annual fuel cost of Rs 90 crores comes to roughly Rs 39 crores and not Rs 45 crores, as stated by Mr Sivanandan Indian Airlines officers should understand that Rs six crores can make a massive difference. Self styled experts like Mr Sivanandan are responsible for creating misunderstandings be tween IA and the public J B Subramanian, Bombay

world say about the administration of this country with a woman PM at the helm? Will the Prontier Gandhi's suggestion to hang rapists be accepted? Bhaskar, President, Lok Sewa San gathan, Patna

MURDERS, rapes and riots are a product of indoor games that political Parties play to embarrass each other Sushanta Kr Chowdharv, Katihar

THE police sub inspector's inhuman treatment of a pregnant housewife is pathetic, the government should tighten its belt and course that the criminals are not spared shvamaprasad Subudhi. Puri

COVER STORY

Crisis Kashmir

M. J. AKBAR reports from Srinagar

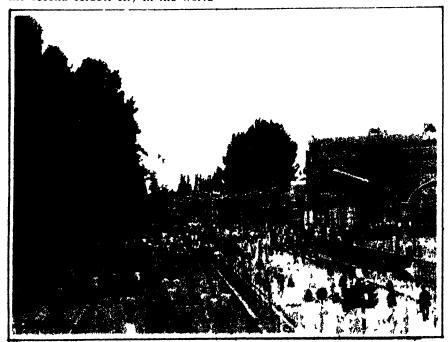


KMDA taxi stand No

ashmir is a paradise with a hint of barbed wire m the air. In this egalitarian age, every paradise has been redecorated in honour of the Conducted Package Tour the serpents have been should away, and the dominating symbol is a waiter wearing a huge plastic smile, Kathimit is no exception. But periodically the serpents surface A history pockmarked with blood cannot be cloaked so easily Kashmir has been threated to India by a needle called Article 370. And rats have been grawing two at the sewing, testing its strength the cial pressure groups with motivations ranging from simple great for power to communal passion to organised treachery, have always been trying to disrupt the calm so that their tiny whirpools of power might expand in the turbulence of chaos

Everything that happens in Kash mir has unique consequences, thanks to the unique situation of Kashmir after all, it is a state which has been the reason of two of our four major wars It is a state which a foreign country has laid a direct claim to It is the only state where a minority is a majority It is a state which is next door to a cauldron called Afghanistan, and its borders with both Pakistan and China are sizzling with soldiers and spies An incident in Kashmir is like a prism, the colours split, and the reper cussions are felt in seven different directions And such are the sensitive tensions that course through the state, that any event carries within it the seeds of an explosion. Even a traffic accident which would have been shrugged off anywhere else in the

Sumer Singh driving a three tonne Shaktiman truck, had begun his jour ney at Leh, 434 difficult kilometres away from Srinagar, and famous for being both a centre of Buddhism and the second coldest city in the world



After a three day run the convoy he was part of crossed the Gond traffic checkpost at about 3.40 p.m. on Siturday July 26 Between Gond and Kangan Singh's vehicle had a puncture and he fell out of the convoy which continued while he waited to get the tyre mended. He managed to reach the Badami Bagh traffic checkpost by 7-30, and unloaded his goods nearby. At 8.30 he left with his vehicle now empty for his barracks

After this the accounts begin to differ the rimy has one version the police inother and rumour which is always tettile a whole range of versions. But this much all sides agree on that Sumer Singh was involved in a minor brush with a tempo at 8.45 that he was surrounded by people at the crowded Budhshah chowk near the KMDA bus standatter the tempo driv er chased the army vehicle and caught up with it. An excited crowd attacked Sumer Singh and then in its fury it damaged two itms water catricrs which happened to be passing A colleague of Sunce Singh who was sitting in the truck, got off while the alterca

8 27 July 10 30 a.m. Mob with burning logs in hand going to Batmalloo to confront

tion was going on, and managed to phone his battalion Immediately a jeepload of jawans and an officer came to rescue Sumer Singh They got into a fight with the people. There are conflicting versions of what ensued now, but the vital part is that within an hour of the traffic accident, a large number of jawans, led by a senior officer, armed with rods, hockey sticks and a few guns, began a violent attack on the people, the local police and public and private property A senior police officer, an SSP had his teeth broken, another's bones were broken, at least 30 taxis were smashed, plus tempos, private property was damaged Worse, at least 17 civilians were badly injured, and one died later of gunshot wounds. The lawans had gone berserk, and they were not controlled till midnight

gave the matter the kind of provocative dimension which it would not have acquired anyhere else. Worse, mischievous rumourmongrers spread a story that the Jama Masjid of Jammu had been damaged by Hindus (totally false), and this lent a communal edge to the violence That evening, the Sheikh, against the advice of some of his advisers who were wary of his safety, went out to the historic Lal Chowk, the heart of Srinagar, and addressed a public meeting. It was a powerful performance; and after this, the tension subsided That night National Conference volunteers guarded minority areas like Karannagar. Withın another two days, Srinagar was back to its easy-paced Kashmiri existence Within a week of the incident the schools and colleges reopened after a long recess and there was absolutely

Pak elements (shouting 'Indian army go back!' and 'Indian army hai, hai!') had tried to disrupt the meeting, but once the Sheikh came, their cries turned into squeals, and soon they disappeared

The theory that the Sheikh was not too unhappy about the violence on Sunday rests on the old axiom which

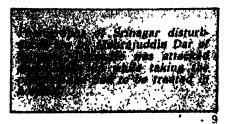
The theory that the Sheikh was not too unhappy about the violence on Sunday rests on the old axiom which detectives use to solve a crime. who benefits most? Do the events of Sunday establish once again that only Sheikh Abdullah can control Kashmir and therefore it would be unwise for Delhi to destabilise him? And is the Sheikh interested in making this absolutely clear to Delhi? And, therefore, would he quietly encorage the violence in the morning so that he could make his point in the evening?

Truth in politics is like a kaleidoscope, shift your gaze just ever so slightly and the whole pattern

changes.

However, there has been one clearly discernible and very disturbing trend a determined effort by an obviously well-organised group (logically, this could be the Jamaat e-Islami and its offshoots, who make no bones about their love for Pakistan) to proyoke public confrontations with the army Traditionally, the army and the people have enjoyed a cordial relationship To begin with, the presence of the army has had its beneficial impact on the rural economy, there has been a ready market for the local produce Obviously, there have been instances in the past which have led to triction but tact, caution and the basic goodwill have combined to minimise the damage But of late, there have been stray instances of army houses being stoned, and jawans and officers being harassed in public places (for example at Broadway theatre skirmishes have broken out between army personnel and civilians over buying tickets). About three weeks before the July 26 flareup, a similar traffic accident took place in Batmalloo, an army truck grazed a taxi, and a physical fight resulted between the army and civilians. The police did not register a case, and the matter was forgotten.

ASI year when Bhutto was hanged, workers of the Jamaat-e-Islami distributed sweets to celebrate the brutal behaviour of the pseudo-religious government of General Zia. The rest of Kashmir, in a sudden blaze of fury, went on a rampage against the Jamaat. In 152 villages, houses of Jamaat workers were burnt. It was unprecedented in peaceful, easygoing Kashmir. That was perhaps the lowest point in





27 July, around 10 a m People burning vehicle at Jehangu chowk

The next day, the people retaliated Their main target was the army (where they could find it), but the flare-up turned partly communal when two temples were attacked, and three shops of Hindus were looted But the communalism was muted in fact, no private residence of a Hindu was attacked, and there was absolutely no physical violence against Hindus. Some communalists did turn towards the two temples, but they were prevented from doing too much damage by the local Muslims

The simple truth seems to be that the pro-Pak lobby, which survives and feeds off such incidents, fuelled public passions on Sunday morning, and was responsible for the excesses. The whisper was sent around. Is this an army for our defence or is this an army of occupation? What the army had done was inexcusable, true, no matter what the provocation, a disciplined force like our army cannot simply afford to indulge in such public reprisals. And people would have reacted against such behaviour anywhere in the country. But Kashmir's special situation

no reaction from the students to the incidents of July 26 and 27 It was as if it might never have happened.

As if But of course it did happen. and memories are growing longer day by day. Nothing is as simple as it might seem. The first question that the people opposed to the Sheikh asked was why was the violence on Sunday allowed to continue through the day? What was the police doing? And if the Sheikh could stop it in the evening by the strength of his leadership, why couldn't he stop it in the morning? Weren't the National Conference volunteers organised enough to challenge the troublemakers in the morning? The Sheikh's protagonists maintain that such was the depth of public anger that the police were helpless, and it was only the towering personality and the special relationship which the Sheikh has with the people of Kashmir that managed to defuse the tension so quickly. That evening, standing on the top of a bus which was the makeshift platform, the Sheikh spoke of secualrism and peace. A little before the meeting started, some pro-

Jamaat fortun But TIC DIEL of dedicated big kered be nevers they started rebuilding noth their houses and their fort This recondition tion" was helof there dose a foreign money and a trop study Ara bia Their effect over the best be in a serious social trensive from the time of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad has been to create an atmosphere of Islamic fundamentalism of the kind now seen in Pakistan) and to woo the Muslims away from the Indian told

And they say what they want quite openly Gilani their love MIA says publicly that the Strikh betrayed Kashmu in order to at oa a. Bharas a kursi. In early june they reanised seerat conference. I chr cally the means a conferrice by chithe t and character of rich lopher to 1 e 1 so that the people may lea-Nothing wrong view that the conthat became a politic on terwhich resolutions question to accession of Kalhmir to Lidi v passed The forcier suest list you was interesting indeed. According a che source representatives from Irin (Mehdi Agrab on behalt of Bani Sadi and Qasim on behalf of the religious leader Sharin Madari) Abu Dhabi (Ahmed Mubarik Abdullih) and Sudan (Tariq Habitullih) were present. The most important guest was the Imam of Kaaba Sharif who ilso toured parts of the valley before his return to Studi Arabia

The Jamaat runs 182 schools in villa es dotted icross the state (during the ancipency when the Jamaat was he half that happened was that nameplate appeared). Its main of every much like the RSS from petty traders and sections to be middle class. The greatest disadvantage that the Jamaat faces—the crucial disadvantage, it you like—as that the kind of fundamentalism it teaches a simply not in accord with the temperament of Kashmir which has strong traditions of shrine going and the worship.

Pur the real danger from the lar rit lies not in the numbers they hight be able to muster in an election at eithe fact that being a dedicated welffer taup they can be a powerful tith cean for a Zialed Pakistan (As many and to the Kashmir scene compact of II India has spent a lot of money in Kashmir don't forget that Pakistan too has spent a great deal of money. The reference is to illicit money coming in for subversion.)

It is clements like the Jamaat vhich would benefit from a deterioration of relations between the army and the people they too know, like anyone eld, that no army can win a war without the support of the local people.

Another important development in Kashmir has been the growing friction between the Sheikh and the Congres (I). The Congress(I) argues that ill it

is doing is fulfilling the role of an opposition Party, organising its cadre and enthusing its people, in legitimate democratic ways, in preparation for the 1982 Assembly elections The Sheikh tends to see the Congress(I) effort as part of a sinister process to remove him prematurely on one pretext or the other. The main problem here is not really the Sheikh himself it would be foolish in the extreme to do a 1953 now The problem is one of succession. Who can replace the ageing Sheikh! Obviously the Sheikh would like to see power remain with the National Conference, that is his main message in speech after speech these days. And he would lake to see his son Di Farooq Abduil ih i the next CM But the Congres of a hardly in a nord to grant the right of accession 50 C IV

Kishmir roday is a mix of forces pulling in G u to direction. Communalists power hungry orators money hungry businessmen mischief mongers and of course genuine na tionalists too. A series of incidents and attitudes has thrown what should have been a calm and table tate into a tizzy. It would be unpardonable even given the liberties of journali tic hyperbole to say that Kashmu has become a volcano. But there is a crisis in Kashmir And a crisis in Kashmir can have far more serious repercus sions than say a cress in Andhra Pradesh



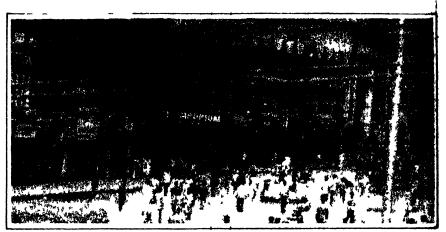
India, Pakistan and Sheikh

here is one basic truth about Kashmii which those who are always looking for spies in the valley tend to forget Kashmir got three major opportunities to betray India- in 1947 1965 and 1971 - and on each occasion, much to the shock of the Liagat Khans, the Ayub Khans, the Bhuttos and the Yahya Khans, Kashmir both at the negotiating table and on the battle field, decided to stay with India. When the raiders came in 1946, their slogan was Sikh ka sar, Hindu ka ghai, Musalman ka dar (Kill the Sikh burn the Hindu's house and take shelter with the Muslim). I ventually the raid er went away because the Musalman ka dar was not available. Neither was it available in 1965 or 1971. And in 1965 there was a serious effort to cause an insurrection in Kashmir

On all three occasions Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was the only leader who could have swayed the Kashmiris towards Pakistan He did not, not even in 1965 when he was still in jail Whatever may be the other taults of the National Conference or its predecessor the Plebisci e Front when it came down to the brass tacks it was India with which it was going to stay frue ideally they winted independence from both India and Pakis tan but when they had to choose between the two they hose India It was not a decision imposed by the Indian army, the Sheikh did carry the people with him Otherwise why did not the people help the Pak raiders in 1965, even where there could have been no repusals from the Indian army?

It would be ridiculous to assume in consequence that there is no pro Pak sentiment in Kashmir. Of course there is some, and it is fanned by communal and anti-national organisations like the Jamaat e Islami. But the Jamaat while it is well organised in the valley and has liberal funds does not com mand mass support. The maximum number of seats it has won in the Assembly is five, its present strength is restricted to one MLA. If the truth is that, because of history and geography, the Kashmiri is schizophrenic, then at least the balance is filted firmly on the side of our country

There is a good story which illustrates this. In 1975, the famous accord between the Sheikh and Delhi fook place, and it was announced that the Sheikh would take over as Chief Minister (two Congress MLAs resigned their seats so that the Sheikh and Mirza Afzal Beg could stand for elections to the Assembly). Bhutto, then the rulei of Pakistan, gave a call for a strike in Kashmir to protest against this accord Srinagar duly listened, and the city was forced by pro Pak elements to close down. But the very read to the Sheikh flex of fin Delay and the



29 July People come out on the street after hearing rumours that Jammu's Jama Masjid has been burnt, shops closed

had a leader been given the kind of welcome which the Sheikh received when he came to take the reins of power which had been snatched away from him in 1953. There was nothing pro Pakistani, about this welcome

Since 1975 the Sheikh has taken at least three major decisions which can be aptly described as efforts to bring Kishmu nearer the national main stream (as the clicke goes). He made Hindi compulsory in the schools. He banned cow slaughter - a fact which is gleefully played up by ban protagon ists when they want to agitate in West Bengal and Kerala. The third thing he did was perhaps the most difficult. In a continuing effort at appeasement, the centre was providing food to Kash miris it highly subsidised prices When rice all over the country was selling at three rupces or more a kg Kashmiris could buy it for a ridiculous sixty paise a kg. The Sheikh simply stopped the subsidy and told the Kashmiris that this subsidy was a form of begging which was humiliating why shouldn't Kashmir too like the rest of the country, pay higher prices? What right did Kashmii have to get special subsidy after all Kashmir was a part of India like any other Prices doubled

in a day—but there was not one voice of protest raised against the Sheikh.

If therefore the Sheikh gets irritated when he is repeatedly asked—by politicians, or by the Press—to confirm his bona fides, his anger is legitimate. What is quite absurd is that most of the politicians ranged against him have highly dubious connections. When some of them address Delhi they call the Sheikh a Pakistani, when they go to their rabid Kashmiri audiences, they imply that the Sheikh is an Indian stooge

While the Congress(I) does not publicly accuse the Sheikh of being antinational it does maintain a prim more nationalist than thou attitude towards the National Conference. At least one of their allegations against the Sheikh makes political sense. They claim that the Sheikh, secretly is not averse to seeing organisations like the Jamaat make their provocative noises. He uses this as leverage with Delhi, that is, tells Delhi in so many words that only he can be an effective dam against the pro Pak sentiment. Over the last year, until the furore of July 26, they askahow many times has the Sheikh attacked the Jamaat publicly? Not once



July 4 pm Lathi chaise

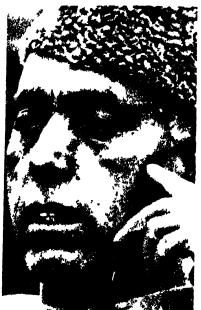
The Sheikh and corruption

HIN Sheikh Abdullah became Chief Minister in 1975 examinations in his state were being I held as they are held in most parts of the country the name of the game was mass cheat ing The Sheikh heard about such a benevolent examination taking place in Jammu University He left his office in Srinagar, personally went down to an examination cen tre in Jammu, caught the dadas who were terrifying the invigilators, and handed them over to the police The cheating stopped The impact on the rest of the state was. electric

The people were amazed and relieved Kashmiris recall the early days of Sheikh's return to power with a little bit of nostalgia the man who had become a legend to yet another generation during those 20 long years in jail, seemed to be living up to his reputation The bureaucrats were scared, corruption, which had become ende mic under the Congress govern ments, came down That was a tremendous achievement in a state in which almost everything is con trolled by the government This mood of chastity lasted till about 1977 Then the slide began Today, things are back to normal Once again, the elite is getting bloated on the fattening diet of bribes And once again the cue comes from the very top

Such is the Shiekh's stature that common people are still not ready to believe that he himself is corrupt, but a thorough search in Jammu and Kashmir would reveal very few people indeed who would stand up and defend some of the mem-bers of the Sheikh's family The most disliked seems to be G M. Shah (generally known as Gul Shah), who is said to combine a passion for money with a highly abusive nature Shah lives in a house adjoining the Sheik's (the sons,in fact, live separately), and uses a room in the row of offices adjoining the Sheikh's house as his private office It was his relation-ship with the Sheikh that got him the coveted Transport Ministry in the Sheikh's government, not political worth Shah is married to Khalida, the Sheikh's oldest daughter His car is a Mercedes One business interest of his is hoteleering (he even has shares in a Bombay hotel) His manner is rude And a number of his friends are un-

The other relative of Sheikh Abdullah who is doing his bit to damage the Sher e-Kashmir's reputation is his son Tariq Abdullah.



Tariq Abdullah's professional sta tus tends to wander with the rise and fall of the National Conference government When the Sheikh came to power in 1975, he was appointed (for no better reason than he was the Sheikh's son) man aging director of the powerful Jum mu and Kashmir Tourism Develop ment Corporation The first time that the Sheikh lost power was in 1977, when an ambitious Janata government imposed President's Rule preparatory to midterm elec tions in the state As soon as the President's man in J & K took charge, Tarıq Abdullah's job went So badly had Tarıq's reputation already deteriorated that many of the employees celebrated his de parture

But the National Conference swept the polls, and Tariq Abdullah got back his job as boss of tourism. And he took petty revenge The first thing he did was ask his spies to find out who were the employees who did not like him more than 500 such workers have been arbitrarily suspended—and still have not got their jobs back. All this to satisfy the ego of the son of Sheikh Abdullah And the Sheikh did nothing to pull up his son, and reinstate the workers. Nor is Mr Tariq Abdullah's reputation for behaviour any better than his brother-in-law G M Shah's.

The Congress(I) has been plugging this aspect of the Sheikh's regime in its public meetings And even the Sheikh's admirers, who genuinely believe that it will be a national loss if the Sheikh were to be removed from the chief ministership, find it hard to argue

against the charge of rampant cortuption. Mitza Afzal Beg, who broke with the Sheikh last year to form his own Party, and tried to copple the government through detections, has now presented Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with a list of corruption charges against the Sheikh. The Congress(I) too has demanded that a commission of enquiry be set up to investigate these charges. Among the charges listed by the Congress(I) are

• That the Sheikh fraudulently ac quired the three storied Danji Bhai building in the commercial area of Srinagar

The lease of Nedous Hotel, owned by the Sheikh's in laws, has been illegally extended, despite the fact that the owners owe more than Rs 8 lakhs to the government by way of rent

•A government building called Hari Nivas (valued at Rs one crore, including the adjoining property) has been leased out to a son in law's family without calling for any tenders

•A number of contractors have been given extension on their leases to cut forests

• The CM has not paid taxes on his personal property

• Fariq Abdullah was appointed managing director of the Tourism Development Corporation without the post being advertised

There are other charges too But what is interesting to note is that the list being distributed by Congress(I) leaders to whoever wants a copy does not once include the name of Mr G M Shah! Another well known fact about the political life of Srinagar is that the members of the Sheikh's family do not always see eye to eye, to put it mildly So it all the other prominent members of the Sheikh's family are being ac cused, and the most obvious one is not Readers might like to recall the famous story of Sherlock Holmes where the detective solved the mystery by pointing out the curious case of the dog that didn't bark

Sheikh Abdullah has two sons apart from Tariq Dr Mustaffa Abdullah is a doctor who has been living a non-political life as an officer in the government health service. His other son, Dr Farooq Abdullah, is an elected member of the Lok Sabha who came to the house in the last polls. Of all the family members, Farooq has the best reputation; the most his detractors can think of saying about him is that he is no heavyweight in state politics. But once again, Dr Farooq Abdullah is what he is only because he is the Sheikh's son.

"Jamaat gets foreign money"

The lawns outside Sheikh Abdullah's spacious bufigalow in Silnagar are beautifully manicured, the bursting flowers exquisitely gardened It was here that Sheikh Abdullah began his conversation with M J Akbar and Udavan Sharma on Sunday, August 3, but a thin rain soon drove everyone inside to the calm comfort of soft sofas The Sheikh would not talk about the incidents involving the army, as the matter was going to an enquiry commission, but he discussed other issues which are troubling this "Happy Valley'

There is a general im pression perhaps mis taken that Kashinir is on the edge of a blow up, and affti nationals are behind

A This 'blow up' syndrome affects the whole region. After the Afghanis tan events, the whole region is in a flux. You can see what is happening in Iran for yourself. There are powers working in this region, we must be tareful

Q The invitation cards of the Isla mic youth convention, called by the youth organisation of the Jamaat e Islami, were printed in Saudi Arabia, according to allegations

A Yes, that is true They them selves have accepted that

Q It is also being said that foreign money is coming in

A It is quite obvious that foreign money is coming in

Q What is your opinion about the Tamaat -

A They put on a show that they are a religious institution, but these pcople are very active in politics. They are exactly like the RSS the same methods, the same mentality

Q How important the they in Kash

mir politics?

A In the present conditions they have absolutely no political base, they have no support from the people. The only things they seem to be doing is abusing me and taking money from outside. I am not particularly worried about them

Q But one leader of the Jamaat an MLA, Gilani, has publicly said that the Muslim youth should now take up arms!

A (laughs) Take that with a pinch of salt. These people are precisely like that they don't know what should be done, and they don't understand what

Q Sheikh Sahab, your speech on Martyrs' Day (July 13) became very controversial because of certain refer ences to India, Pakistan, Mis Gandhi and General Zia What exactly were you trying to sav?

A The basic misunderstanding thy others) hes in the fact that (they did not realise that) my speech revolved around the sale of Kashmir by the British to Raja Gulab Singh The youth of Kashmir, was in front of me. It was

only natural that I should talk to them about being better human beings, that I should warn them that it was because of our own weaknesses that in 1846 the British could sell our land—so that nobody could sell out land in the future I told them that it took a hundred years to wash that stain of shame from our heads. My generation did their duty by washing that shame away, by their struggle, now it was up to the youth to show that no one could sell Kashmir in the future. That speech had nothing to do with centre state relations. It is now being deliberately

Q Do you think that the speech is being deliberately played up as part of

a conspiracy?

A No not a conspiracy, just human nature. And this is not being done by the centre. There are some politicians in Kashmir who feel that I am an obstacle in their way to power. There are two kinds of (anti-Sheikh) forces One is the Jamaat, which does not believe in secularism and wants to remove me with the help of foreign money but they have no support among the Kashmiri people others are those who would like cen trestate relations to deteriorate so that they can come to power. They want to recreate a 1953 situation. Such worms cannot live in clean water they nced duty water to survive in But I do not think that the centre wants to play then game

Q Over and over again you keep getting asked to prove your creden tials vis a vis India. Doesn't that make

vou angry?

A Not angry I just feel pity (for those asking this question). Going on repeating that Kashmir is an integral part of India - Look, we have given our lives to establish this relationship be tween Kashmir and India When Him du and Muslim were slaughtering each other, it was then that we stayed with India Why? Because of Gandhiji's ideals, that Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian could all live in India with then heads equally high. When this country begins to shy away from that ideal, we will not run away, we will fight in the name of Gandhin, to restore that ideal. Our foundations are a secular Hindustan, we have an intellectual and emotional relationship with it. Look at the awful condition of Pakistan and you will realise how right Gandhiji was, and how wrong was the two nation theory. Our decision to join India is being vindicated by what is happening in Pakistan

O During the last Parliamentary elections, your son, Di Farooq Abdullah, went through UP and Bihar active ly campaigning for Mrs Gandhi Do

you regret that now?

A Not at all We chose to take that decision then in view of the situation in the country. What Jayaprakash had created in 1977 had been destroyed by the infighting within the Janata Party. There was so much chaos that even great supporters of the Janata were saying that even dictatorship would be better than this chaos. I did not think about what would happen after the elections, I just did what I thought would be in the nation's interest then

Q Just recently you had a meeting with Mis Gandhi in Delhi What was

discussed?

A Nothing so very special Do re member that I have personal relation ships with this family I was in jail during Jawahailal's time, but he was still one of the greatest friends 1 maintained that relationship, and to day Indira Gandhi is also maintaining that relationship So when we meet, we talk about a lot of things, not only politics

Q You keep saving in public that foreign powers are interested in creat ing trouble here. Are you reterring to the western powers particularly the USA and its surrogate Saudi Arabia?

A I do not know how direct is their interest, but these powers think that communism can be fought only by religion, so they are encouraging such forces. In this region they feel that they can shoot at communism by keep ing the gun on Islamic shoulders. The best example is Pakistan

Q Do you believe that such forces are supporting the Jamaat?

A Yes, they (the Jamaat) do re ceive money from foreign countries After all, why do these people want to hold an Islamic youth conference here? They have already accepted that they have received Rs 86,000 from Saudi Arabia. Why did they pass political resolutions at their "religious" conference recently? Then, why hold the conference in Kashmir' All that these people want is to pollute the atmosphere. And they have the indirect support of pro-Pak elements like A.G.Lone But don't worry too much about them. They are all season al, they cannot last for very long in politics

Q Would you suggest that the Jamaat be banned?

A There is no profit in doing that This is a democratic country. If some one is saving something wrong then we should have the courage and ability to argue with them. There is the stink of political violence in banning anything, these people then go underground and become martyrs. We must fight them politically

Q Union Home Minister Zail Singh

has called you communal

A I know Zail Singh for a long while What could I say to him? All I can say is that in a political speech, people tend to say a lot of things which should not be taken too seriously. He only forgot that he was not merely a leader of the Congress(I) but also the Home Minister. It doesn't really matter. Sab chalta hai.



INVESTIGATION

he Living

Hate and fear are spreading among the people of Gulbarga and Bidar, two districts of the state—hatred of a breed of wicked sorcerers and fear of their strange powers. The sorcerers can, in fact, inflict supernatural' harm on their victims: from wounding people to driving them crazy. That is the astonishing truth which NIRMAL MITRA confirmed during an extensive, on-thespot investigation.

he Victims

YOUNG woman goes beisers, shrieking and beating her head on a stone Another sits in a no sign of pun Another's clothes & catch fric or disappear, leaving her naked. A man gets brand marks and boils on his skin. They are all victims, of bh mamati, a black magic which is being practised today in the districts of Gutbarga and Bidar in north Karna taka. The soccerers (see pictures) for ture their victims without touching them overtuals and manifas. This is happening tight now in the "scien

etitic twentieth century

Bas cenna (19) a woman in Kalga village sus taked in a room with burns and boil on her hands. She has been under expell for a long while About two months back she suddenly ran away I out men caught her, but displaying unnatural bedily strength, she shook them off. Later, she shut herself in a room. One of her obsessions is to squeeze herself into small below in the root and walls and perch herself on a wooden rod hanging from the roof meant to hang clothes on She also tries to hing from the ridge of the door. Her state worsens on the nights of the tall and new moon when she habitually sturves for four days at a stretch Villagers say that she can run "as fast as a horse" if she wants to She hides in bushes full of thorns, without any sign of discomfort Basamma's husband is convinced about the cause of her strange behaviour-bhanama thand showed this reporter a written complaint to this effect that he sent to the Kalgi police station, with a certifi-



Ningappa (24), with brand marks on his stomuch

cate of posting (dated 22 180) Lerappa (50) of Pastapura, another village with a history of sorcery, sadly recalls how his wife Nagappa behaved before she died at 32, ten years ago. She would strip and beat herself while tolling on the ground. Eerappa's son too was a victim. It statted with a headache when he was playing one day, the little boy died after a brief struggie Eciamma, Ecrappa's old mother, screams in a funny manner I crappa too has resigned himself to tate "Khuda jane, hamare bhi janeka samay ho gaya hai,(God knows, my

time has also come) he mutters, showing a pair of emacrated aims which have lost all the strength they once had

Rudramma (30) of Kalgi would lie on the ground scream and warn people not to approach her. She is better now, almost normal. But the spell is onher husband, Malsetty. He clasps his hands so tight that they cannot be separated. He beats his head on stone, and falls unconscious on full and new moon nights. We do not know why this happens," said Rudiamma "Perhaps it is bhanamati It is a

strange illness

Millikai jun (20) of Nawadgih somnambulates. When he touches food he sees ants all over it the result is he eats very little, or nothing He cannot even drink the water looks and smells to him like urine. Boils and burns appear all over his body during the days of the full and new moon, but get better in four days During the moon's phases he acquires uncanny powers he escapes from a room that has been locked socurely from the outside Once outside, he faints and remains unconscious for a couple of

hours before returning home When 30 year-old Saibanna's smal lest child died in 1973, her family suspected two men of their village (Malgan), Bhadrappa Namad and Shiva Rao Namad, of killing the child by witchcraft. A quarrel ensued between Saibanna's husband and the two They cursed his family and shortly after wards, two more of Saibanna's lattle children died. Paramma (18) of the same village has been married for three years. Shortly after marrage, she showed signs of madness Later, she got boils on her stomach, and would roll on the ground Often, she lies still on the ground and clasps her hands in the familiar vice like grip Her whole body pains as though a hundred needles were pierced into her "I do not know why this is happening," said Paramma's worried hus band. We took her to hakims, but her condition did not change

When Anjana Devi (22) of Malgan went to fetch water, her clothes would tall off her "automatically" She would then sit at a spot for hours, stark naked hunched, with her arms around her knees Between violent sobs and shouting, she would utter the names of Bhadrappa Namad and Shiva Rao Namad, her cousins, who are alleged sorcerers. If anyone got close to her she would scream, Rajubai (16) who had her third attack of boils and burns only moments before we spoke to and photographed her, has her hands covered with marks. She has been scratching them incessantly, causing septic soles

Godavari (40) of Bidar town has a

First lessons

The method of initiating a porcerer is bizarre. The bhanamati giru is often a stranger to the village, mili his pupils are impressionable young men. The place, predictions, is a graveyard or cremation that. The paraphernalis, mantra books, oilseeds, needles, and wooden or cloth dolls. Sometimes human skulis and bones too are used. The time: the dead of night, when there is either a full or new moon. The pupils must eat their own faeces before claiming the right to learn the rituals and mantras This is followed by a vow of silence. The pupils are first ordered to memorise a series of mantras and then taught the ritual doll-play.

10 year old daughter Premalabar who was crazy but is getting better "It staited with a pain here' Godavair said, pointing to the back of the head "We took her to a hakim and he gave a tabeez to hag around the neck went on Premalabai would kill ants, tear clothes and weep from morning to night every three days before and after the new moon 'later, we took her to Shiwogi Swami, who lives near the Bhatamra taluk in Bhalki The swami gave us a tabcez and said the child would continue to sufter for three years from bhanamati But she improved in one month," Godavari said

There are numerous other cases One year after Rajamma (22) of Gorta village was married in 1972 she suf fered from headaches, stomach aches and could not bear the sight of food or tea Her handy stched painfully in Pastapura, Gulbarga district, Sheinamma (45) lost her power of speech for two years. On full and new moon nights she would tear oif her clother



Hazrat Alı (18), who got brand marks on his armpit, chest and the side of his stomach

flee when approached by anyone and shout whatever came to her mind Shernamina's eldest son, the family's only breadwinner, Shernappa, had to give up his job with the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, in 1978 because his mother needed atten tion In the same village, Hazrat Ali (18) awoke from sleep one morning to find ugly brand marks on his aimpit, chest and the side of his stomach Ningappa (24) got brand marks on the stomach and back Putlabai (22) went mad and kept screaming nonsense Hanumant Rao got strange marks and boils on his forcarm while he was asleep

Even cattle are said to have been victims of sorcery. In the Sedam subdivision of Gulbarga Subhash Koldi of Hanganallı village complained about the black marks on his cows which he had never seen before. Other strange



Putlabai (22), who screamed hysterical ly, her voice is being recorded

things happened, in Pastapura some bajra had been kept in a drum. The food was found burnt in the middle, while the top and the bottom layers were intact Bedclothes have vanished and returned, a pair of chappals have been found burnt. Some clothes in a trunk belonging to Mali Patil, a resi dent of Pastapina have caught fire without any reason

orsery and

This practice of wischcraft is not an offence under the Cr. P. C. Since the law is hearth, dependent for application on comments avidence suggest and wistherest are obviously non-cognizable.

For rioug time, almost through our last year, when codes of longer man showed a sudden therease in incidence, the police were confused.

incidence, the police were confused as to how they should hapfile them. In an official communication, sear

as to how they should bendle them. In an official communication sent about six monshe back, the lapped tor General of Police, Karistaka, Mr H. Veerschadrays, Issued orders to register complaints about bhanamati under Sections 506, 507, and 508 of the Indian Penal Gode, Apparently, these three sections are the closest the last gent in defining witchwaft at the plants. Section 506 of the IPC deals with "punishmant for crimical intimities tion — if the threat be to ration death or grievous hurt." Section 507 deals with "triminal intimities tion by an anonymous communication". Section 508 deals with "the believe that he will be resident as object of Divisio deals with "the hotel of believe that he will be resident as object of Divisio deals with according to the stations of params to be such as the according to the stations of params of injury must be such as the according to the stations. A person who exacts money by sending anonymous tereats of Divine plants anonymous laterers as if from 508 conveying threats of Divine plants this section as it does not lie in his power either to a firest lie threatened punishing an cause of the resident of the committed. Electric in his power either to a firest lie threatened punishing an cause of the resident of the committed power of the proved to have committed the offence or cause it to have been committed — both of which seem quite improbable. have been committed --- both of which seem quite improbable.

which seem quite improbable.

After the police artisted significant alleged successes in Persaying and started proceedings significantly in the court in Elubrical ideas was a new development. The -pitel judicial manistrate, Gulberga, 14 à communication desend 12 futy 1980 gave the gosphen for a thorough police investigation into the weird phenomenon of disnamant.

The matter also came up in the

The matter also came up in the Karnaraka legislative council when the leader of the opposition in the lique Mr.D.B. Chandre Gowda and two gither H.P. members complianed that the authorities were refusing to take note of the strange accurrences. The result of the legislative debate, was a decision to specific a sommission of investigations, including sayoniarrists and physiciatis to make a scientific investigation of bhanamati. The legal position would perhaps be clarified after their typestigation is through. The matter also came up in the after their investigation is through





Fakruddın

Bhimanna

N PASTAPURA, there lives a man called Bhi manna He is very well off, but he has had a long battle against a retired schoolteacher from his village, Malsettappa And Bhimanna is said to use sorcery against his opponents. There are ten people in Bhimanna's group Fakruddin, Nyamasab, Bhimanna, Amrut Rao, Nagappa, Sidappa, Ferap pa, Beerappa, Srimanta and Shernap pa Some including Fakruddin were and are members of the village pan chayat Fakruddin is held in high esteem among the Muslim residents and is even the local Pesh Imam Of the ten. Fakruddin. Nyamasab and Bhimanna are alleged to practise bha namati openly, while the others are charged with helping them Recently, six members of the group were arrested on a charge of practising bhanamati (The police investigations were still in progress at the time of writing) The group's local political leader in Chincholi, Vaidraj, is also accused, among other things, of promoting sorcery

In a large number of cases, sorcery is used to settle personal vendettas Mallikarjun, 20, for instance, was the only son of Tipanna and hen to about 20 acres of fcitile land in Nawadgih Chandrappa Habbardaur, 45, is said to have envied his prosperity and tor tured him with witchcraft. When the young man could not bear it any more, he fled to Kalgi where he has now settled But Mallikarjun's problems are not over As ill luck would have it, another sorcerer, Mailappa Famnaur has begun harassing him in Kalgi "They seem to follow me wherever I go,' he moaned Mallikarjun had apparently visited a doctor for help and Mailappa told him "Go where you want to You shall never get well. And in three years I shall decide your

Witchcraft in Gulbaiga and Bidar seems to be an exclusively male practice And the victims are often females "There are no temale witch es." confirmed the subdivisional magistrate of Scdam, B. A. Coutinho

The circle police inspector, Chincholi, J Kulkarni, said people were com plaining about the women being perse cuted by "setting their clothes on fire" Young and good looking women are frequent victims of sorceiers' tricks, according to Sagamma, a const able at the Ratkal thana Women have stripped themselves or lost their clothes, sat indoors and uttered the names of their "oppressors'

One other motive behind practising and teaching witcheraft is the obvious one - to make a quick buck. Actually, both sorcerers and those who claim to fight their evil influence benefit. In fact, because of the growing number of bhanamati cases and the rush for mira cle cures, 'good' sorcerers can be said to be making much more money than 'bad' sorcerers. Sorccrers are reputed to have powers which can be used both malignantly and beneficially- to fight someone else's curse

Three boys of Pastapura, Mahboob Saab Narkodi Amiramja Ali and Ismail Abbas had been seen visiting the house of a carpenter, Anna Rao who makes wooden dolls. They wanted him to make some sandalwood dolls

and approached him at night Rac asked them to come in the daytime Curious villagers stopped the boys and asked them why they wanted the dolls They eventually confessed to learning bhanamati from Fakruddin The arrangement, they said, was to pay him Rs 50 before the first lesson, and Rs 50 after the last

For safety, a sorceter moves from place to place and doubles up as both a black and white magician, playing one role in his native village—where he is hated-and another elsewhere Both Hindus and Muslims, as is evident, practise witchcraft

When this reporter visited Pasta pura, none of the alleged sorcerers, except Bhimanna, wanted to appear before our camera, let alone give an interview Fakruddin was not at home. His father, Ibrahim, and mother, were visibly shaken by the sight of a photographer and a reporter They seemed to have seen too many of our kindonce the police had come and taken their son away, another time some journalists from Bangalore recorded their voices and took pictures. **And** each time they had protested angrily. "I veryone asks about Fakruddin If he has done any wrong, Allah will punish him So why ask? Rahimmuddin, Fakruddin's cousin, added. "I tell you, if Fakruddin was involved in such a racket, we would not make him Pesh Imam we would not elect him to the panchayat When we walked to Nyamasab's house he tled at the sight of us. With a piece of red cloth in his hand, Nyamasab shot across his courtyard jumped over some shrubs and ran swittly over the fields, looking behind him at intervals to see if we were following Bhimanna, on the other hand, sat undisturbed inside his hut on the edge of the village when we approached him "Come and sit here," he said showing us a cot. But when our photographer got busy, he screamed in fury Asked what he knew about bha namati he looked surprised, smiled and said 'I have never seen it being done, I do not know how it is done and cannot do it

sorcerer speaks

Malappa, barely 22, a carpenter by profession, was nervous and jittery when this reporter met him in his village, Mangalgi. He learnt witchcraft, he says, for an unusual motive-to take revenge on another carpenter who abused his father.

Q: Who did you learn the art from and when?

A: I learnt it about a year back, from Sabanna Kukahor.

Q. Who is he ?

A: He used to work on Baswant Rao Bongri's fields in this village. He taught me the art after leaving his job. He came to Mangalgi because bis sister, Nagamma, is married to Peerappa Koli, who stays here. Now he has settled in Chemma Idlai (a village) near Chincholi town.

Q: Did you approach him to learn about witchcraft ?

A: No. He came and taught me. Q: Why did you learn the art?

A: Because I wanted to 'do it' to Pitam Rao.

Q: Why do you hate Pitam Rao?

A: He had abused me.

Q: Why?
A: Just like that.
Q: There must be a reason. A: He is also a carpenter, like me. He had abused my father.

he rituals



The graveyard at Mangilar where soreer cis worked by night

HE sorcerers' rituals in clude mantras (prayers of invocation), the drawing of a pattern on the man dap (place where the ritual is conducted), and a form of doll play which culminates in the contemplation of injury on the chosen victim-personified by the doll. The doll can be made of three types of wood, sandal, white ekkr or basir or just plain cloth. The doll must movable hands and legs. For eyes, ears and the nose, there are depressions at the appropriate points

Malappa (22) is one of the tour sorcerers in Mangalgi who were caught making dolls in a room, beaten up by villagers and taken to the Kalgi police station Their paraphernalia—some books, dolls, needles and bilawas (oil seeds)—were seized Malappa, a carpenter, worked with three others, Babu Sheikh Hussain, 26, who has now fled to Bombay, Babu Harapat, 21, and Sukappa, 18, who has now fled to Shahabad The four had learnt witch craft from Sabanna Kukahor, 26, a sorceter who now lives in Chemma Idlar village, near Chincholi town Though still a novice, Malappa knew enough to explain how exactly a wound is inflicted on the victim

The ritual is executed in the village graveyard in the dead of night, bctween 11 pm and 1 am The teacher and his pupils handle on the ground, stark naked, the former on the man dap and the latter in a semicircle hefore him The master draws a pat tern on the mandap, with kumkum and halds, in the shape of a rectangle with eight circles-four outside the rec tangle, touching each corner, and another four inside, around the centre Diagonal lines run from one corner to another Along each line and circle is left a trail of kumkum and halds.

The master then places the doll in the centre of the rectangle, with its feet pointing towards him A little haldi and kumkum is put in the doll's eyes nose ears and navel A small oilseed, a bilawa, is pierced with a long needle and pressed into the part where the injury is to be inflicted As this is done, the master orders his pupils to recite two mantras which they should know by heart (See box) I ater, the master himself reads aloud a series of mantras from his exercise book There are supposed to be 64 kinds of doll play, to correspond with 64 kinds of torture

In Mangalgi there are at least two persons whom the sorcerers have victi mised Pitam Rao and Patel And both confirm they have felt the effects Pitam Rao was tortured because of his enmity to Malappa One day, he was seen standing still under the agsi, the village's main gate, in a strange post ure his head inclined to a siude, one leg folded, in the manner of a stork He would stand funs often for hours at a stretch, and he did not speak, eat or drink all this while he would leave the spot for some time, to return later Patel is blind in one eye-Malappa confesses they have done witchcraft

against that eye

Mr B A Coutinho, the young SDM of Sedam has a grudging admiration for the sorcerers' skills. He said, "In fact I had planned a magic show There is a man in Sedam who had promised to show his skills in private He is alread of publicity, you see " Mr Coutinho thinks bhanamati can be less than gruesome too "These men will throw lemons on the ground and ask you to pick them up When you try to, they vanish,' he said. Mr. Mohammad Ahmed special tehsildar, Chincholi, believes the sorcerers have enormous and strange powers "A sorcerer can make a man stand on a leaf, in mid air " Mr Ahmed went on to relate how even government officials wanted to be transferred away from the area because they feared bhanamati on their wives, children and themselves

Couldn't your illness be due to other reasons? Why must it be bhanamati?" was a question we asked over and again But all the victims were confident that it was magic which had hit them, not normal human illness. Pitam Rao, one of the victims, added: "Alright, if clothes catch fire it can be understood But when marks appear on our arms and legs, why cannot doctors cure them?"

Many victims have tried out alomany victims have tried out agreeth to doctors, without much success. The more popular "doctor" is the hakim People also seek out "good" sorcerers who, by the strength of their "beneficial" manifes or prayers can counter attack "the "eyil", who can drive the eyil spirits away from the bodies of the victims, incredibly, sus-

Magic mantras



Mantra book seized in Pastapura lving at the Raikal police station

N 10 March the SP, Gulbarga visited Pastapura, the village of sorcarers and searched the house of Pakruddin, one of the men allegedly behind the mischief. Among other things, he found some exercise books with written mantres One of the exercise books contained the following mantra written in Urdu: Huri narayan narada band, is vikas band. Jaiga mayee hari narayan Gall aur gaon Ghumke ayoonga Aiwangi graman Spont mame guru Masentigey Hari narayan narad band Narayan, narayan

Masentigey is the term for the person who reads prayers and has the powers, through the medium of

powers, through the medium of prayers, of turning a man into dissing of the course of the ritual pressing of the doll with oilseeds and needles. The changeast master's pupils regime two mantress which translates mean: "We will do it to the vector, manages mean: "We will do it to the vector, standard man "The first mentre, as elamony marshare Pitam Reck to him. Lemant Katti, it means a media could remain Reck."

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williage, country and the world the particle of, cut him to be media, make a gent war thouse a fall kinds, let put the particle of the particl a mantra, C



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picious villagers begin to attribute even normal illness to the "evil" sorcerers. There is the example of Ningappa (24) of Pastapura Early in the morning of 11 July the young man was in the fields, cutting fodder for his cows. Suddenly feeling the urge to urinate, he went to a corner of the field and relieved himself. And found he was passing blood. Blood! The news spread, the villagers panicked.

Only the previous day, on 10 July, the SP and DSP, Gulbarga had come to the village to investigate bhanamati Six suspects—Fakruddin, Bhimanna, Nyamasab, Amrut Rao, Nagappa, Sidappa—were questioned Of these six, the first three were said to actually practise bhanamati and the others to abet them The villagers were only too sure, evil, they feared, had struck

back in vengeance

The young man's father, Gundappa, did not cower The sorcerers would be fought He trekked the ten kilometres to the Ratkal police station and filed his bitter complaint, part of which read "My son's health, I am sure, is perfect It is only because of bhanamati that he is suffering" Ningappa's bloodstained clothes were produced at the police station and later taken away by the circle police inspector, Chincholi, Mr V J Kulkarni, for an investigation whose results are to be submitted to the Karnataka State Assembly The

six suspects were, incidentally, arrested and later-released, because no clause in the Criminal Procedure Code or Indian Penal Code makes the practice of witchcraft punishable in any manner

Meanwhile, Ningappa was examined by Dr MS Honnaddi of the government general hospital, Chincholi. The young man was found to have a history of bleeding from the urethra An examination showed that a clot had formed around the penis Blood pressure was recorded at 120/80, and the doctor presented a dose of procanin pennicyline injections, sulpha diosene tablets and a bottle of oricitor. In the event ng the doctor visited the ward and found that blood pressure had been maintained. The patient was later told to collect his urine sample "I wanted to see if the bleeding was really from the urethra or external,' said Dr Honnaddi The next morning the doctor's suspicions were confirmed The urine sample was found clear. A gloser examination of the penis showed that a circular ulcer had formed over the prepuse Blood pressure, recorded again, was found normal.

But Ningappa, as if in a swoon, did behave curiously "He was making irregular movements He fainted in the hospital verandah but later became alright." Dr Honnadi said Ning appa was discharged after two days in hospital and asked to visit the OPD daily But he did not return home Ningappa and his family have since moved to the safer surroundings of a village called Polakpalli, away from the territory of sorcerers

The practice of witchcraft is common in the areas around the erstwhile princely state of Hyderabad (of which both Gulbarga and Bidar were a part). From time immemorial Sorcery has been practised, effectively

Discussing the problem, the DC, Gulbarga, Mr M I. Chander Kirti, said "These things have been going on since the time of the Ramayana and Mahabhaiata. Dr Narasimhaiah, former Vice Chancellor of Bangalore University, is trying to fight it But supersition is such a thing that it cannot be eradicated Even among urban people there are beliefs," he said

Shernappa, a young man of Pastapura, has worked for two years in as famous a scientific institution as the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research Why does he still have no faith in science and reason? Doctors and scientists have not impressed him, and working with them has made no difference. For him, the science people talk about in towns and cities is the science of the rich, for the poor, there are rituals and mantias.

The dance of death

SWARUP JENA reports on a bloody orgy among the Kondh tribals

ERANDIMALA in Orissa, is an area well known for its primitiveness It was from here that the last l "meria", a form of human sacrifice, was reported. The ritual was being observed to propitiate the gods for a good turmeric crop-their only cash crop Murder is hardly news here. It is part of the life of the Kondhs, a well known tribal sect of the area They are hundreds of years behind, and miles away, from what we call civilisation Along the Eastern Ghats, among the unfriendly mountains, wild animals and thick forests, the Kondhs live in small hamlets Occasionally Kondh leaders meet to sort out disputes, and they are the law.

Moving out from the tehsil town of Chikiti, one comes to a dead end at the foothills of the mountains. So inaccessible is the area that the news of the recent massacre of four persons reached the police only three days after it had taken place. It was a Sunday. The hamlet of Baradangara was humming with activity as the Kondh mukhivas were meeting to settle an old dispute between the Kondhs of Sarakota and Putusulia villages. The dispute was over allegations by the people of Sarakota that the Putu-

sulia villagers were practising soicery, causing a series of strange deaths. The villagers of Putusulia, a small hamlet of four to five houses, some distance away from Sarakota, denied this. But many people had died suddenly in Sarakota. The stages were, first very high temperature, giddiness, then sudden death. The tradition of sorcery is very strong among the Kondhs. They believe that sorcerers, by sprinkling turmeric water, can convert a man into a tiger and a tiger into a man.

When the mukhiyas met during the day the people of the two warring villages started quarrelling in front of them. Mahuli, a local brew, was being drunk as is the practice during the conclave of mukhiyas, and it did nothing to cool tempers The villagers of Sarakota suddenly attacked four people from Putusulia whom they suspected of sorcery, tied them to four trees, started throwing huge stones at them and beat them with lathis One of the four was a pregnant woman After the beating, the attackers heaped them together, gathered logs of wood and some dry leaves that were lying around, built a pyre and put all the four bodies in it. The moment the pyre was lie, the men started a wild dance

around it, chanting loud cries And while the men danced they cut pieces of flesh out of the burning bodies. It is the belief among the Kondhs that if the sorcerers die a normal death, their evil influence does not end; but if they are burnt, their evil dies with them.

The massacre over, the men had a sumptuous feast at night. They neither showed remorse, nor made any attempt to hide the facts. After all, a number of people suspected to be sorcerers, had been killed in the past.

Some of the survivors from Putusuha trekked all the way to the Nuagaon camp police station, which had been set up as an anti-Naxalite measure, and informed the police about the killings The DSP, B N Nayak, circle inspector, S B Misra, and sub inspector, R. N. Seth accompanied by a posse of policemen reached Sarakota village and arrested 26 persons, including some mukhiyas who were present at the conclave According to one version, the conclave of mukhiyas had decided that the strange deaths in Sarakota were due to sorcery and ordered the accused to be stoned to death, and later burnt It is also alleged that some of the mukhiyas themselves participated in the pagan rituals

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ABHI





CHHORH

30,000 songs.And Mohammed Rafi's fans will never forget them.
ANIL GROVER remembers a phenomenon

Abhi na jao chhorh kar, Ke dil abhi bhara nahin. HUM DONO ,Jaidev ,Sahir Ludhianvi

INCE 1966, the world of Indian film music has been losing its stalwarts one by one though music has its own way of evading the sound of silence With the death of the Gentleman Giant, Mohammed Rafi (55), the field of playback singing has lost another voice A series of shock deaths have dominated in 1980 and Rafi's departure comes close on the heels of Uttam Kumar's

This was the second time that Rafi was visited by a heart attack and he succumbed at the Bombay Hospital at 10.25 pm on 31 July 1980, after having been admitted there just three hours earlier. (He had previously been admitted to National Hospital at 4 pm.) The characteristic smile on the beaming face of the short-statured (only physically) ex-barber, finally froze, even while the strains of the Hum Dono number, Abhi na jao chhod kar, Ke dil abhi bhara nahin, came to memory. A "total heart block" knows no music Three heart attacks followed and 24 hours later, Mohammed Rafi lay buried in the Juhu Kabristan A temporary sound of silence again And the mourners included the Sheriff of Bombay, Dilip Kumar, Manoj Kumar, Amitabh Bachchan, Sulakshana Pandit, Dharmendra and others, apart from early visitors like Lata Mangeshkar, Asha Bhonsle, Usha Mangeshkar, Raakhee and Saira Banu All activities in the Bombay film industry remained suspended as a mark of respect.

It was in 1966 that the great lyricists, Raja Mehdi Alı Khan and Shailendra, passed away Then, we lost the genius among composers, Roshan, the following year and music director Ghulam Mohammad in 1968, when he had just stormed back into the limelight with the songs of Pakeezah In 1970, Shakeel Badayuni, one of our



finest lyricists, was gone And composer Jaikishan (of the Shankar Jaikishan duo) followed in 1971 Next year, it was playback singer, Geeta Dutt And then, by far the worst year, musically speaking, 1976, saw as many as five deaths, all major, and three of them being of music directors (Vasant Desai, Sachin Dev Burman and Madan Mohan) The other two were singer Mukesh and lyricist Jan Nisar Akhtar In 1979, we lost singers C H Atma and singer-actor Shyam And now, Rafi

Undoubtedly the most versatile male voice in Hindi film music, Rafi was first heard behind the screen in 1941 when he was hardly 15, in the Punjabi film Gul Buloch, and in the same year he sang for his first Hindi film Gaon Ki Gori in Bombay His first break had been given by the late Shyam Sunder, but the song that made him famous was the Jugnu duet (1947), Yahan badla wafa ka, which he sang with Noorjehan Soon, he drew notice to himself with Ek dil ke tukde hazaar hue (Pyar Ki Jeet) and Main zindagi mein hardum rota hi raha hoon (Barsaat).

Born on 24 December 1924 at Sultan Singh, a small town in Lahore district (now in Pakistan), Rafi had his training in classical music under Ustad Abdul Wahid Khan of the 'Kirana' gharaana, Ustad Chotte Ghulam Ali Khan and Pandit Jiwanlal Mattoo Later, the legendary Kundan Lal Saigal gave him an opportunity to sing for the Lahore radio station.

Rafi took the music world by storm for the first time with Naushad's musical, Baiju Bawra (1953), whose songs were picturised on the then favourite gayak-kavi-kalakaar (the actor who played a singer-poet most

convincingly and the maximum number of times), Bharat Bhooshan. Naushad showed great confidence indeed in Rafi to risk him for a classicalbased big budget musical although he was still cutting his musical teeth and Talat Mehmood was reigning supreme at that time But it was this same confidence with which Naushad gave Mahendra Kapoor his maiden song and shot him to prominence in Sohni Mahiwal (Chand chhupa aur taare doobe) in 1958 This was also the year which saw the advent of the presti gious Filmfare Awards and Binaca Geet Mala, both being the most repre sentative studies of trends (the latter in music only) Naushad bagged the very first award of Filmfare for Best Music (Baiju Bawra) and Rafi was firmly established as No 1 with his unforgettable Hari Om, Tu ganga ki mauj and O duniva ke rakhwale, and the film headed the first Binaca Geet Mala too

Since then Rafi has sung for nearly 30 years, only once, for a brief period after 1969 (Aradhana, Rajesh Khanna, Kishere Kumar) being overshadowed by any other male singer though there were stiff competitors throughout. He is believed to have recorded a little less than 30,000 songs, his repertoire covering almost every musical range, every Indian language, and every film actor's lips He won six Filmfare Awards, four of them being when there was no separate award for male and female playback singers (which separation started from 1967) They were Chaudhvin ka chand ho (Title song 1960) Teri pvari pyari sooiat ko (Sasural 1961) Chaahunga main tujhe (Dosti 1964), Baharon phool barsao (Sura) 1966) Main gaaoon tum so jao (Brahmacharr 1968) — and the last, after he staged a strong comeback, Kya hua tera wada (Hum Kissi Se Kum Nahin 1977) He was awarded the Padmashri in 1967 and has been abroad for singing tours more than.25 times. He also had the singular honour of singing - and how! - what is unanimously considered the finest lyric ever written in Hindi films, Neeray's Caravaan guzar gaya, gubaar dekhte rahe (Nar Umar Kr Nar Fasal, Roshan, 1964)

If Rafi believed that Insaaf ka man dii hai yeh Bhagwan ka ghar hai (Amar 1954) he still had to be a mite rareful as he warned Ar dil, har mush kil jeena yahan, zara hat ke, zara bach ke, Yeh hai Bambai meri jaan (CID, 1956) But his Laal laal gaal (Mr X, 1957) and his Champi, tel maalish (Pvasa 1957) made the growing legion of his fans tell him, Yun to lakh haseen dekhe hain, Tumsa nahin dekha (Tum Sa Nahin Dekha, 1958) and there was no possibility of this songbird fearing, Chal ud ja re panchhi, Ab yeh desh hua begaana (Bhabhi, 1958) In fact, by now, his fans began muttering, Hum bekhudi mein tum ko pukare chale gave (Kala Pani, 1959), and Rafi entered the 60's yelling, Zindabad, zinda: bad, Ar mohabbat zindabad (Mughal-1 Azam, 1960) The Khoya khoya chand (Kala Bazar, 1960) was over-



The funeral procession passes through Bandra, Bombay

whelmed by the Chaudhvin ka chand

(Title song, 1960)
Till 1969, it was Rafi all the way in that decade, and in particular, 1962 saw the complete reign of Rafi and/or I at a in the Binaca Geet Mala, except for a couple of songs by the perennial No 2, Mukesh Sav saal pahele, Mujhe tum se pyar tha, Aaj bhi hai, Aur kal bhi rahega (Jab Pyai Kisi Se Hota Hai) said his avid listeners, and even his critics were swept off their feet by the typhoon of Yahoo! (Junglee) and they reluctantly admitted, Ahsaan tera hoga mujh par (Junglee) for they, too could now see that Ab kva misaal doon (Aarti)

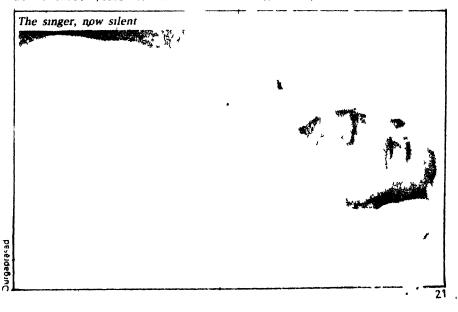
1963 saw a feud between Liti Man geshkar and Mohammed Rafi - but this was one time that Lat i could not obliterate a person once she boycotted him Dil todnewale, Tujhe dil dhoondh raha hai (Son of India, 1963) said Rafi and although they both said Awaaz de ke, Humme tum pukaro (Professor, 1963), they stopped singing duets for about three years. It was Suman Kalyanpur who then rose to the top with Bati's Dul ek mandir has (Title song, 1963) despite the promise be tween the two, Lata and Rafi To wada kiya woh. Nibbaana padega (Taj Mah al 1963)

Maybe Raft felt inwardly depress **ed, Kabhi na khabhi, K**ahin na kahiii, Koi na koi to ayega (Sharabi, 1964) and might have secretly courted Lata with Tere huse ki kya taarif karoon (Leader, 1964) and Phir wohi dil laya hoan (Title song, 1964) He even re vealed, Yeh mera prem patra padh kar, Ke tum naraaz na hona (Sangam, 1964), but the two hit songs of that year remained separate solos by the two Mere mehboob tujhe, Meri mohabbat ki qasam (Title song) and Tum kamsın ho (Ayee Mılan Kı Bela) Nevertheless, Rafi did not lose any hold on the mike and listeners con tinued telling him, Taarif karoon kva uski, Jis ne tumhe banaya (Kashmir Ki Kalı)

But soon the patchup came If Rafi had lamented, Chaahun tujhe main saanjh savere (Dosti, 1965) it was now time to open up Dil jo na keh saka, Wohi raaze e dil, Kehne ki raat aayi (Bheegi Raat, 1966) and Rafi did a Mukesh Aap ke pahloo mein aa kar ro diye (Mera Saava, 1966) Rafi ha'd had enough, Kya se kya ho gaya, Be wafa tere pyai mein (Guide, 1966) And finally Lata Mangeshkar did return to him for those dulcet duets once again and Rafi said Baharon phool barsao, Mera mehboob aaya hai (Suraj, 1966)

Meri aawaaz suno, Pyar ka raaz suno (Naunihal, 1967) said Rafi to his fans as if he was an Aasmaan se aaya farishta (An Frening in Paris, 1968) and though he told them in return, Tum bin jaaoon kahan (Pvai Ka Mausam, 1969) little did he realise that for the first time he would lose ground to that very singer who sang that very number in a separate solo Kishore Kumar But then Jab dil se dil takarata har Mat poochhiye kya ho jata hai (Sunghursh 1969)

With the release of Aradhana (1969) the complexion of Hindi films changed Rajesh Khanna burst into



the film world as the new "Superstat", and with him, the ringing tones of Kishore Kumar's all-pervasive voice. Though S D Burman amply made up for this in 1970 with Ishq Par Zor Nahin, Rafi bitterly said, Khilona jaankar tum mera dil. Tod jaate ho (Khilona, 1970). In 1971, the younger Burman, RD, sought to make up for his father's "sins" — and out came Rafi's Caravan, but Rafi had touched an all-time low in the Binaca Geet Mala, with just one of his songs making it in the year's finals of the best 16: Hai na bolo bolo (Andaz) — and that too, a number, which had just a couple of his lines towards the end.

Rafi desperately tried to convince people, Main ek raja hoon (Uphaar, 1972) but except for a Teri bindiya re (Abhimaan, 1973) here and a Woh kya hai (Anuraag 1973) there, Rafi was forced into the background. Even his return with Yaadon Ki Baraat (1974) was in the company of his self-avowed fan, Kishore — Yaadon ki baraat nikli has aai. Dil ke dwaaare - the other being with Asha Bhonsle, Chura liya hai rumne jo dil ko. Yet, Bairaag (1974) reminded people that Rafi was alive and with a lot of fight still left in him After all, Peetey peetey kabhi kabhi yoon jaam badal jaate hain! And with Lata again, Rafi made sure there would be no close encounters of the 1963-kınd: Wada kar le saaina, Tere bina main na rahoon, Mera bina tu na rahe, Ho ke juda (Haath Ki Safai, 1975) And finally, in 1977, Rafi

proved once again that Hum Kissi Se

Kum Nahin In the film, all four songs

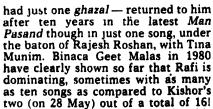
sung by Rafi became super hits the

title-qawali, Kya hua tera wada (which

fetched him the Filmfare Award after a break of nine long years), Chand, mera dil and Yeh ladka haye Allah, The year also saw the rage of Laila Majnu (in which he sang all the songs of rising star, Rishi Kapoor, too) under the baton of Madan Mohan and Jaidev; and the third and second rankings in Binaca's finals that year were: O meri mehhooba (Dharmveer, Laxmikant-Pyarelal) and Pardah hai pardah (Amar Akbar Anthony, Laxmikant-Pyarelal.) Another juke-box favourite of AAA was Taiyeb Alı pyar ka dushmun, have have. It seemed that gawalis and Laxmikant-Pyarelal were working wonders for Rafi and the first is evident even from the complete failure of the music of the much-touted The Burning Train (1980) with the sole exception of the Rafi-Asha qawali. In 1978, LP's Apnapan got Rafi a Filmfare nomination though eventually, the song landed up with a lyric award (Anand Bakshi) instead — Aadmi musafır hai

And now look at 1979-80; just when Rafi had made a complete comeback, he's gone! Laxmikant-Pyarelal gave him all seven songs in Sargam (4 solos, 3 duets with Lata) and walked away with the music award, all seven being top of the pops. They gave him four out of six in Suhaag (the other two being Asha's), and rhey have been raging through the Binaca Geet Mala. They gave him five out of six (the other being Lata) in Aasha, and did well enough. Another indication of his sure return is the fact that Dev Anand who did not go in for Rafi ever since Gambler (1969) — in which, too, he





As Lata Mangeshkar said after his death. "The void that was created by Saigal's death had been filled by Rafi Saab. He sang with me for 33 years. He was an exceptional singer."

Kar chale hum fida, jaan-o-tan, saathiyon, Ab tumhare hawaale watan saathiyon...

HAQEEQAT; Madan Mohan; Kaifi Azmi.



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The bitter sugar policy

HEN Mrs Gandhi assumed office in mid January, many people, particularly in the financial world, heaved a sigh of relief From July 1979 to her becoming Prime Minis ter, there had been a caretaker government Never in the history of India had a caretaker government existed for so long Worse, the six months preceding had seen a Fi nance Minister who could not dis tinguish between macro economics and micro economics Micro economics deals with simple bila teral relations between prices and output Macro economics deals with complex multilateral relations between input and output, between prices and wages, between agricul ture and industry, and all the interdependencies A dukandai (shop keeper) is concerned with the for mer and the economic planner with the latter

Therefore, whatever the political shade of opinion, that a single Party had achieved a popular man date and that an elected Parlia ment had come into being, was taken to mean that decisions on the economic plane would be forthcoming Besides, Mrs Gandhi had promised a "government that works"

But so much for the Galbiaithian conventional wisdom. During the last six months, we have had, practically another "caretaker" government in action. No decisions on basic economic direction. Plenty of ad hoc pontification and some Madison Avenue cosmetics such as the Union Budget (1980-81). In the Budget was the largest ever tax mobilisation (around Rs 3,000 ctores) and the biggest ever planned deficit (Rs 1447 croies) and yet it was sold to the general public as a document of relief to the consumer

People in India are however, becoming increasingly result oriented They have voted to Parlia ment and Assembly persons with proven criminal records, such as for passport racketeering, plane hi jacking and plain arson on the plea

The price rise in sugar has been 110 per cent since January 1980, and about 300 per cent since the previous year



By SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY

that at least these honourable gen tlemen (a title ear ed by virtue of elective office) were "doing some thing" and not only making speeches A commendable trend of thought, with loaded dynamite, of course

But results have not been forth coming. Prices of essential commodities have risen and risen sharply for the coming festival season, the price of sugar is the most symbolic representative of the developing inflation. For the most part of the Janata rule price of sugar in the open market was Rs 2.10 per kg. In March 1977, it had been Rs 6.00 per kg. When caretaker Charan Singh handed over the keys to Madam (*, the price of sugar was Rs 4.00 per kg. Today it is Rs 8.40 per kg. Probably by Diwali it will touch Rs 12.00 per kg. Why?

The policy followed by the new government is centrally responsible for the unprecedented price rise in sugar, just as the Janata policy was responsible for its de cline This is not mere propaganda The Congress (I) says that the price of sugar went so low during Janata rule that farmers stopped growing sugar cane. This is false on two grounds. First, although some far mers and sugar mill owners were unhappy that the whopping wind fall profits of 1975 77 could no more be earned during the Janata rule the sugar cane production declined only during 1979 80-and largely due to drought Second the decline in production was only 22 per cent while the price rise has been 110 per cent since January 1980 and about 300 per cent since the previous year. In technical economics this means that the price 'clastic ity" of sugar is about minus 15, which is fantastic. A drop in production of 22 per cent can at most imply an annual price rise of 40 per cent under current economic conditions of the country What has con verted an estimable 40 per cent into a recorded 300 per cent rise is the new government's policy to scrap the Janata policy of sugar decontrol

Under the Janata policy, all the sugar had to come to the market and there the prices were determined on an equalisation of effec tive demand and supply. Under the new government's policy, the mills are to divide their sugar output into two parts two thirds (called levy) of the sugar is to be handed over to the government and sold to ration shops at Rs 2 90 per kg, and the rest one third disposed of as the mills please (in the so called free market) But who is to ensure that the mills actually deliver two thirds and keep one third? The govern ment inspectors, of course When the Janata Party came to power in 1977 it found most of the mill accounts faked with active collusion of the government. That is why they scrapped the control policy on sugar and with it the levy and non-levy business. The mills, the inspectors and sugar daddies in political Parties (including Janata) screamed Not fair" they said But the common man loved it all, and still remembers it. But the old policy of control is back with a vengeance. So are the gleeful in spectors, the political power purveyors and the understanding mill owners back in business

In my view, sugar can sell in abundance in India even now at Rs 240 per kg. In the long run this equilibrium price can be lowered to Rs 1 50 per kg. For this three things are necessary sugar decontrol, massive government grants (Rs 800 crores over five years) to update sugar technology especially effi-cient crushers, and a farmers cooperative with crop insurance facilities to market the sugar cane With inefficient outdated crushing technology, mills are currently producing sugar at Rs 195 per kg (mill owners may hit the roof when they read this, but I trust economet rics more than their "accounting tricks') Thus with modern technol ogy they can produce sugar at Rs 1 40 per kg - a challenge to Yojana Bhavan But they cannot meet the challenge because all economics have to have political undercur rents. What is one government's meat is another's poison.

Sugar can sell in abundance now at Rs 2.40 per kg

COMICS

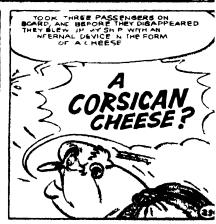


MOTOR SICA

by GOSCINNY and UDERZO



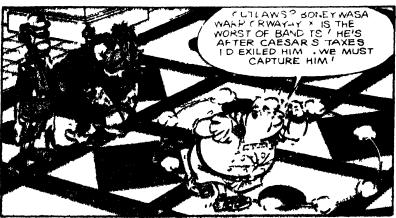






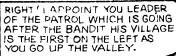








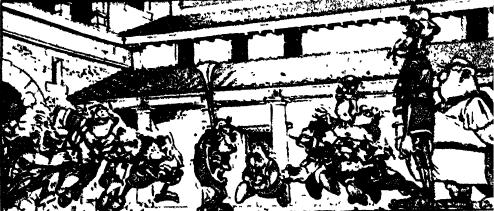










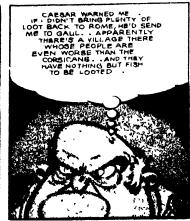


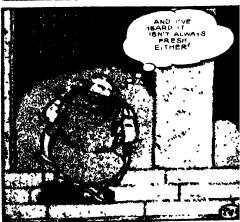












Goals again, and the gold again

Ex-Olympic hockey captain GURBUX SINGH analyses our performance in Moscow



Indian hockey players celebrate

ndia is once again the Olympic hockey cham pion after a lapse of 16 long years. The boycott of the Moscow Olympics by most of the top hockey plaving coun tries like World Cup holders, Pakistan, Olympic champions. New Zealand Au stralia. Holland and West Germany, left the tournament with only four teams of reckoning. USSR, Spain Poland and India. While congratulating the Indian team captain and coach from the core of my heart. I feel we unnecessarily made heavy weather of the tournament.

As it has happened so often in the last decade or so we began with a controversy concerning Surject who was thrown out of the Bangalore camp for disciplinary reasons. But, once in Moscow, we began our campaign on a promising note by defeating novice Tanzania 18 mil. This was an important match because in the first four minutes we had lost Charanjeet. His nose injury deprived us of an acc right winger though Kaushik who replaced him for the subsequent matches came off quite well. Against Spain we were in for a shock, the match ended in a 2.2 stalemate the equaliser for India coming in the list few seconds

This was a match which we should have won casily but our right flank hardly functioned. Same was the case in our next pool match against Spain Here also we had most of the attacks through our left flank. Shahid and Zafar Iqbal In the first half the right wing pair comprised M I ernandez and Kaushik, neither got any balls nor were they ted by the right half Som waya Strangely the Indian defenders particularly the fullbacks were hitting free rather aimlessly through the gaps instead of passing to our own forwards Since the Indians are better ball play ers they should not let the opportunity slip by hitting the ball wildly. In fact the Spanish defenders, Amat and his colleagues, taught us a few lessons They never wasted time to pass the ball to their own players and they always tried to keep the ball in their possession

Another highlight of the match was the left flicks tried by Zafar Iqbal Zafar who is a fine player can hit the ball well and hard. But he tries his reverse hits more than necessary and loses the surprise value it has. In the meantime, we took the measure of Cuba and the Russians though beaten by 4.2 were no easy team for us to tackle. In the finals the right wingers I ernandez and Kaushik came in to full play and helped Shahid and Zafai Iqbal for the best forward line display. After a long long time the Indians could exhibit such a performance

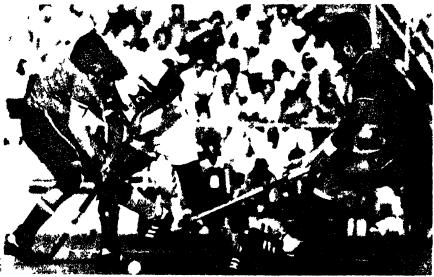
During the first halt of the finals, only India was in the picture, taking a comfortable lead of 20 Shortly after

the interval when the result was 30 we could almost visualise the victory and of course the gold medal after a lapse of 16 years. But Spain had some other idea in mind. Juan Amat who won the Olympic for four times soon made it 32 in two minutes and we were struggling hard to maintain our lead. Shahid made it 42 again Amat scored to make it 43. We thought that the 1973 world cup finals at Amster dam might be repeated where we had quandered a lead of 20 and missed penalty strokes in the tie breaker, ultimately losing the game.

But captain Bhaskaran saved from the goal lines and thus we regained the Olympic title for the eighth time. I am sure many an Indian missed a heart beat when Amat took the last two penalty corners and corners. This is the time for us to assess our assets and drawbacks Although we have once again emerged as the hockey champion yet we cannot consider ourselves the best hockey playing na tion of the world till we meet Pakistan, West Germany, Australia and Holland I am sure we have the capacity and talent to beat them all. We would be meeting the Pakistanis at Karachi on astroturi in January, 1981 and partici pate in the world cup on natural grass in Bombay in January 1982 Finally we have the Asian games in Delhi where we would be playing on synthetic surface

I also hope that in Delhi we lay an astroturf instead of Poligrass Though Poligrass is faster than the astroturf it is astroturf which is more tough and

Mervyn Fernandes (in white) in action through the Spanish defence



SHAHID MÖHAMMAD



SHAHIDI MOHAMMAD of Uttar Pradesh was the cynosure of all eyes at Moscow. He did extremely well with his fine stickwork. He is yet to rise to the level of the former India skipper Ashok Kumar in the inside-left position, though he has the same tendency of holding on to the ball too long. But he has the potential to make the right openings. He has to distribute the ball more often but this he should overcome by playing in more inter-

national competitions.

The UP undergraduate youngster came into the scene only last year when he donned Indian colours at the Versailles Junior World Cup where he performed creditably. He also played a couple of matches for the Nations Cup in Karachi. And during the Cuttack Nations, Shahid went one step further with his dexterous stickwork and fine passing with team-mate Syed Ali. Their performance troubled Indian Railways, the ultimate winners. His work made him an automatic choice for the Patiala camp in preparation for the Kuala Lumpur Quadrangular meet and later the Moscow Olympics. At Patiala the coach was astounded by Patials the coach was ascounded by Shahid's "entraordinary performance". He went to the Quadrangular meet and came back with the tag "Best player in the tournament". Had Sulchoir Singh Crewal not sustained the spinal lapiny during the Patiala cump probably Shahid would have had to wait for the break. Surjit Singh had this to say: "It looks so believely and encouraging to flid an Inflan player acclaimed at international special hope that in a couple of years Shahid will become one of the best players. "In Moscow he lived upto his reputation. But he is capable of further improvement and will serve the country for years to come. the country for years to come.

tring for players. At the same time it buts a lot of pressure on the latest the latest buts. puts a lot of pressure on calf and thigh muscles It is a well known fact that if a player can master his craft on the astroturf he can easily adapt himself on Poligrass rather than vice versa Most of the hockey playing nations have laid astroturfs and so we will have to play most of the tournaments on astroturf

Coming to the individual perform ance of the players, Shahid of UP was the one who stole the show This 19 year old player has really shaken the whole hockey playing world in just one year Last year in the Junior World Cup in Paris, I saw him as a left winger and then he excelled him self at the Four Nations tournament in Malaysia this year. In the forward line Mervyn I ernandes also acquitted him self in the last matches in Moscow Sodhi has proved to be more of a success as a centre torward than in his regular position as an inside left. He finished with a hundred per cent re cord in the penalty strokes. Right wing to my mind is still an open position as both Charanjit and Kaushik have to prove themselves Zafar Iqbal was good without being brilliant in any of the matches. He has a fine speed and is a good centre

This brings us to the half line and the deep defence. A lot of improve ment is needed in both these depart ments. Sommaya is young and should improve with experience Ravindra Pal at centre half is one of the most promising youngsters in the Indian team at the moment. He has all the basic ingredients to become a first class centre half and walk into the shoes of the famous Aut Pal. At left half Bhaskaran has experience and he has served the country well

Coming to penalty corners, I think we are still incapable of converting them into goals as well as defending them It will make a lot of difference once we have astroturf I must admit that we in India do not practise enough to defend a penalty corner Our running is too slow and our play ers are too scared to reach the top of the circle Our goalkeepers do not have sufficient match practice on arti ticial sufaces. In fact, I think, it is not necessary for a goalkeeper to rush out since by that time a hit takes place and the goalkeeper is caught on the wrong foot

Summing up, I have been asked by innumerable people that if it comes to the crunch then what would India's standing be if we played against Pakis tan, West Germany, Holland and Au stralia I am certain that we will not win against all countries but we will certainly give them a good fight. We have good young players. We should be able to build good teams. It is high time we recalled Surject and probably Ashok Kumar, particularly Surject There is no doubt that he is the best defender we have today. I hope this Olympic victory is the beginning of a new golden era in Indian hockey which I sincerely hope will continue for quite some time

SURINDER SINGH SODHI



RIGINALLY a player in the inside left position, Surinder Singh Sodhi of Punjab rightly replaced S S Grewal, the livewire in the Indian attack who was 'rested' for a spinal injury, to earn the distinction of scoring the only hattrick in the Moscow Games This he did against debutants Tanzania and ended up as the top Indian scorer (15 goals) second only to Spain's Amat in the Olympic hockey tournament. This prolific scorer who is the most experienced player after skipper Bhaskaran has been acknowledged as the penalty-stroke expert. The Sikh's conversion of the strokes were perfect-probably a record in the Olympic annals. Surinder stormed into the national scene in 1975 when he toured Europe with the junior team. Then he assisted skipper Ajitpal Singh in the New Zealand tour and Lahore, went to Buenos Aires for the World Cup, the Asian Games, the Junior World Cup at Versailles, Nations Cup at Karachi, Esanda Cup at Perth and the Quadrangular meet at Kusia Lumpur prior to the Mos-cow Games. At Parth and Karachi he performed reasonably well. Though he sitd wall at Moscow he is yet to become a centre forward with high scoring ability, particu-larly connecting shots from the right and left.

He is found and is capable of doing better. He should concentrate more on the centre forward position than inside left. Says Gurubux Singh the ex-Olympian "At the moment it is difficult to comment whether his standard would come up to the level of Balbir Singh (captain, 1952 Olympics) or Harbinder (who played in 1964 and '68). How much potential he has will be known at least in the next World Cup."

Self. In the good old days one could always expect from her a nice cosy chat and a forthright interview. Now she puts on a different air and makes it obvious that she is not all that keen to open her mouth Probably she wants to see herself in a new, super star light. Something she has probably learnt from the great Amitabh? As they are doing so many films together, his influence might have un consciously rubbed off on her Wonder if she will bag

the role in Richard Attenbor ough s film on Mahatma Gan dhi She s in London for a

screen test

PANJI FV KUMAR has this SANJI PV NUMBER OF STREET OF STREET electrical stuffs like videos and cordless phones Recent ly when he returned from his first shooting trip to the USA, he brought the latest type of video unit and a kind of super cordless phone which no one around has seen before. Un fortunately for him the cus toms guy's were none too kind and promptly threatened to confiscate the multi-cassette video set Poor Sanji ev hasti ly despatched the thing back where it came from

717 H the film *Insaat k i* Taraazirone could see a dramatic transformation in Zeenat's performance. She was doing this film when she broke up with Sanjav Khan and she did all she could to hang on to sanity and normal cy by throwing herself pas sionately into the role. Not only has she improved her acting she has also had a big hand in polishing up the other scenes of the film by her suggestions and discus sions especially in the cli max scene Well thought out points which reveal her keen intelligence have done their share of improving on the film's original script. It the film hits, which I think it will then most of the credit will go to Zeenat

RECENSITY, Deven Virma pression (you know the kind which makes you wonder whether he is joking or se rious) walked up to his sweet wite and told her that now film actors would be allowed to have two wives! And Roopa like a model house wife has begun squirming in her pretty seat about that

 $\Lambda m e^{i g - i g}$ 3 little mischievous crack There is a joke which could well be played on Deven him self There are quite a few among the ill informed public who think that Deven's wife is the formerly overweight. responsibility for the younger do in the film But this is Priti Ganguly The ad in

which she features with him tor cough syrup is so popular and he has such a long suffering look about him in it that it is quite natural that they think Priti is his nagging Iun Iun like wife. In fact she is his wife's volinger sister!

What if he was made to take

sister also?

HEMA has invited a lot of haughts in her behaviour while shooting for Alibaba Aur Chealis Chor Everyone seems to be in favour of **Zeenat Hema has been grum** bling that she has nothing to

probably not true. She has the major dances, scenes and she plays Alıbaba's Marjina the female lead of the film But Zeenat has eclipsed her inspite of being at her own plumpest Even against that Hema looks heftier, older, raded and literally frumpy

Menaka

LEPA s mother can be Very sweet one moment and unpredictably rude the next Recently, a well known photographer approached her to take pictures of her daughter "Today she's shoot ing for Meendum Kokila and she isn wearing a sexy dress," she said But when the photographer found Deepa in a sexy Bharatanattvam dress (like the one Rekha wore in Do Anjane) he was surprised The next day in Deepa's house, the photographer allowed her to choose any dres. She said she'd pose in a mod outfit. But just as the photographer asked her to show a bit more of her legs, her mother barged in protest-ing loudly. "You're taking vulgar pictures you're taking pictures of the in-between of her thighs," thundered the formidable mother. "I'm not in the porno business," protested the photographer. "When I asked her to show

some more of her legs there were four people around, in cluding her brother Ask them if they found it vulgar " But the old lady wouldn't lis ten to them Exasperated, the photographer asked Deepa to demonst ate the pose she had just taken up for him When Deepa did so, the old lady flared up again "She must've shown you more," she in sisted And then she started firing the daughter as the shocked photographer walked out "I am not consei vative in my speech but when an elderly lady accuses me of taking pictures of her daugh ter's 'in-between,' I'm shocked," he said "And mind you, Deepa was wearing an old fashioned underwear and I didn't want to click it either ' TIVA JI CANESAN has made his friend, character actor "major" Sundarai ajan. a director. Sivaji himself will act in the film. This year has proved very lucky for the ma-

KHAAS BAAT

jor. The Telugu film Shankarabharanam distributed by the actor has proved to be a

whore in Arangetram, hor most successful film, seven years ago, Premila had not the slightest idea that she would be arrested for whoring in real life years later But it happened during mid-July Her house in a peaceful corner of Adyar was raided and despite her protests, she was taken to the police station Premila, who featured in half a dozen soft porno films, con tinues with her normal work at the studios, but the whis perings don't die down "No body discusses the matter with me, but they keep asking my parents and my relatives. And when they say I was 'framed' nobody wants

ter But after an excellent opening, the film has start limping, though it's doing good business in Kerala Guru, on the other hand, h brought success to all the people connected with it, i cially to Kamalahasan Th producer of Guru has sign three more films with Kan one of them is an action dr ma to be directed by Bharatu a ia

HOW come Premila's name isn't mentioned the publicity of Rakhta Pasam? Is it also true that role was butchered as the film progressed? Of cou**rs**i she wasn't the heroine, bu she was expecting a third ing following those of Srip riya and Jayachitra

PIOUSJI



Deeps and A. V. Remenan in Kadal Kadal Kadal

Natwarlal: A ner Go By PRITISH NANDY



I came to the conclusion many years ago that almost all crime is due to the repressed desire for aesthetic expression"

Vintage Evelyn Waugh, that Recog nisably so

For such sheer artistry few crimin als in this land of ours can match Natwarlal

Spurning all the gadgetry and emotional hardware of contemporary crime, its vulgar exhibitionism and crude violence, its predictable blood and gore nexus, Natwarlal remains as one of the few old world stylists in a rapidly changing scenarios a superb blend of Rattles and Houdini, the ultimate quick change artiste

No one knows his real name But that does not matter Catch any police man by his frayed collar and ask him who is the finest confidence trickster in the land, and you can bet your bottom khota sikka that he will name Natwarlal Natwarlal is no mindless monster, toting a gun or wielding a knife, or carving up nonagenarian Parsee couples in Bandra'on moonless nights. All he does is dupe the stupid and the vulnerable, and chase the odd buck that he has no right to in the first place But in an overtaxed, underpaid society like ours, where only the cor rupt and the lazy are rewarded, who can blame Natwarlal, who can cast the first stone?

Natwarlal has no background worth talking about Like almost all legen dary figures But I am sure, as his fame spreads, many stories of his brilliant childhood and loving parents will mushroom Right now, there is hardly any past you can track down And thank God for that! Only once, during some case or the other, he claimed some distant relationship with our first President, Dr Rajendra Prasad But, in all probability, the claim was false and Natwarlal and the President share only one thing in common-Bihar from where they both came

But Natwarlal left Bihar fairly ear ly And the Patna High School, where he studied till the ninth standard. An intelligent student, he simply refused

to concentrate on his books and after repeated complaints from the school authorities, his father finally lost his temper one day and gave him a merci less beating Natwarlal promptly dis appeared and surfaced in Calcutta a few days later, as Mithilesh Kumar Srivastava Many believe that this is his actual name but there is hardly any evidence to support this

In Calcutta, Natwarlal enrolled at the Calcutta University and managed to sustain himself in the city without any ostensible means of income At some stage, he managed to convince a businessman, Seth Keshav Ram, that he was a qualified private tutor and was hired to educate the bania's errant children He fell out with the seth after having touched him for a cool Rs 45 lakhs, and the trate banta sent some hired goons to retifive the money Natwarlal, scared, spun them a yarn about how the police were after him and promised to pay back the money within a few days. And as soon as the goons left, he went to the Burrabazar police station and lodged a complaint against the seth, alleging that the seth had threatened his life because he knew about all his clandes tine deals. He gave the cops the complete lowdown on the bania, with detailed information regarding all his blackmarket operations. When the seth and his goon squad arrived to catch Natwarlal a few days later, they found the cops waiting for them 😘 Under interiogation the goons broke down and confessed that the seth had hired them to rub out Natwarlal

The seth went to jail But he also managed to convince the police au thorities that Natwarlal had conned him a great deal of money And Nat warlal was arrested as well On 11 December 1937, the legend of Natwai lal was born. A legend that still survives, even though Natwarlal is now 40 years older, grey haired, pot-bellied, and his beat is no longer tired Calcut ta, where he spent his first sentence of six months breaking stones. Today, a dashing young Amitabh Bacchan plays Natwarlal on the silver screen, even though the real man is less than 5 feet ... tall and has multiple urethral stric



tures

A perfect gentleman, Natwarlal is known to have been a model prisoner during those brief occasions he enjoyed state hospitality. He does not smoke, drink or take even the odd gamble, except professionally. There have been no women in his life, except his wife, to whom he seems to be totally devoted And his children, it is said, swear by him. When he was recently undergoing treatment at the J.J hospital in Bombay for a kidney ailment certified by the prison doctor, they came all the way from distant Chapra to see him.

His academic credentials are questionable, though Natwarlal has often claimed to be a graduate. On rare occasions he has claimed more But of this I am sure, in any school for scoundrels, he would have earned a doctorate for far less There is a story about how he once borrowed a law book from a lawyer in Lucknow so as to be ableto defend his own case Predictably, the book was never returned to its rightful owner.

It was in Lucknow also that Natwarlal made one of his most spectacularand successful- getaways On 24 February, 1957 Right in front of all the staff of Lucknow jail, a couple of hours after the daily head count of all prisoners, he slipped out of his fetters and irons and peddled out on a simple bicycle, dressed as a police subinspector Not only did the massive gates creak open for him magically but the gate keepers saluted the errant prisoner, under the mistaken notion that he was one of their seniors And such is the predictable code of police conduct in our land that no one had the guts to even question his identity though quite a few of the gate staff later confessed, it seems, that they wondered where this new subinspector had come from Much too late it was discovered that Natwarlal had fled, in a daring display of incredible cheek He had once again taken the law for a ride. This time, on his bicycle.

Natwarlal, some say, learnt the art of forgery and cheating from his elder brother, Ganga Ram The two brothers took on one Kapoor as an accomplice and, together, they formed an able and supremely confident trio. Their countless victims remain to give evidence of some remarkable games of forgery, cheating, trickery and sheer one-upmanship, usually implemented with considerable tact and daring.

His first escapade was in Patna, when Natwarlal was being tried for quite a few cases of cheating and forgery. While coming back from court, Natwarlal requested the cops to allow him to see his ailing wife once. The police agreed after some persuasion, but they first thoroughly checked the room where she was waiting, to ensure that Natwarlal would have no means to escape. They were satisfied that the room had only one point of that the room had only one point of the policy allowed him in and mounted a vigil outside the main door. When the meeting between Natwarlal and his wife

took inordinately long, the police knocked on the door There was no reply When after an hour Natwarlal still refused to come out or answer, they finally broke down the door. The comman and his wife had disappeared Through a concealed skylight that no one knew existed Except, of course, Natwarlal

He was tracked down at Meerut again Rather soon By this time, almost three dozen cases had been lined up against him For cheating, forgery, fraud and petty con deals. From there, he was transferred to Lucknow jail Being an undertrial prisoner, without any past conviction to blemish his record, he claimed and is said to have obtained all the facilities he was entitled to Since it was never his style to beat up wardens or organise violent jailbreaks, like today's more volatile prisoners, nor did he ever attempt to risk his life and scale the dangerous prison walls, he used all his skills and all his charms to win friends and influence people. He must have mastered Dale Carnegie for he very soon won the confidence of his captors and many among the warders were eating out of his hands

Natwarlal now chose three particularly vulnerable warders from among

Natwarlai's friend, Garju Pande



those who were now his friends and started playing them with favours, smokes and small change. He initiated whispers about a magic sum of many lakhs waiting for him in Bombay and thus slowly but steadily built up this myth of his prosperity. The prison grapevine, always famed for its undependability, quickly passed the word around—that Natwarlal had a fortune stashed away somewhere, waiting for him to come out and claim it

His brother, Ganga Ram and his accomplices sold the same Scheherazade story around town They also worked on the warders from the outside and confirmed the stories about Natwarlal's stashed away fortune of many lakhs. Finally, one day, the vulnerable trio of warders was made an offer- one they could hardly refuse. Take 20,000 chips in cash, said Ganga Ram, and let Natwarlal off Once he gets to Bombay, he will pay you double the sum Since neither side was prepared to trust the other, or so it seemed from the way Natwarlal and Ganga Ram played their cards, it was decided that the wives of the warders would be brought into the deal. The modus operandi was simple They would be given the money in a trunk, which would be locked and shackled to the leg of a bed in a hotel room Once Natwarlal got away, they could open the trunk and hand over the money to their menfolk

The original date of escape was planned as 20th February 1957, almost a year after Natwarlal's arrival in Lucknow jail in the spring of 56 But Natwarlal shrewdly changed it to the 24th on the ground that the stars would be more propitious then But the actual reason was different. On the 24th, the police force would be deployed nationwide to ensure a peaceful general election A typical example of Natwarlal's foresight!

A police uniform was borrowed for Natwarlal And a bicycle was hired against the princely deposit of Rs 30 The jail blacksmith was urged to loosen his fetters, claiming that his limbs were badly bruised That was the entire investment in Natwarlal's getaway plan! Outside the jail, a little further down the road, Kapoor waited-in a car After Natwarlal simply peddled out of the jail gates, the cycle was quickly dumped into the car's boot and Natwarlal fled with his accomplices to Kanpur. But not before he had collected back the deposit of Rs 30 for the cycle, so meticulous was he about every single detail!

And when the abetting warders later opened the trunk in the hotel room, they found it stuffed with shredded newspapers and rubble Natwarlal had not just escaped—he had once again been at his favourite game, cheating This time the victims were his benefactors the same men who helped him get out of jail

But the escape was not that simple. The car met with an accident near Nawabgani Natwarlal, who was still in his sub inspector's uniform, coolly

33







NatwarlaPs brother's wife, mece and Dr S B Sahay, a relative

stopped a passing hearse and pointing to the nattily diessed Kapoor asked the driver to take the Deputy Sahib and him to Unnao. The rest of the gang climbed on as well. At Unnao they hired two tongas to take them to Kanpur, gambling on the chance that no one would expect a convict on the run to be ambling along in a tonga. It worked

Meanwhile, at Lucknow, all hell had broken loose in the jail. The authorities had tried to alert all police stations and block nearby exit points But by choosing the correct date, Nat warlal had pre empted them all There was no police officer available any where to even register the complaint, let alone take action on it. I veryone was busy with the elections in India's largest state. Natwarlal's timing had

It was only the next day, in the late

been pluperfect!

morning that the fail authorities were able to lodge a first information report with the police and by that time Natwarlal had made good his escape THIS escapade, details of many representation of the picked up from L. H. Naqvi's re-MIS escapade, details of which I cent report in The Hindustan Times, even though I had heard of it many times earlier in various versions from various people is truly symbolic of Natwarfil's style (ool, calculating, elegant, without the slightest touch of violence or vulgarity. His hands have never been tainted by blood, either by design or accident. And never has he used anything more than just his wits to dupe his victims. I very job has been planned with meticulous atten tion to detail, with loving care and admirable logical precision. Brute violence or mind blowing technological wizardry has never been his forte. His is the perfect example of the man who gets away with his brains. What he has been selling all along has been his intelligence, in the true tradition of all creative artistes. It is just that he happens to be selling his wits in a world that has, perhaps arbitrarily, chosen to draw a line between its different kinds of intellectuals. Lecine con a publisher (or my readers) with a bad book of poems-that is not a tangible convictable oftence But let Natwarlal con a fat pot bellied bania to part with a little bit of his usually ill gotten wealth- and he can be be-

hind bars for a long, long time Society has its own rule book. And who am I to complain?

Sir John Squite had a poem on this, a take off on Gray

Iull many a vice is born to blush unseen, Full many a crime the world does not discuss, Full many a pervert

lives to reach a green

Replete old age,

and so it was with us There is one story, again resear ched by Naqvi, about how Natwarlal and his friends checked in at a hotel in Allahabad under the names of advocate Laxmi Shankar and his clients The next day Natwarlal opened an account with the Allahabad Bank under his nom de plume, where he deposited Rs 1000 in cash and a de mand draft for Rs 20,000, naturally dud

Then they all went to a jewellery shop, one of the best known in town While they kept looking at all the baubles on display, they discussed in loud whispers "the car they were plan ning to buy "The jeweller, they knew, also had a car agency in town. To win the shop owner's confidence, they bought a watch and a ring from him for Rs 900- and gave him a cheque on the Allahabad Bank account they had opened the earlier day. To make even a greater impact, they told him to first cash the cheque—and then they would collect the ring and the watch. The next day they turned up to collect their purchase The impressed shop owner who had, in the mean while, cashed the cheque not only handed over the watch and the ring but even offered to take them to the car dealer personally

Natwarlal, at this stage, made it quite clear that he did not have the ready cash to buy the car but was waiting for his demand draft to be encashed. The bank confirmed this when the dealer back checked Nat warlal promised to come back for the car once the draft was cleared and he had the cash in his hand

Later the same evening, he re turned to the showroom with a child in his arms. His mother wants to take a ride in the car I am going to buy, he told the dealer conspiratorially, and

smiled The dealer, already much im pressed by the man, not just allowed him to borrow the car for a drive but also put some petrol in his tank! Natu rally, that was the last he saw of his car or his esteemed customer Natwarlal disappeared into thin air for several months

Such tales are legion and it would be aboutd to carry on Let me just end with an apocryphal story When Nat warlal was once sentenced to five years after a conviction in Lucknow, the judge asked him informally, "How do you do it?" Natwarlal promptly asked for a rupee to part with the knowledge The judge grudgingly parted with the note, which Natwarlal promptly pocketed and told his baf fled Honour 'This way, Sir'" Even his Honour was stuck for a reply, if onc. to believe this tale

Recently, Natwarlal escaped for the eighth time from police custody His reputation had preceded him and every conceivable precaution was taken, we are told I or by now, at the ripe age of 65, Natwarlal has over 200 cases pending against him in courts all over India So the Bombay police had been particularly careful since his arrest in early June Every precaution was taken in the Arthur Road jail in central Bombay, where he was lodged while undergoing trial and also at the J J Hospital, where he was under going medical treatment for a kidney ailment since the 14th of last month But what no one had accounted for was Natwarlal's amazing skills

On 28th June, Natwarlal convinced the constable guarding him that he be allowed to borrow some money from a friend of his staying at the Taj, Bom bay's hest known and possibly the country's finest five star hotel This money was meant to enable him to get better medical treatment The wellmeaning cop agreed And while he waited in the foyer, ogling at the beautiful women and the lush scenar-10, Natwarlal did his famous dis appearing act once again!

The simple minded cop has been suspended The man-hunt is on again The ticks have put on their deerstalkers and lit their pipes The fog is settling down on a tired city, as Nat warlal stalks the land again.

Lock away your wallets, my friends,

The last escape



The side entrance to the let

SOMI years ago when Natwarlal was sentenced to five years imprisonment in Lucknow the Judge who passed the sentence is said to have asked him 'How do you do it' Natwarlal then isked the Judge for a rupee Pocketing the rupee he told the baffled Judge. This is how I do it'

In Bombay on 28 June Natwar lal escaped for the eighth time strangely enough, through the mar ble portals of the Taj Mahal hotel, which has five entry exit points open throughout the day Natwarlal

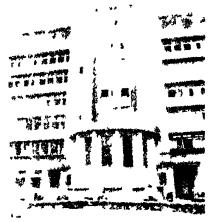
had been brought to Bombay from Indore on 14 May for a cheating case in which he was wanted. The case concerned 235 bags of Khand s uri sugar worth Rs 82 000. In 1977 he had come to know that several hu ideed bags of sugar were being booked for Bombay and sent his man to book tive bags for Bombay This was booked immediately after the 500 bags and it is reported in a section of the Press that with all the artistry at his command Natwarlal changed the five in his receipt to 500 and since it was the next serial number he had little difficulty in altering that also

Then according to the Bembis police one day in January 137 Laxmi Narayan Agarwal presented himself at Carnac Bunder railway godown in central Bombay He came to fetch the bags of Khand

forged documents)

godown in central Bombay He came to fetch the bags of Khand sari sugar loaded at Muzzafarinagar. He produced the railway receipts before the goods superintendent and took delivery of the bags worth Rs 82 000. A few days later when the real owner of the goods arrived he was surprised to find that some one had already collected the goods. Hell was let loose and the police filed a ase against Laxin Narayan under IPC Sections 420 (for cheating) and 471 (producing

On 14 May this year Nitwarlal was presented under the name Shyam Sunder Raghunandan to the Court and was brought back to Arthur Road Jail in a van with several other prisoners. He was diessed in kurta and dhoti. No one knew he was Natwarlal, the super



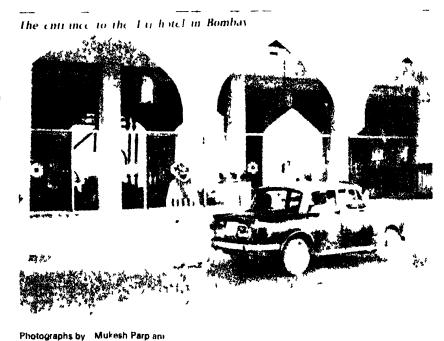
I I Hospital Bombay

cheat who is said to have about 200 cases pending against him in various courts throughout the country in fact when he went through the miniature door of the Arthur Road Jail, the jailer is said to have remarked, Have we not met be fore? Natwarlal replied Nothing of that sort su

On 12 June Natwarlal com plained of pain and was sent for a kidney examination to the J J Hospital On 28 June he managed to persuade his police escort to let him go to the Taj Mahal hotel so that he could get some money from a friend for better treatment. They went to the Tay He made the police wait at the reception downstairs while he went up to see the alleged friend That was the last the police man saw of him. The policeman has since been suspended and there is a dragnet spread out for Natwarlal It is hardly likely they will find him As a consolation they are looking for his wife and three children who used to come and see him at the J J Hospital every day

The grey haired, slightly paun chy super cheat is probably already in another city busy excelling in his art. Because, the last time in 1977, even while the police were looking for him after discovering the sugar fraud, he was occupied in selling the sugar at 25 paix less than the market price. A journalist friend who had interviewed him in Lucknow says that Natwillal is a master of disguise. I cut off my moustache and grow it again as I like, Natwarlal had said to him. It is like Ghai Ka Kheti (one's own field).

OLGA TELLIS, Bombay



LIVING

Immortal ploy



Haryana Chief Minister Bha ian I al has made promises on behalf of the Janata Party now he is making them in scores on behalf of the Congress (I) So Rizk Ram a veteran Congress (I) MLA took him to task recently on the Assembly floor Addressing the Speaker Ram said "Sir Speaker if he (Bhajan Lal) and his colleagues are not barred from making further promises it may be that we will have to make this ministry amai (immortal) to get all the promises fulfilled" Bhajan Lal now knows how he can perpetuate himself in the gaddi

Sunset

The Indian Sun set after six months of struggle. The tabloid sized eveninger was flo ated as a DMK mouthpiece by K. P. Kandasamy, owner of a highly popular. Tamil' daily. Party slant and shoddy printing nearly killed the eveninger but it gained a reprieve when it decided to be independent and started using the services of many young journalists. But Kandasamy was fai from happy with the rising sales. That the paper couldn't serve as a DMK mouthpriece was what bothered him more. Thus the paper was forced into oblining the services of the paper was torced into oblining the services.

Casting

Irked by the numerous anti Brahmin domination' meet by the Dravida Kazhagam movement, the Brahmin community has also started holding solidarity meetings to safeguard its position as a minority Some wealthy members of the com munity have begun a drive to setup anall Brahmin college in Kumbakonam, reports Arthur Pais But no clarification is offered as to whether "all Brahmin" means that the me mals at the college will also be Brahmins

Thrown over-board

Lach time the Maharashtra State Board of Secondary I ducation published its SSC examination results hordes of students demanded a recheck of their papers. And the Board was ever willing to do the needful provided the plaintiffs paid a fee of Rs 10 each so apart from the annual takings by way of examination fee the Board also preyed on the candidate who felt that Rs 10 was a decent price for a chance to get more marks But things finally came to a head when some

students realised that the Board did nothing for the fees it charged for re-examining a paper. Demanding proper scrutiny of their answer sheets they moved a petition with the division bench of the Bombay High Court recently.

And the result was that the Board of Secondary Education suffered untold ignoming The Board's Regulation 104(3) which contended that answer books were confidential documents and could not be shown to even the stu

dents was struck down Said Justice Mohota. The right to inspection was a means and not 11 end and the right to inspection and the right to evaluation were intermined. He also contended that the right to inspection would act as a check on the casual approach of the Examination Board. This decision is bound to change national litestyles and the horror of horrors what will happen if the students of Calcutta take the cue? Will the West Bengal Board survive?

Filmy acumen for God



The Irrupati temple in Andhra is very popular with tilm folks but for the first time it has a cinema man, B Nagi Reddy, as the chair man of the trust that supervises its substantial assets and charitable activities. The producer and studio boss who was recently nominated to the coveted post unfortunately missed the first board meeting as he was suddenly taken ill.

In a country so rich in the mythology of innumerable gods and goddesses, where films with religious themes often have a good run, no eyebiows need be raised about this secular intrusion into the world of the godly After all, even God's money needs good management

Pity the paisaless

A \$1823
FOIDET CESTRE
(C M D A)
BENGAL STATE
Ex-Services League
UNIT

5 Paise URINAL

Secretary

B. Bhattacharies

For a long time the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) survived on apologetic ads in the local dailies about how difficult it was to make a visible dent in

such long neglected problems as Calcutta had Gradually things got worse as the only dent that was visible was the dust and debris thrown up with the digging of roads And now one admirable act of the CMDA is likely to make it even more unpopular. The public toilet at the busy Es planade was long a health hazard The CMDA has cleaned it up and built a few more nearby and (here comes the crunch) is charging five paise and twentyfive paise, depending on your needs To the average Calcuttan this is revolting! It is a brazen form of exploitation, he protests Said one (who, to put the CMDA in its proper place, relieves himself regularly at the entrance to a particular toilet centre) "They'll charge you next for breathing the

THE WORLD

Being there no more

"If I were to tell you that Chauncey Gardiner was the ultimate Peter Sellers, then I would be telling you what my whole life was about," said Peter Sellers once For, in real life, Peter Sellers was neither Inspector Clouseau of the Pink Panther series, nor the turbaned Indian of The Party but was more of Chaunce, the totally blank, isolated man of Being There He was a man who was almost without an identity and one who had great difficulty in talking in his own natural But then this was as voice far as is personal life went. As professional in show business,

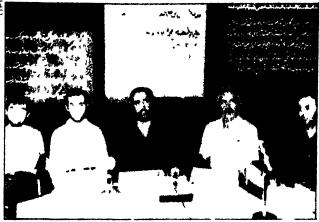


he was hardly the lonely man struggling to give shape to his existence His mother, an ambitious lady, once men tioned that he would make it to the top And he did with his many faces and many more voices. A master of disguise he had been nominated for the Academy Award The Pink Panther did return to delight countless fans. Peter Sellers the actor and the man will not return

Picturesque

Samson is sleeping on Delilah's lap, a man armed with scissors is snipping off his hair, Philistine soldiers are lying in wait to capture him, Venus is staring from the wall symbolising the ruinous love Samson and Delilah 6ft by 6ft 9in, is a masterpiece by Ruben which was sent for sale by a German family to Christie's auction The National Gallery spent £2,350,000, of this year's government grant to acquire the masterpiece

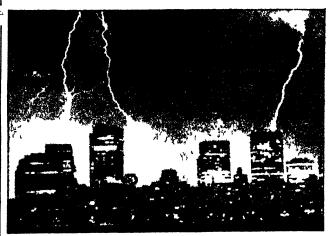
...off with their heads



Iranian aimymen

Ayatollah Khomeini's Isla mic republic of Iran has made many enemies throughout the country especially among the armymen The Islamic Cabinet has also had to keep up with the Kurdish rebels But then when any attempt by the army to capture power is found out it is nipped in the bud And the punishment for those found guilty of treason always death In a special Islamic Revolutionary court five military officers were te cently tried and executed for having taken part in an abor tive coup The officers were Major Farokhzad Jahangiri, Captain Mohammad Malek, Homafer Yousef Pour Rezai, Brigadier General Ayat Mohagheghi and Captain Iran Neiad

The electric connection



Lightning strikes Boston

Next time you brave the thunderstorms just make sure that its not after an angling session for its not your car keys, nor the cigarette lighter in your pocket but the fishing rod you carry that is going to attract the lightning. This was discovered by Japanese scientists. In their report pie sented at the sixth international conference on atmos pheric electricity at the Uni versity of Manchester Insti-

tute of Science and Lechnolo gy the scientists stated that the chances of being struck by lightning is governed by the height a figure rises above its surroundings 1 xperiments turther proved that the hu man skin had no insulating effect and that vinvliaincoats and tubber boots provided no protection How then does one protect himself? Unfor tunately, the report has not come up with an answer yet the minds of Frenchmen

Queen set free

Richard Queen, the American consular official has finally emerged from the Mushroom Inn the windowless basement of the American Embassy building in Tehran And a Mushroom it is for even shortly before his release, Queen had heard nothing of the attempted American rescue effort All the while—250 days to be exact he spent his time reading the thousands of books available from the Embassy library and teaching himself French Did he ever feel that his life was



Richard Qucen

in danger? 'In a situation like that, the imagination does horrible things "said Queen after his release on 21 July, for health reasons

To each his own

Not everybody does his own dirty work. These days, however, some of the French are doing theirs. Out of the 18 million immigrant work ers who did menial tasks, some 41,000 have accepted the government's offer of \$ 2,500 and a one way air ticket and have left France Result a third of the jobs vacated by them have gone to French men But are the Erenchmen happy? Union workers are not They attacked the gov ernment policy on immigrant workers and are of the opinion that Frenchmen would retuse to do the dirty work. And the Ministry? It thinks that it has finally got a chance to upgrade bluc collar work in

Rs eight crores for a film on Gandhi

Out of which Attenborough and company have already spent Rs 7.5 lakhs at a five star hotel in Delhi on the good life



Satyajit Rav directs Sir Richard in Shatranj ke Khilari

OM Courteney, it was once rumoured, was will ing to have all his teeth removed for the privilege of playing Gandhi Sir Richard Attenborough would probably consent to having his right arm se vered it only he could be certain of making the picture Courteney, it is learnt, is no longer in the running for the title tole, but Attenborough, for whom it his been a grand obsession for the past two decides to film the life of the prophet of non violence, appears to be approaching the fufil ment of his life's ambition

Back from New Delhi recently, where he is reported to have finalised arrangements for shooting to begin in November this year all he has to attend to now is sewing up his cast. His script, submitted to the Indian govern ment, has been approved and his choice of locations almost complete But he knows better than anyone else that there can be many a slip between the cup and the lip and, so, not surprisingly, he is being extra cautious in publicising his plans or even announce ing the new cast

Yet it is reliably learnt that John Hurt is being seriously considered to portray the main character and quite a few. Indian actors and actresses, in

cluding Gita Kak, are to be absorbed in the lineup Backers have been found ın America — Goldcrest Films Interna tional will finance the multi-million dollar bi lingual project. The screen play re written for the fifth time, is now credited to John Briley And he rein, indeed lies the tale of the ill fated progress of the venture

The idea of a film on Gandhi was first conceived by a clerk at the Indian High Commission in London, Motilal Kothari In 1961, this frail but enthu stastic man, imprisoned in India dur ing the non-cooperation movement, conjured up this scheme to immortal ise the hero of his youth on celluloid knowing no one in the film industry he was in a dilemma as to how he should tackle the matter. In course of his search for the appropriate person, he met Laurence Harbottle, a London solicitor, who put him in touch with Robert Bolt's agent, Margaret Ramsay That, more or less, settled it Attenbor ough came in as director, Joseph Levine as producer and the venture was underway Pandit Nehru was apprised of the developments and a bit of preliminary filming was, even, carned out in Delhi Levine, however, wanted more action than devotion in Bolt's scicenplay - this script had succeeded the original by Gerald Hanley, the novelist -- and the argument led to a closure Kothari died in 1970, his burning desire left unaccom-

Attenborough is no frivolous cinema artiste, but an individual with wide interests ranging from supporting solidly the Chelsea football club to speaking out strongly on the lack of human rights in Indonesia Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, though, is a tricky subject and needs to be handled with care But, as the director designate exaplains, meticulousness is a way of life to him "I can't go into anything without preparing the ground minutely first I know I am old fashioned in this But it is the only , way I can operate"

Full details should be available by

autumn, when the nature of the script, the actors involved, would be known Till then, for film fans all over the world and those interested in the career and achievements of Gandhiji, it must, due to Attenborough's silence, be an uneasy wait

EVEN before the cameras could roll, confusion prevails as to who will bear the brunt of the finances Of the total expenses, Rs 18 crores, Sir Richard wants the government of In dia to provide Rs 8 crores. The government has proceeded with the deal in the most high handed manner. It promised Attenborough the money and then decided on its own that the commercial film industry would have to bear at least half the burden One high level source from Sippy films told Sunday that "As things stand, there has been a definite suggestion thrown in by the government that if we pay, they will be more lenient with us when it comes to deciding the raw stock levy in the next few months'

The government's decision of financing the project caused a furore. 🕬 The first salvo was fired by George Fernandes when he accused the Infor-

mation and Broadcasting Minister Mr Vasant Sathe for "selling the country's honour" in this fashion. He called upon all self-respecting Gandhians in a Press conference in Bombay on 20 July to do their best in "preventing this blasphemy against the sacred memory of Gandhiji". According to him though the Minister had told him that the deal had not yet been finalised, Attenbor-ough and the members of his troupe ran up an entertainment bill of Rs 7.5 lakhs at the Taj Hotel in Delhi with champagne flowing at their parties A day later, the film industry told the government that they were unable to provide the Rs 4 crores. Meanwhile, a small but highly effective forum of Yilm-makers met to condemn the gov-🍇 ernment's decision.

In a letter to Mr Vasant Sathe, Mr Pranah Mukherjee, Charanjit Chanana and the Prime Minister, filmmakers like Basu Chatterjee, Girish Karnad, M.S.Sathyu, Sai Paranjpe, Muzaffar Ali, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas, Kuntilal Rathod and others stated that they were surprised to note that "institutional funds of Rs 8 crores was being made available by the government to Sir Richard Attenborough, when this is not in the normal course available to Indian filmmakers" Hastening to state that they were not against Sir Richard's project, and that they were not challenging his competence or his sincerity They simply questioned the need to finance him when more effective things could be done for the betterment of Indian cinema

The scene is ironic indeed On the one hand, the recently concluded wrangles within the National Film De velopment Corporation (NFDC) brought to light the fact that almost every serious film-maker in India is living a hand-to-mouth existence, sacrificing quality to meet a meagre budget of Rs 2 to 3 lakhs because of miserly govenment attitudes. Take the example of Mrinal Sen who has been sent a legal decree for owing the Film Finance Corporation (FFC) Rs 2 lakhs for his film, Bhuvan Shome. On the other hand slick talk from a foreign movie magnate trapped the Indian government into committing Rs 4 crores of hard earned public money

The forum had a riotous meeting, because many within it had been offered lucrative jobs by Attenborough Suresh Jindal, the mercurial producer of Ray's Shatranj Ke Khilari had been offered the job of Production Controller for the film. A graduate of the FTII, Kamal Swaroop, had been given a job which was going to fetch him Rs 1,000 per week expenses alone. They were very vocal in the meeting but finally Jindal was persuaded to give up the offer in the "larger interest of the cinema".

What has apparently irritated the forum a good deal, has been the fact that the members of the Board of Directors at the NFDC-Shyam Beneg-al, Basu Bhattacharya, Mrinal Senhad all along refused to make statements to the Press which would sup-



Girish Karnad

port their interests. In fact, Benegal, when contacted by Sunday, said that "We should not make judgements too quickly I don't know the details of this deal For instance, what is in it for the Indian government? If they are going to make a profit, it might be a good precedent to set, because then not only will it open the boundaries of the country to international cinema, but it will also help the Indian filmmakers to profit from it all'

Mr Benegal will not be cheered by the fact that by indications, the government is in for what Madison Ave-

nue calls, 'the right royal 4 the deal is that the Indian government will get only 30 per cent of all earnings within India. All foreign money plus 70 per cent of the Indian takings will go to the producers, Goldcrest Interna-tional. A fact that has irritated most people has been Attenborough's cavalier-like attitude towards the Indian government. One of the first things he did after his recent visit to the country was to send a bill of Rs 75 lakhs for entertainment expenses alone.

Also, there is absolutely no guaran

tee as to the sort of film that will finally emerge Says Girish Karnad: This is not an instance similar to the Russian government inviting Kurosawa to make a film there. If we were getting Rossellini I would have said, let's give the entire amount for him to do what he likes with it. Because it is a privilege to work with a master like " As one that But Attenborough filmmaker who prefers anonymity said: "The man is at best competent and at worst mediocre"

And all this on a film on Gandhil The man's entire philosophy was seeped in austerity, and he spent a lifetime getting India rid of British rule And now a Britisher wants to make a film on him, and the Indian. government, which has always sworn by the Gandhian doctrine, is getting

into it with both feet

This article was written on the basis of reports filed by ASHIS RAY from London and ASHISH RA.JADHYAKSHA from Bombay

Bodh Gaya's unholy mahant

There is unrest in his empire

ON 30 JUNE this year, it rained * heavily at Shekhwara, a village z near the ancient temple of Bodh Gava. Bihar As dusk settled, villagers from nearby Patholgarh and Moharar areas were returning home after working in the fields, singing in chorus "Hell to you, heartless mahant You live in a palace like a prince, and we like pigs in sties" (A Magahi folk song) Sud denly, three jeeploads of policemen arrived, and picked up three of the men Within minutes, a large crowd of villagers, mostly women, surrounded the police jeeps. The crowd refused to move out of the way unless two of the men arrested were released Some men and women in the crowd were beaten up mercilessly, Manimala, a Woman member of the Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini fell unconscious Many sustained injuries and were rushed to Gaya hospital. Eventually one of the three men arrested. Karu was released because he had sustained head injuries the other two Prabhat and Naresh, were taken away

Prabhat and Naresh are volunteers working for the Chhatra Yuva San gharsh Vahini, an unarmed youth army which the late Jayaprakash Narayan raised The Vahini has been active in organising resistance among peasants in a vast area against a mahant who runs a monastery near the ancient Buddhist temple. The mahant is the virtual ruler of a mini empire which includes about 500 villages in Gaya district alone. The poor and landless inhabitants of the area, who have toiled on the land for ages, re ceive meagre duly wages from the mahant and are treated like his sub **jects** The mahant rules with the help of trusted musclemen disciples and sidekicks. He even has 53 kacha haris (mini courts) to adjudicate on disputes

In April 1975 the late Jayaprakash Narayan launched an agitation to acquire the land held illegally by the mahant for distribution among the landless peasants of the area On 18 April 1975, Mr Narayan was attacked with brickbats and lathis when he was approaching the monastery. The agitators were repulsed, the mahant tight ened his grip over the area, even during the time the Janata Party was in power. Left with no other way, JP



Yuva Sangharsh Vahini demonstrators

decided to entrust his unarmed youth army, the Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini, with the task of emancipating the landless

By campaigning systematically, the leaders of the Chhatra Yuva San gharsh Vahini taught the illiterate landless peasants about their rights The peasants were urged to stop work ing on the mahant's land, oppose him if he brought hired labour, and launch a non cooperation movement against hin. The people then began ploughing the land on their own, in open de tiance of the mahant, beginning from Gosai Pesta village About 2,000 acres ot land under the mahant remained uncultivated during last year's paddy and this year's rabi season. The mahant's men managed to cultivate about 300 acres of land in areas where the agitators held sway. The villagers, however, forcibly harvested the crop and made loud proclamations against the mahant Since the law treats forcible harvesting and looting as one and the same, the police had plenty of excuses to crack down on the agitators, the villagers were arrested, beaten and hauled up in court.

The area came into the news when on 8 August last year armed goondas attacked some peasants near Mastipur village leaving two dead and several injured (See Sunday 9 September 1979) One of the mahant's men was killed The incident marked the beginning of a series of violent encounters involving the peasants, goondas and police

When the shock waves reached Pat na and the Ministry expressed its deep concern, the old mahant of Bodh Gaya, the middle aged Dhansukh Giri, decided to visit Patna and reassure all about the honesty of his intentions he was only too ready to distribute his land among the poor But, he complained, his hands were tied. He had delegated all authority to one of his managers The mahant decided to can cel his earlier deed with another He also wrote a long letter to the then CM alleging he had been virtually "kid napped" and forced to obey the orders of his detractors. The accused, the surrogate mahant Jairam Giri, was arrested after the old mahant filed an FIR with the Bodh Gaya police alleg ing that he had been forced to sign the earlier deed of partition

But when a team of police officials visited the area, they found the charges baseless The only concrete result that emerged in Patna was the appointment of a nine member com mittee on 13 October last year to probe the benami transactions of the present mahant and suggest ways to acquire his land under the Land Ceil mg and other Acts within a period of two months After eight sittings in nine months, the committee has still arrived at no conclusion. Also, it has decided to confine itself to the mahant's land holdings in Gaya dis trict alone, though he has land even outside Bihar

The mahant allegedly runs an armoury too He is rich and no land legislation has ever deterred him When in trouble, he has the best legal talent at his disposal A valuable document on the High Court judgment concerning the mahant's land which the state Revenue Department had acquired with difficulty was mysteriously lost So was a dossier on the inahant The mahant's henchmen are supposed to be active at every level

The mahantdom was formed as a religious trust in 1932, the whole property being registered in the name of the trust Came the Land Reforms Act, and the abolition of zamindari. The mahant held that the property was personal, but lost the claim in the High

Court Even before the Supreme Court could decide the appeal, the Bihar government in the Fifties conceded the mahant's claim to the property through a compromise deed When he was asked to surrender his land to the government under the Land Reforms Act, he said he did not hold more than 25 acres The mahant is said to have registered the rest of the land under various names, through dubious trans actions When the Land Ceiling Act

required him to surrender his surplus land to the government, it was found that one religious trust had multiplied into 17 different trusts, each consecrated to some god or goddess leaving the mahant with little to surrender The Revenue Department continued legal proceedings against the mahant, the latest case at the High Court is still undecided

The struggle against the mahant is growing more fierce every day. Omi

nous leaflets and wall writings are appearing in unlikely places. The agitators too have realised the folly of using force if they occupied some portions of the mahant's land, it would be illegal. What was needed was a legal transfer of land to the landless. And the mahant was too clever and rich to allow that

SP SAGAR, Bodh Gaya

"We were planning a war"

Vijoy Kumar Hrankhal (35), an extremist leader in the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti (TUJS), and Jay Kumar Deb Barma (32), the 'butcher' of Mandai (Sunday June 15) in separate statements to the police and other authorities have admitted that plans were underway for an armed uprising to make Tripura a sovereign independent state. Hrankhal was arrested by police from his village at Ambassa on June 13. The following day Jay Kumar was arrested at Mandai. Both of them, however, claimed that they were initially reluctant to go in for any large scale violence but they were goaded into it by the more militant section in the inner war council of the TUJS, reports MANIK CHAKRABARTY from Agartala



VIJOY HRANKHAL

was not in favour of an armed struggle with the sovereign independent state of Tripura just now because I thought with our existing strength we would not be able to wage such a struggle throughout the state At least one and a half years more would be required for the preparation tor a full scale armed struggle. We had formed the "Z" battalion of the Tribal National Volunteers (INV) Only 52 recruits could come back from training at the Arankan training centre (in Burma) They are highly trained and are capable of carrying out successful ly any major operation. Over the past four years we have been sending our TNV recruits to the Arakan hill range Initially there was wastage of our man power Out of the 50 recruits sent there (initially) not even 10 survived There were frequent encounters with the Border Security Force, the Bang ladesh Rifles, and on some occasions with the Burmese Border Guards Scar city of food was a major problem all along the hazardous route I met Lal denga thrice in Delhi and he gave me a map showing the safest route to the Arakans Since then, with the help of the map our movement to and from the Arakans was comparatively easy, although the route is highly inacces sible

The recruitment of the TNV force was done mainly by Debabrata Kolor,

the publicity secretary of the LUIS (he was arrested at Pecharthal under Dharmanagar subdivision on 11 June), and Chumilal Kolor and Sukhadayal Jamatra (they are still at large). The MNI also has a '2' battalion and we wanted to form our '2" battalion in the MNI pattern. At the Arakan training centre the MNI and other tribal insurgents are also given training. It is

On the strategy for

On the strategy for armed struggle there were differences in the TUIS leadership. Three prominent factions emerged. One faction wanted immediate action, the second—that of mine—wanted one and a half years' time, and the third wanted a twin strategy—underground activity such as arms training and arms building and overground democratic coverup—so that armed action could be taken when the time matured. We have nearly destroyed the CPI(M)'s tribal base and if we could get one more year's time we could have achieved our aim.

On 8 August 1979 the MNF and the TNV jointly raided Amarpur town market in South Tripura district We did not want to join the raid for fear of our contact with the MNF getting exposed But we were compelled to participate in the raid under pressure of requirement of the MNF's ration and cash. We created terror in Amai pur (Chitta Saha, a businessman was lilled and the bazaar was looted and burned down) Subsequently, the MNF and the TNV jointly raided a CRPF camp at Anandabazar for capturing arms (Anandabazar is in North district) I frequently visited Mizoram, Meghalaya and Nagaland and kept in touch with the leaders there The missionaries were the first to bring the MNF and the TUJS in touch with each other (Hrankhal is an active member of the Evangelical Free Church of India which became particularly ac tive in the region after the visit to Kohima of the American evangelist Dr

Billy Graham in 1973) Our bazaar boycott from 1 to 7 June this year, was an experimental action to assess our strength. The boycott decision was unanimously taken by the TUJS central committee. Before the boycott the leaders held secret meetings at Mandai Butakha, Chaitalbari (in the West district), Killa. Pitra and some other areas (in the South district).

I also tried to meet the Bangladesh President Zia ur Rahman but could not meet him But I had had discussions with several other leaders of

Bangladesh



JAYKUMAR DEB BARMA

A

Tone time I was an active worker of the CPI(M) But over the years I realised that the TUJS was the only organisation which

could do good to the tribals. For the June operation, sectors were created for different areas. I was the sector commander of Mandai Dr Rabindra Deb Burma (a quack physician in the area), a member of the TUJS executive committee, gave directions to us. He always used to insist upon and incite us for direct action. On 4 and 5 June there were many meetings. In tially I had no plan to do the killings. My intention was to terrorise and do large scale arsoning to drive out the Bengalis from Mandai. But at our secret meetings younger sections put pressure on me to physically liquidate.



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Dhaney pranes martey habey (We must destroy them physically and materially) At one of our secret meetings, Jiban Deb Botha, a police constable, also took parent the deliberations. He was instructed at the meeting to join us with his rifle and bullets and accordingly he joined in our operation with his rifle and 50 rounds of bullets.

On 5 and 6 June Buddh 1 Deb Bur ma, the president of the IUJS, and Shyama Charan Iripuri, the IUIS gen eral secretary and an MLA, held meet ings in our area. On 7 June 14 Rabin. dra Deb Burma informed mc that the central committee of the TUIS wanted us to start the operation. Immediately we started large scale arroning and terrorism. We did not have plans at that time for killing the Bengalis. On 7 June arsoning was started at Mandai in the afternoon and by nidnight the entire area was reduced to a lies. The younger members with aims blocked the exits. Palic stricken people started urning lielter skeiter and gathered at the thana premises. Con tinuous requests were being sent to the police headquarters at Agartala for reinforcement. They were sending messages by wireless to Agartala but I knew the police wouldn't come (Bare bare taar diya khabar pathaiche batu ami jante police aito naa) As people gathered in small groups in different places I and a few others told them Utana tipii i aishe amia tomiare are THE T POST a fre one we must sale you anymore) We are going to send you in

batches along the road. But before

proceeding, you better give us all your ornaments, cash and other valuables"

We held an emergency secret meet ing after midnight. At that meeting also I was against the killing of the people, but the younger and the ex tremist sections, including Bahadur Deb Burma, Dr Rabindra Deb Burma, Mangal Deb Burma, Baishakh Deb Burma, Renu Deb Burma and others insisted on killing the Bengalis Man gal Deb Burma and Baishakh Deb Burma, who mainly looted the cash and the ornaments, are panchayat sec retaries, class III government em ployees (except for Bahadur all of them have been arrested) Once kill ing was decided upon we started send ing volleys of fire from our country made guns and arrows at the concen trations of Bengalis indiscriminately just to see if they would show any sign of resistance. It started at 0100 hours and continued upto 0200 hours By then the yelling and wailings of a terrorised homeless people were exhausted The execution started shortly after 0300 hours and killings were completed by 0700 hours of 8 June 1 also took part in the killing done by several execution squads I honestly believe that all those whom we have killed were innocent. We concentrated more on killing the children and less on old people because the children are our future enemies. While we did our job other sector commanders did not do their assigned work. Even Agartala was untouched I am surprised how Agartala was spared. More so, because I was told equal preparations had been made in every sector

Who runs the Congress (I)?

24, Akbar Road back in the limelight

THE importance of raity mountains in Congress (I) politics has THE importance of Party headquar been restored With Sanjay Gandhi's entry into politics in late 1975, the importance of the AICC office had receded Mrs Gandhi had let it be known that she had entrusted Party administration to her politician son, and all Party disputes used to be directly referred to her household, bypassing the AICC office. The process had started during the presidentship of Mr Dev Kanta Barooah n the undivided Congress and after the formation of the Congress (Indira) in January 1978, the only time Partymen were seen converging in large num bers at the AICC (I) office at 24, Akbar Road was on the eve of the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha elections Then too, most of those gathered at the Party office were those who were not fortun Pate enough to have direct access to Mr riat to did not 11 15 (

at 24, Akbar Road rose the day Mr Sanjay Gandhi stepped into it as a general secretary in the second week of June this year After the fatal aircrash of June 23, the office has acquired the old importance of the days before Mr Sanjay Gandhi In other words, the general secretaries have once again become important

A division of work between the three general secretaries has been eti ctcd by an office order, signed io he'v by Mr B R Dutt the adminis trative officer of the AICC(I) office and Mr C S Kotnala, the joint office superintendent It may be recalled that at the time of resigning from the post of secretary general of the Party, one of the reasons cited by Mr Hemva ti Nandan Bahuguna for his dissatis faction was that there was no official division of work among the AICC (I) office bearers. Interestingly, the new order has not been signed either by the Party President or '

rejary, the two who care and

Congress Constitution, sign such orders Neither the post of administrative officer nor that of joint office superintendent has any constitutional sanction in the Party There is no office superintendent at present and seasoned Congressmen point this out to be a serious anomaly since the post is the only permanent one in the Party The office superintendent is supposed to be the custodian of all AICC property and in case of breakdown of the Party machinery, he is supposed to look after the work of the Party headquarters till the election of a new team of office bearers Apparently, these minute details are no longer observed

In the division of workload, the names of general secretaries have been listed in the following order Chaudhary Ram Sewak, Mr G K Moopanar and Mr Shyam Sundar Mohapatra In terms of portfolios too, Chaudhary Ram Sewak has got the most important ones — Parliamentary board, office administration, accounts, youth, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes, Congress Seva Dal and the minorities cell He will be in charge of the Party affairs of Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan and Gujarat

Mr G K Moopanar has been given charge of the organisation depart ment, the working committee, women's cell and Jawahar Bhawan (the proposed Party building) He will also be responsible for the AICC meetings and the plenary session as well as all other conterences. In terms of states, he has been given charge of Kerala, Maharashtra, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim and Karknataka

Mr Shyam Sundar Mohapatra has been given charge of the glamorous department of foreign relations Be sides, he will look after the labour cell, the kisan cell and the training and cadre building department. He has also been entrusted with the Hindi and Urdu language sections and autho rised to brief the Press He is responsi ble for the implementation of the manifesto and the economic program me of the Party Mr Mohapatra has been entrusted with the Party affairs of the sensitive state of Assam. He will also look after the states of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Tripura None of the three general secretaries have been entrusted with the task of looking after the Party organisation in their home states. Mrs. Gandhi has also taken into account the factional rivalries while allotting port folios That explains the reason why the important youth department has not been given to Mr Mohapatra who belongs to the faction which is against the Indian Youth Congress (I) president. Mr R im Chandr i Rath. in Orissa politics

SINBHILLI.

IGHI in front of the municipal office of Nargund, a taluk he idquarters in the Dharwar district of north Karnatika is a bust of Shrimant Bhaskararao alias Baba saheb Bhave, who was a petty chief tain of the area in the middle of the last century. The statue had been erected to perpetuate the memory of the man who challenged the infamous 'Doctrine of lapse' in 1858 and heroic ally resisted the advancing British troops before he was telled by a bullet Folklore and legends have made the man famous and have also given rise to the popular Nargund Bandaya' (Revolution)

On 21 July, history almost repeated itself. This time there was no heroic Babasaheb Bhave. But there was the Malaprabha Farmers? Co ordination Committee who had called a Fandh for the abolition of betterment levy, reduction in prices of agricultural inputs and compensation for the land taken over for the Malaprabha dam canals.

About 10,000 farmers of the Nar gund taluk gathered in front of the tahsildar's office around 11.30 a.m. and demanded that Mr Varur close his office as his counterparts in the Naval gund and Saundatti taluks had done The tabsildar ignored their pleas. The crowd grew restive. And according to one version Mr Varur trampled some farmers who had laid down in front of the office door to prevent him from entering. That upset the already seeth ing crowd The small posse of police men who had tried to prevent the people from entering the tahsildar's office found they could not do any thing In an effort to quell the tury, sub inspector. Akki, fired, a bullet which killed the young farmer from Chicknargund

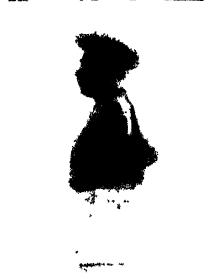
The cry for a second 'Nargund Ban daya' went around The police resist ance after that was minimal Tahsildar Varui was the immediate target of the mob. He was severely beaten up and when this correspondent visited him in the Karnataka Medical College Hospital in Hubli almost a week after the incident, he did not seem fit enough to

Someone in the violent crowd identified sub-inspector Akki as the man who had killed one of their kinsmen. The police officer was lynched on the spot Another police officer who was injured in the stone throwing and sought medical aid in a dispensary nearby was hounded out and stoned to death. There were three deaths in about 30 cataclysmic minutes.

The tahsildar's office was turned into a smoking inferno Land records and files were consigned to the bon fires that were made in every room of the building. Not a sheet of paper is said to have been salvaged. Two rooms of the office were stored with country 44.

Ryots turn rioters

ASHOK KAMATH went to Dharwar to find the cause of the 21 July violence



Bust of Bhaskarao



liquor for distribution to retail outlets in the taluk made things easier for the rioters

In contrast, the Navalgund clash was not entirely between officials and farmers but between farmers and the local businessmen. Certain sections of the population (allegedly belonging to the Congress I) refused to listen to the bandh call When the farmers' procession was going through the market minor skirmishes took place between processionists and shopkeepers who refused to pull down their shutters Later they were guided by the tahsil dar, Mr K D Birje, and the police to the precincts of the tahsildar's office Word soon spread that some of the tractors of the farmers from nearby villages which were parked in the market had been damaged by those opposing the bandh. Matters reached a flashpoint. The crowd rushed from the tahsildar's office to the market only to be greeted with a police lathicharge and tear gas. Police used guns when the situation got out of control Basap pa Shivappa Hakkundi, a 22 year old youth was struck by a bullet and died on his way to the hospital

The death toll in the violence was high "But this may only be a harbin ger to the shape of even more serious things to come if the Gundu Rao government insists on pretending that our demands are not genuine and without basis. And if the government does not come up quickly with a long term solution, the movement will spread throughout Kainataka and that will be something this government (or for that matter any government) will find more than a handful " said one of the leaders of the farmers' movement in Hubli to this correspondent. Almost everyone in Naigund felt the blood shed and the violence of 21 July could have been avoided if all shopkeepers and business establishments had kept

their shutters down

The 21 July bandh was over the Malapiabha Irrigation project Traditionally, the Nargund Naval gund, and Rontaluka taluks (in Dhai war district), Ramdurg and Saundatti taluks (in Belgaum district) and Bada mi taluk (in Bijapur district) have been semi arid areas With scanty rain fall agriculture is a seasonal occupa

Drought is a common feature of the region. As a result there is a steady migration of labour to the prosperous neighbouring districts. The Malaprabha irrigation project is one of the three ambitious irrigation projects conceived sometime in July 1957. The Malaprabha river is one of the tributaries of the Krishna river. Work on the project began in October 1960 and it may take a couple of years before it is completed. Till March 1980 more than Rs ten crores have been spent of

4. The exact spot in Navalgund market

t



the bonfire of the files and records from the Nergund tahsildar's office

the project which on paper at least covers about 5,26,850 acres of land spicad out of over three districts Dharwar Belgaum and Bijapur

In successive elections ruling Party politicians promised bounty to the farmers of the area using the Malap rabha project as their carrot But 20 years after it all began it has not been able to usher in the Green Revolution To begin with no thought was given to the development of the land through well planned levelling and drainage As a result water from the canals invarribly inundates the lowlying lands. The distribution of water has been done in a haphazard manner. The mundated areas end up highly alka line and will be unfit for cultivation in a few years

The site of the dam was a point of controversy Initially it was agreed that the dam would be located at Asoga in Belgaum district but as the

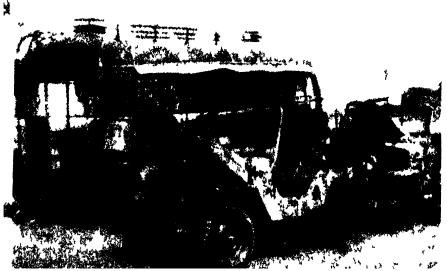
project, there was delay and mis appropriation of funds which suc short staple cotton Then with irriga fertilisers, pesticides and seeds. Irrigation brought with it a total change in style and ethos of the farmers of the region

Then suddenly the price of Vara lakshmi cotton fell from Rs 1,000 per quintal in 1974 75 to Rs 350 And therein, the farmers claim lies the

ruling Party politicians from Dharwar had a powerful lobby, the dam was shifted to Manoli village in Saudatti taluk In the actual construction of the ceeded in inflating costs. The lining and bedding of the field canals was so badly done that the canals were eroded Traditionally, the farmers of the region grew jowar wheat and tion facilities came the introduction of Varalakshmi cotton-the long stapled variety. The banks advanced loans for

rub

Damaged police jeeps and a van



A point which has been troubling the farmers is 'betterment levy'-a tax charged, as the very name suggests for the betterment of land brought about by the government In other words, the government exacts a certain amount for enhancing the value of the land for bringing it under an irrigation project. The levy charged is equal to one half of the difference between the market value of the land before it came under irrigation and after It is payable in 20 annual instal ments and the maximum amount chargeable works out to about Rs 1,500 per acre

One of the crucial demands of the agitating farmers of the Malaprabha command area concerns the better ment levy Mr Pandu Reddy, a tvot from Navalgund taluk said there had been bungling at many levels First, the assessment of the market value of land Then the period from which the assessment was made. The irrigation department insists that it began giving water from 1974 "Giving us a two year period of grace, they have billed us from 1976. There is discrepancy with regard to the area covered in actuality

and the date of notification (or from when the ryots of the said areas are said to have begun benefiting from the irrigation water). Why should a farmer who has not been able to make use of the water because of the shortsighted ness of the planners or faulty canals, be made to pay for water he never received? There are many such cases

The farmers who have been affected by the Malaprabha irrigation project are united in their movement The response to the July 21 bandh in three taluks was almost total. The leadership of the movement however comes from the top minority of big farmers Ms Renuka Viswanathan De puty Commissioner and executive head of Dharwar district was not wrong when she said "The movement is mainly kulak organised and led by big landowners. The medium and small farmers have joined the move ment because they have a lot at stake by way of betterment levies, land development loans that have to be repaved, etc V N Halakattı, a Marx 1st, is one of the conveners of the Farmers' Co ordination Committee Explaining his role in the movement, he said "We have to make a start And besides, don't forget that the interests of the small and medium farmers are at stake Can't deny that the leader ship of the movement comes from the big faimers, but people like us will have to be there to look after the interests of the smaller farmers. An interesting impact of the irrigation project on semi arid areas has been the near extinction of feudal relations The large scale migration of labour to more prosperous districts has now en ded With irrigation facilities, there is a renewed demand for labour and the existing structures have been des troyed to provide landless labour with

VARETY sunday week

Beginning August 24

This week the Sun Mercury and Jupiter are conjoined in Leo Saturn alone is in Vjrgo Mars and Uranus are in Libra. Neptune alone is in Scorpio. Kethu is in Capricorn. Venus in Gemini. Rahu alone is in Cancer. The moon will be moving through Aquarius. Pisces and Aries from Capricorn.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20) Good and steady progress in all important activities will be maintained and also pressed by your near and

dear ones You will gain by an association or a secret matter. Business and financial interests are well signified. Pay attention to your work and take the advice of elders seriously. You might have to undertake a short journey. Good dates 24 26 28 and 31 Lucky numbers 2 4 and 7 Favourable direction. South



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22) You will gain through property matters or government communications or at least have the opportunity to do

so But this week is less propitious for you than the last Business people should guard against every possible deception in transactions. You are also advised to guard against possible deception in transactions. Do not displease your employer or those in authority and postpone any plans for travel **Good dates** 26 28 and 31 **Lucky numbers** 4 7 and 8 **Favourable directions** West and North



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21)Your prospects are not favourable for romance But steady progress will be made in your vocational or

business front. Your industry and initial tive will help you in forging ahead with your plans. Be guided by your intuitions and do not be dismayed by obstacles. An advancement or promotion will crown you this week. A secret matter or letter might unnerve you but no cause for undue alarm Good dates. 24. 25. 27 and 31. Lucky numbers. 3. 6 and 9. Favourable direction.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) Avoid disputes and major changes in matters of importance this week Be content with slow progress

and try to meet inevitable delays with tact and patience. Check any extravagant tendencies. There might be a sudden break in your business or employment but it will eventually be for the better. Do not be dismayed if you are faced with some severe competition in your private life Good dates 26. 29 and 31. Lucky numbers 1. 3 and 5. Favourable direction East.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) Take care of your health as well as that of members of the family Do not let your domestic or love affair

interfere with your business or financial affairs. A mixed grill is your portion this week. You will benefit through a social group or advice from elders. A substantial gain through inheritance is likely. You will face considerable changes in all fields. You will make a steady progress although not a rapid one. Love affairs are well signified Good dates. 25. 27 and 29. Lucky numbers. 3. 7. and 9. Favourable direction. South-east.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22)Your enterprises will bear fruit this week You will meet with recognition and promotion you will

face a sudden change which will ultimately enable you to consolidate your position and establish your life on a firm footing. You will have a nice time with your family members. Benefit through the advice of an elderly person is likely. Good dates: 25 and 30. Lucky numbers. 6 and 7. Favourable direction. South



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22)Pay ail your attention to your work this week Take the advice of an elderly person This is a

relatively uneventful week Do not hesitate to take risks. Love and domestic affairs will bring in much happiness. You may have to go through a sudden change of place or job. Guard against misunderstanding with business partners. A short journey is likely Good dates. 25. 26. 29 and 30. Lucky numbers. 2. 7 and 8. Favourable direction. North-



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21)Exercise caution in your dealings regarding property matters You are likely to face some

opposition from elderly people but do not lose your patience especially with your employer Expected promotions or transfers are going to be delayed. Do not lose heart. Let your intuition guide you and meet with crowning success towards the end of the week. Keep an eye on your finances and do not indulge in extravagancies Good dates: 26, 28 and 30. Lusky numbers: 3, 5. Favourable direction; West



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22) Try to keep your word and do not break any promises made this week Exercise caution

with your partner to maintain peace of mind Sorrow and disiliusion ment awaits you in your love affairs. The time is not favourable for embarking on a new love affair or making matrimonial alliances. You will gain through speculation. Keep an eye on your health Good dates 27 and 30 Lucky numbers. 7 and 9 Favourable direction West.



CAPRICORN (December 23

— January 20)A very busy week lies ahead of you Your efforts may not be totally successful. Do not

let that bother you. The week will bring you much happiness on the domestic front. Your friends and family will be a source of happiness for the whole week. Keep an eye on your health and on that of your family. The time is favourable for love affairs and matrimonial alliances. Good dates 29 and 30. Lucky numbers 3 and 5 Favourable direction. South



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19)This week will bring in a lot of changes You may be transferred and there may be depart

mental changes. You are likely to gain through your employer and friends. There is going to be some steady progress in your business resulting in some financial improvement. Women folk may be the source of some anxiety. Good dates 25 26 27 and 30 Lucky numbers: 2 7 and 11 Favourable direction.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20)You are advised to exercise tact and discretion in all your affairs. Concentrate on-you profession-

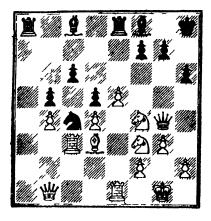
at work and avoid conflicts with others. You will be moderately successful in all your ventures. Keep an eye on your expenditures. The time is not good for carrying on love affairs or matrimonial alliances. You might receive a letter towards the end of the week. Do not put off writing a letter long overdue. Good dates, 24, 27, 29 and 30. Lucky numbers 3, 5, 6 and 8. Favourable direction. North-

M. B RAMAN

31

chess

Georgadze (Black)



Timman (White) to move

Your move

For once I should like to concentrate not on a game but on a single position (see dia gram) on which you may, if you like test your analytical ability. For this purpose I would advise you to set the position up on a board rather than try to solve the problem directly from the diagram— it's not easy I warn you.

The position arose in a game between Jan Timman of Holland and the Soviet grand master Tomas Georgadze Timman (White to move) thought for a long time Obviously he has attacking chances against the black king and even possibilities to trap the enemy queen but for the moment his NKB3 is hanging and given a tempo Black will obtain very strong queenside counterplay with R-R5 attacking the QNP in the event Timman chose 1 N-R4 threatening to obtain a strong attack with 2 P-KR3, Q-N4 3 N-B3 Q-K2 4 P-K61 but Black forestalled this idea with 1...Q-N4! and after 2. N-B3, Q-N5, the game was drawn by repetition of moves

The alternative attempt to expel the annoying black queen is 1 K-N2 R-R5 2 P-KR3 but this fails to 2 QxN+! 3 KxQ N-Q7+ and the endgame is certainly not worse for Black

tainly not worse for Black
So the problem is Can White's play be improved and if so how?

The solution was found by Korchnoi in less than five minutes without sight of a chessboard it runs

1 P—K6II Simultaneously a piece sacrifice

and a pawn offer. The idea is to clear the K5 square. Black has three possible replies. To take the piece 1...Qx N, 2.PxP, RxR+3 QxR Now Black is defenceless against the terrible threats of 4 N—N6+ and 4 8 x N 1 PxP. This offers little resistance. White carries out his plan with 2.BxN, NPxB, 3.N—K5 leaving the black queen with only one fatal square 3 Q—B4; 4, QxQ, PxQ; 5 N(K5)—N6+ and 6 RxR

The most testing is 1... BxP when Korchnois extraordinary idea is revealed 2. N—K5! (Not 2 Bx N, NP x B, 3 N—K5 as in (b) because 3 —Q—B4 is now quite safe) 2. Nx N; 3. Rx N and the black queen is lost! The threat is B—K2 and even given a free move the poor damsel cannot escape for if 3... Q—B6; pinning the bishop White calmly replies 4. R—N3 and the threat of B—K2 is still unstoppeble

Very nice, but nothing in chess is ever as simple as at first sight (in this context I use the word simple loosely). For example in the first variation 1 P—K6, QxN 2 PxPRxR+3 QxR it is still possible for White

to go wrong after the desperado 3 $\,$ P—N4 It seems that he can win brilliantly with 4 R x NI and after 4 $\,$ NP x R or 4 $\,$ P x N 5 $\,$ Q—K5+ B—N2 6 P—B8 Rmatel but Black finds the incredible counter-stroke 4 $\,$ R—R8II deflecting the white queen from K5 so that after 5 Q x R NP x R the position is quite unclear

Again in the third variation 1 P—K6 B×P 2 N—K5 subsequent analysis found the unlikely resource 2 N—Q7!! (instead of 2 N×N) 3 Q—B1 N—B6+ exchanging knights from a new angle Best play for White here would seem to be 4 N×N Q×N 5 B—B5! trapping the poor queen again but after 5 Q×R 6 Q×Q B×B 7 R×R R×R 8 Q×P R—K8+9 K—N2 B×NP Black is not without possibilities to fight on

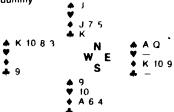
Of course it may be possible to improve on or against Black s improvements. Your move

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

SUPPOSE you were to finish in Six Hearts on the deal below which at least is better than Six Diamonds do you think you could make it after a diamond lead?

Obviously a spade lead beats Six Hearts but West led a diamond to the 8 and Our en It may look as though East can avoid a throw in by unblocking in spades but that is not so South must play four rounds of trumps not five then three rounds of clubs arriving at this position with the leid in dummy



East may throw the Ace of spades on the last (lub but it doesn't help him South discards \$4.9 ruffs a spade and exits with a low diamond

SOUND INSTRUCTION

All the elements in this book from what ever the aspect of declarer play under discussion have been intentionally geared to rationalisation and step by step analysis. Turqid as you see this sentence from the final paragraph of Bridge from Average to Expert by Barry Seabrook (Batsford £5 95). Some good hands and sound instruction but you have to do a bit of wading through,

The Golden Principles of Dummy Play by Jeremy Flint and Freddie North are set out not in a book but on Jumbo cards Attractively printed they will be very handy for teachers. A set of 52 each containing a problem can be ordered from Zephyr House. 17 Wigmore Street London W1 for £4 post paid.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



In 1912 Charles Burrows head of a Cleve land. Ohio firm of stationers and book sellers began a campaign to reduce the infand letter po tage in the United States from 2 cents (about one old penny) to 1 cent. His main argument was that cheap and trashy magazines on which the postage was only 1 cent per lb, should be made to pay a more economical rate of postage so what the letter postage could be halved Burrows, founded an organisation the National One Cent. Letter Association and issued stamp like labels to publicise his views. He gave up the struggle and disbanded the association in 1925, but examples of his labels for a lost cause are still occasionally found in old stamp collections. Their design is faintly reminiscent of contemporary British pening stamps but it has an American mail bag instead of the portrait of King George V in the central medallion.

C M HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1 In the 1978 Federation Cup the Wimbledon champions Kenny Reid and Wendy Rabbit Turnbull lost to the US team Who were in the US team?

2 A couplet refers to two successive rhyming lines what does a triolet mean? 3 Akira Kurosawa is known to have directed a number of films like the Seven Samurai. A Fistful of Dollars and so on What was the first film ever directed by him?

4 While the term coranto is the name applied to periodicals and news pam phlets issued during 1621 and 1641 what does coronach mean?

5 Apart from Thomas Mann to whom would you attribute Doctor Faust?

6 The first American version of Dos toyevsky's Crime and Punishment was filmed in 1935 Who was its director?

> lian composer 6 Josef von Sternberg

3 Sugata Sanshiro (1943)
4 It is the Gaelic term for wailing together and means a lament or a duge
5 Perrucio Busoni (1866 1924) the Ita

2 A French fixed form that has eight lines and two rhymes

1 Chris Evert and Billie Jean King who won the Cup for US for the seventh time

VM2MEB2



UJJAIN. A campaign to grow large "shika choti" (hair tuft on head) has been launched by the All India Shikha Prachar Samiti which claims to have the support of all the four Shankaracharyas and Karpatri Maharaj The Samiti in a pamphlet said if people could feel proud of their large beard, long moustaches, nails and hair why they should be shy of sporting a "shikha choti"-the symbol of Indian culture. It said that the "shikha" lenthens life, sharpens the brain and has several other advantages listed by scientists Victor Comer, Dr Gilord Tamson and Dr Autholing—The Hindustan Times (Somanchi Suresh, New Delhi)

NEW DELHI A suggestion was made in the Rajya Sabha that in view of a large number of women members at least one of them should be nominated on the panel of Deputy Chairmen Welcoming it as "a very good suggestion" amid laughter, Chairman M Hidayatullah told Mr N P Nanda (Cong-U) "I hope you have an idea of their age and looks also' There are more than 25 women members in the House-Indian Express (D Thanikachalani, Madras)

BOMBAY Believe it or not, God Vithoba of Pandharpur and his con sort Rakhumai have a ration card on which rations are drawn regularly M., Shalini Patil, minister for revenue, disclosed this during her reply to the debate on her department's demands for grants, in the assembly yesterday (25 July) She said this in the context of raising the revenue department's annual grant to the Pandharpur temple, from Rs 3,000 to Rs 10,000 She said she was aware that even Rs 10,000 was not suffi cient for the pujas "but then I would like to tell the honourable members that gods have a ration card" The Times of India (Abhay Kumar Bajaj,

CHAIBASA For alleged corrupt practices two block development officers (BDO) found themselves in a strange predicament—they were made to parade with their garments off. The incident occurred at Jagan nathpur, 45 km from here on July 16 when gathered before the block development office protesting against

the officers' "corrupt practices in issuing caste certificates and payment of scholarship money to students", delayed police reports said The reports said that a few among the demonstrators caught hold of the arguing officer and stripped him off his clothes The BDO of Noamundi who was there at the time met the same fate at the hands of the demonstrators when he tried to intervene Both were later made to parade along the roads for a tew hours till the police rescued them, reports said-The Indian Express (Aflatoon Desai, Varanasi)

BHOPAL. A girl who never passed her B A examination was reportedly enrolled by Ravi Shankar University at Raipur from where she subsequently passed her MA and BEd examinations On the basis of a migration certificate issued by Agra University in 1971-72, the girl was admitted to a college affiliated to the University She also got a job After doing her MA, the girl enrolled herself as a research scholar and started preparations for a Ph.D degree In the meantime doubts were raised about her migration certificate Ravi Shankar University wrote to Agra University together with a photostat copy of the certificate Agra University has flatly denied having issued such a certificate saying no such girl had ever appeared in the BA examination of that university—Hindustan Times (S.P. Bakshi, Patiala)

CHICKBALLAPUR Who is the Chief Minister of Karnataka? Who else but Mrs Indira Gandhi Who is the President of India? Mr V V Giri Tiger Tippu was a Madrasi The coffee growing area in Karnataka is-hold your breath-Russia Cauvery is the river of Egypt and Ganga and Brahmaputra are both Indian rivers The teacher trainees offered these gems of knowledge to the interview committee at Chickballapur recently. Their knowledge of men and matters knew no geographical distinctions and had no parochial overtones The State had 11 districts, according to one teacher-trainee-Indian Express (PV Sıvakumar, Hyderabad) MADRAS A villager from Pulivai, N Somasundaram, began a fast unto death in front of the American Consulate today, demanding a settle ment of the hostage issue without consulting Iran It is learnt that he sent letters to various dignitaries in the world urging settlement of the issue This is the 19th time that Somasundaram is observing a fast unto death-Indian Express (Bhavanı Sankaran, Poona)

without comment

STOP these shameless activities of pulling down Mr A. R. Antulay just because he is a Muslim-S. B. Chawan, the former Chief Minister of Maharashtra

A VIABLE national alternative should grow and it should not be created. Otherwise, the alternative will also fail like the Janata Party-H N Bahuguna, the former Union Minister

WHERE should we go? To Bihar, or to Assam?-West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu in reply to Ajit Panja's "CPI(M) quit Bengal" call

(THE merger of the three Partiesthe Janata, the Lok Dal and Congress(U)) is a political hallucina tion of frustrated leaders-Subramaniam Swamy, MP and general secretary of the Bharatiya Janata Party

I CAUTIONED him (Raj Narain) | against speaking about our relationship in mythological terms Yet he persisted-Charan Singh

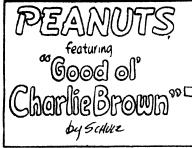
IF the cooperation sought is for his (Channa Reddy's) continuance as leader of the Congress(1) legisla ture Party, the question does not arise. If it is for a smooth changeover of leadership, he will have one hundred per cent cooperation-G. Raja Ram, Andhra Pradesh, Finance Minister

"REACTIONARY, authoritarian and foreign-inspired philosophy of the Marxists should be wiped out"-C. M. Stephen

THE incident (lathi-charge on the procession of the blind on 16. March) unfortunately reflects a settled conviction that our police habi tually deal with each and every issue indiscriminately in their tra- 1/ ditional unfriendly way-Enquiry commission report

IF Charan Singh can prove they weren't dacoits; I'm ready to be shot If otherwise Chowdhury Saheb must be killed-D. P. Gaur, officer-in-charge, Baghpat police staton, on the killing of Maya Tyagi's husband and two others, quoted in New Delhi

I DON'T respect Vanessa Redgrave's causes. I think she is a racist and she proclaims that. Jane Fonda too I think, has bound herself by being too politically tied up...-Liv Ullman











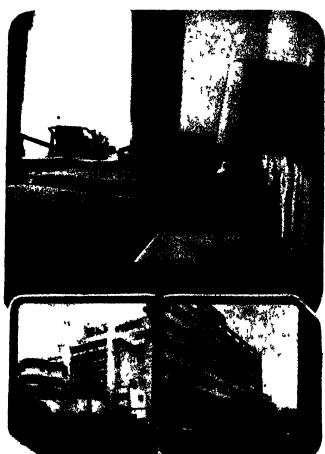




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SOME PARTY

A Party level visit by a high-powered delegation of the Workers' Party of North Korea at the invitation of the Congress (I) has left the protocol division of the External Affairs Ministry gasping The North Korean leaders, who were in India from 23 July to 1 August, were given the kind of VIP treatment which would be the envy of even a visiting head of state. Almost every day during their stay in New Delhi, the delegation was hosted at lunches and dinners by Union Minis ters, and the Prime Minister met them over tea and held exclusive discussions with the leader of the delegation Among the Ministers who hosted the delegation were Buta Singh (Shipping and Transport) at the Janpath hotel, Maganbhai Barot (Deputy Finance Minister), P Thungon (Deputy Minister for Supply and Rehabilitation) at the Oberoi Intercontinental, P C Sethi (Works and Housing), Va-

sant Sathe (Information and Broadcasting), R V.Swaminathan (State Minister for Agriculture), A. P. Sharma (Tourism and Civil Aviation), Bhishma Narain Singh (Parliamentary Affairs), Charanjit Chanana (Industry), Veerendra Patil (Petroleum and Chemicals) at the Tajmahal hotel, and P Venkatasubbiah (State Home Minister) and Pranab Mukherjee (Commerce and Steel and Mines) at the Maurya Sheraton hotel. One non-VIP who hosted the delegation over dinner was Mrs Goody Oberoi, of the Ober or Hotels, who does not have any known official position in the Congress (I) Party. Apparently the Ministers acted as hosts because some wise person in the AICC(I) office thought that it would save the Party a lot of expenditure. But the protocol division officials were left wondering what they would do if in future the programme of this Party level delegation is cited as a precedent and similar treatment expected for every visiting group of equal standing



NOT TO BE TRUSTED?

THE members of Mrs Gandhi's council of Ministers are prohibited from meeting diplomats without the prior approval of the protocol and the co-ordination divisions of the External Affairs Ministry A note was circulated by the Prime Minister among her colleagues a few months back requesting them to desist from meeting members of the foreign missions in New Delhi unless the subject matter was cleared with the External Affairs authorities The main motive behind this move is said to be the apprehension that the government may be embarrassed in case some Minister committed something to a diplomat which was not consistent with the government's foreign policy.

AGING YOUTHS

MANY heads in the Youth Congress (I) may roll soon if a recent circular regarding the age requirement of the organisation's members is seriously implemented. Vinod Sharma, general secretary, has said in the circular, addressed to all the state presidents and national council members, that the age-limit of 35 years has to be strictly observed and has asked for the age certificate of all the state and district-level office-bearers

TRUE HEIR

AT least in one case, Sanjay Gandhi's widow has decided to pursue a matter initiated by her husband She has filed a petition before the Lucknow bench of the Allahabad High Court requesting that she be allowed to continue a criminal revision petition filed by her deceased husband against an order of Mr V D. Kesarı, additional chief judicial magistrate, Lucknow Mr Kesari had cancelled the personal bond of Sanjay Gandhi and fined him Rs 5,000 for not appearing at the hearing of the liquor dealers' detention case. Maneka Gandhi has stated in her petition that since she has inherited Sanjay Gandhi's estate, she is now aggrieved by the penalty imposed by Mr Kesari.

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN



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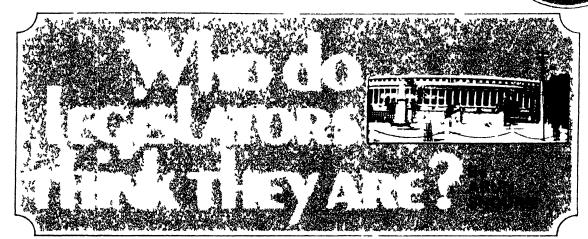
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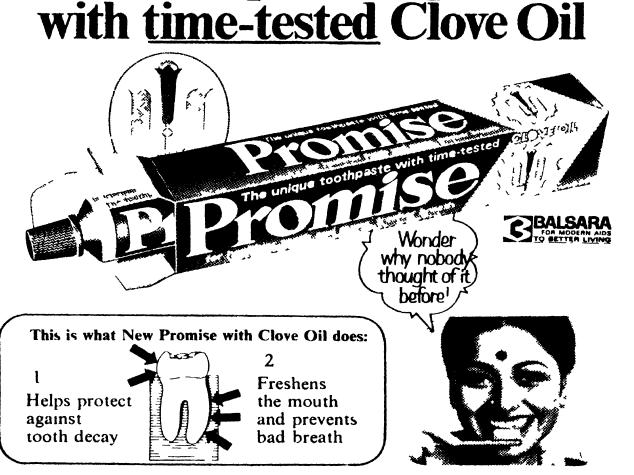


The Mystery of Nehru's Birthplace



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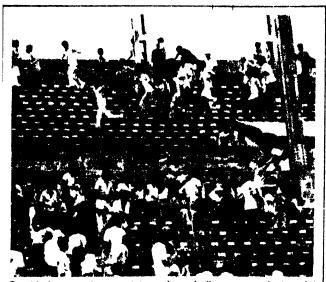


Nehrus birthplace has been defiled it is now a den of prostitutes—complain two MPs Sunday investigated and found that the house where free India's first Prime Minister was born had long been demolished. And there is more to the apparent concern for what should be a national shrine than meets the eye.

Page 8

Arun Shourie executive editor of the *Indian Express* is under notice for breach of privilege and contempt of the Lok Sabha for his article in the paper *A Furore a Day* which dealt with turbulent scenes in the House We publish the full text of his reply to the Speaker in response to the notice

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On 16 August, the worst tragedy in India's soccer history hit Calcutta's Eden Gardens when East Bengal and Mohun Bagan fans clashed, leading to the eventual death of 16 people. An on-the-spot report on how it happened and why it shouldn't have Page 32

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OTHER DEPARTMENTS

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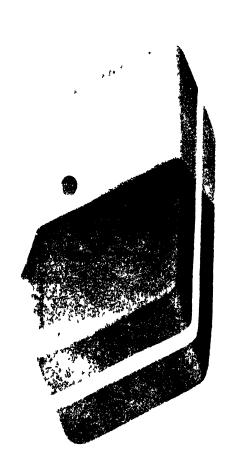
Cover transparency by Kamal Sahai of Hamidan Krishna and Jaddan bai—dancers at Mirganj and staying adjacent to the controversial house

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Calibre: It's when you neither waste your guts nor plathe dirty game, but start changing the rules.





il—ben: It's what some men look for in other men and all men look for in suitings.

calico



Uncrowned King

UTIAM KI MAR ('A legend savs goodbye 3 August) was the wortowned king of Bengali filmdom With his departure the Bengali filmdom with orphaned To think of finding south tute for him is to hope as in a hope Debashish Ray Vansihu Orissa

THE number of people who gathered at Uttam Kumar's ancest all hole to bid him a last tarewell is unimaginable. He was given a king's geodbye many mand women were seen weeping it publicas though ome close relative. I the shad died

Maya Bose Calcuita

UTIAM KUMAR will remain alive for ever in the hearts of millions of Benraiis for his superbooting. The povernment should preserve his memory by electing his statue awardin prizes in his name or renaming a street often him. Debabitata Semique Hos. h

The last binge

THIS refers. In the feet (3 Au gust) by Sikh keel indicary for the record I would use to consect error in statements. Mr Ro on a filters, we that Uttam Kumar attends for the roll of the roll of the states that the particle roll is celebrated I transkumar particle is a flat in the same build up to its a follows.

It was I who had regained possessical of a flat after years I was moving intermal flat that day, 23 July When Uterm here I the news, it was he who in a test on a private house with ming party I did not want to host a party that night samply because my flat was absolutely bare—

WE HAVE seen many photographs of Uttam Kumar but never one so beautiful as the cover picture of Sunday Purnendu Ghosh Latika Ghosh and Ashis Ghosh Calcutta

THI opening paragraph of Uttam to Suchitia Put your hand on my fore head' (3 August) says Uttam Kumai s first real hit was Bosu Parivar in which Suchitia Sen acted with him. This is wrong The actresses in Bosu Parivar were Bani Ganguli Sabitii Chatterjee Supriva Bandhopadhyay (now Chowdhury) and Rekha Chiltopadhyay Suchitia Sen did not have inviole in the film.

Madan Ghosh, Burdwan

IN HIR interview to S. Urimla Majum day on page 19 (3 August) Ms. Supriva Chowdhury says that Uttam Kumar 'also wented to write an autobiography. But I have already read a book published in Calcuita which I tr. it Kumar wrote in 1971.72 called Ama. Ami. The book do cribes his early life, before entering times and the difficulties he initially treed and later overcaine wan encour agement from his mother and with I do not know whether the book is still available in Calcuita.

Sw. 1. h. Acharjee, New Delhi Amet Amerpriced at Rs 7) was wite in by a ghest writer. Gouranga Pr. (id chosh aid is available from Dev's Publishing 31. 1B. Mahatma. Gandhi Road. Calcutia 200/09. Editor.

SE ABRATA GUPTA in A star per forme ne G August) did not receion that I tram Kumar had composed music for the film Kaal Tumi Aleya 1 well the song Jarchole jar from that film sill tings in my ears

Chan ian Bhatticharya Calcutta

MR GIPIA did not in ntion Utam Kumar iperb performance in Salivashi Rije made in the crly revent (s) which he acted opposite Supriya (wildhury

Anjaan Kumai Bhattachars i Dibe e th

there was no food no water to servalt, othing When I tham suggested a party I attempted to di suade him for these casons. My old friend was, however adamant He said he would supply every thing necessary for the party from his house.

He arrived at my that a bout 930 pm with his servant Bansi and hi daughter sino. He had brought with him food, it ckery, napkins, water bottles ice itses and everything that was needed to the party. The party was a relaxed of a rooma was there throughout. At no to did Uttam complain of an, kind of pun or discomfort. When he left my flat it about 1 am with his daughter Soma and servant, he was hale and liearty, in a very good mood. There was absolutely no indication of any discomfort. These are the facts of that last fateful night.

Great actor, too

SAIYAJII RAY's comment about Gregory Peck in "The Nayak" (3) August) is not tair Of course, Mr Ray has studied Uttam Kumar very well. But if Gregory Peck is not an actor in the real sense how could be impress millions of his tans the world over? Let me name one film in which he acted extremely well—

Io Kill a Mocking Bird I ven if none of his other films is taken into account Peck immortalised himself by his pertormance in that film

Amnava Sen Gupta Calcutta

Not I

Oth Rorganisation is a registered socie ty working in the field of family plaining (with particular emphasis and concern for unwanted pregnancy and the terrible blackstreet' practice that exists for it ortion). We have opened clinics which provide a service to the community and our aims are founded on genuine

charitable principles

A recent sport in your magazine ("How men exploit, abuse women" July by Saumi'ra Banerjee) has caused considerable embarrassment to our organisation and the purpose of this letter is to point out that the statement attributed to our organisation is untrue and baseless re 'two million women raped in India". This is a subject about which our society has no knowledge and I repeat neither the writer nor any reptesentative of our Society has ever made any such statement. May I respectfully suggest that alleged and volatile pronouncements should be checked with the source before committing them indelibly to print it would be appropriate for your magazine to correct this error to print It would be Peter Lawton, Executive Member, The Marie Stopes Society, New Delhi

Scumitra Banerjee replies. What in fact I have said is that Zail Singh in Parliament denied a figure relating to rape cases in India which Mr Peter Lawton had reportedly issued I, in fact, had taken both the figure as well as the name of the person who had issued it from the Rajya Sabha pro ceedings of 30 6 80 from a speech made by Ladli Mohan Nigam, MP I quote Mr Nigam "Before I say anything, I would like to draw the atten tion of the Home Minister to Times of India dated 29 (June) I think that a more shameful thing has not been published in India ever before The item is datelined Amritsar and dated 28 (June) It is stated here that 20 lakh women are raped in India every year It is also shameful that this figure has been issued not by an Indian but by a foreigner, whose name is Peter Lawton of the Marie Stopes Society When newspapermen asked him what the basis of his figure was he said police statistics." Subsequently, Zail Singh had denied this figure

Friends, honestly

THIS refers to "The Church and the tribals" (15 June) You mentioned on page 29 that this organisation also helps the Tripura Baptist Union Your reference in the context is extrem by malicious and ridiculcusty far fetched. I feel compelled to driw your attention to the fact that us far as the reference to this organisation is concern d your statement is right but I fitting deny any a letween this organisation.

tetween this organisation and it therefore lattern that i church tagency like the Colorade time foreign igency like the Colorade organisation we have been helping people in Triputa through the Triputa Baptit Cristian (BR). For your cristian colorade organisation we have been helping people in Triputa through the Triputa Baptit Cristian (BR). For your cristian colorade organisation details

at with the IBU is in assisting child in then he tell r Ager tale this hoster a paper and can by 1BU but the characters by 1 are learning are not all Chartan there is many who are not the sec-I they are also helped with a region conthly subsidy We help a good of a traffer food clothing it here i ie et Freir month we creat meet be ounts from the horizontal and every year we get the statement of accounts audit d'h a hater d'accoun tant This not only he of the inder tand the translet or out to be extral them

With the IBC of the example of the laterace programme in the example of the swhere no clouds exist At the nor chartes are about 480 adults who a verbenefited from our involvement. A volume the people in India love nor in use with a churation Hence, he covice a sectored

Middleman's economy

THANKS I the next of in occicent mics by Di Subramamain swamp of August), the family le der big absolutely right saving that we indians think of econom as a line ige in which we argue with our safficial Our economy works not it he court tof the masses but for the bin it co k up of bureaucrats who use 3 their rubber stamp Pour ICIS AS n aders 1 116 55, must develop e odomic coand Dr Swamy should try 'u lest to popularise the subject and help tidia in her fight for economic adept tence Otherwise democracy and not B Dasgupta, Calcuita

NEVI R has any politic in leade in with the moral courage to say that no track in his country including his own has any economic programme. Dr Subramaco in Swamy general secretary of the jarata Party, needed great courage to do so M. K. Damodacon (auvanore)

MR SWAMY first article was factual and realistic and suggested the correct remedies for India's economic crisis. I fully agree with his view that the Indian economy is afflicited with vissound, imperfect systems and policies. Our politic all leaders, policy make is and planners would do well to held modern econom. Anil Kumar, Patna.

in the name of Jesus (hrist who went about doing good for people. We give a stipend of Rs. 1000 to teachers and provide equipment like petiomax slates blackboards. Cre.

Our bonafides are very clear the meney comes to us with the fall know ledge of the Government of India. We get all our money in Indian after through the Reserve Bank and we scrupulously send our form IC 3 every six month. Responsible people from the government receive the contact that and so far not a single doubt his been east on our transactions.

B.2. Sojwal Txecutive Director World Vision of Irdia Madras

IT IS alleged in the uticles that the North East India Christian Council (NEICC) had written a letter to the TUJS MIA Drac Kumar Reang which said 'We are territed to see the increased interest of we church members in pole ties I should by this is a new develop ment and for the first time the church in Impura his hown interest and taken part in politics. The NI ICC wants to place on receid that no such letter was ratter by a 11 behalt of the NI ICC and the NEICC has no connection with inv political Party in general and the Impura-Upajati Juba Samiti in particular The above allegation is unfounded and michievous the NFICE also has no refundamental with Billy Grafanes World Baptist Alliance a illeged nor doc such an organisation exist to the best of our knowledge. The NI ICC is attribated only to the National Council of Churches in India which is the only recognised body representing most of the Protestant Christians in India Secretary North Fast Indic Obristian Coqueil Shillong

If according to Dr Swamy. Neo Classical I conomics" is now ruling the roat, then his More production of X by having less of X' theory becomes outdated along with Chai in Singh's Classical I conomics and I marke Minister R. Venkatar aman's. Keyne was I onomics. Di Swamy's theory is actually at extension of I tonel. Robbins definition of conomics as 'a study of human behaviour as a relationship between cids and care means which have alternative uses.

If making activity on land less profit able is any solution, then India's economic problems wou'd have been solved by now because that is the actual position obtaining in rural areas. And that is why young people from the villages are flocking to cities. Almost three feurths of agricultural land is dry and land reforms will further wersen the situation if agriculture is not made profitable. The Indian economy is still a gamble on the ronsoons.

Anand R Deshoande Solapur

DR SWAMY's statement that 'we can have more production of X only by having less or none of Y" applies only when all a nation's resources of men, materials and machinery are fully employed. Does he not see the heavy under utilisation of capacity in vital sectors like steel, coal, electricity, etc. which are responsible for the country's overall slackness in production and inflation? Shital Kumar Jain, Ranchi

CM's cut

CONGRATULATIONS for Tooshar Pandits 'Chimna Reddy Our most corrupt (M2 3 August) Channa Reddy is otherwise called "Chanda Reddy" (Chanda meens a donation)
Nathi Neelaveni Visakhapatnam

1HJ question in your headline for the story is rhetorical. It is well known that Channa Reddy is our most corrupt CM. S. Sailendra Kumar, Hyderabad.

Bliffer it or not but on top his palatial building at Larnaka Channa Reddy has erected thupe Panchaloha Kalasham, probably to ward off cvil eyes—a sure was tatoning for all his corruption.

1 > Acharva Hyderabad

Firm denial

In Sunday dated 3 August 1980 on page mine there is a letter published under the name of (Rev) P. O' Brien, Kurseong I wish to inform you that I never wrote any such letter and therefore the letter which you published must be a forgery. I request you to publish this letter of mine disowning the authorship of the letter referred to above.

P M O Brien of C Kurseong

Sad state

The acm Novatrator Rath in Delhi Iray (15. Jime) shows Mrs Gandhi's attitude towards Orissa. The president of the All India Youth Congress(I) Committee Mr Ram Chandra Rath should have lived up to the image of the Party by refu ing the potential of the Congress(I) in the last locks because the Congress(I) in the last locks because the last of the last position o

Rumesh Chandra Das Kuamara, Orissa

Main points

Skirlinks Blind surgery" (15) June has a sensational subheading Mistiken identity causes loss of eye. The news item is certainly spicy, but does trake us invwhere? The questions that mand diels come to mind are. Did the dictors teally operate on the 'perfectly normal eye' of R Viswambhaiam, as Mr Ka tha says? Was the patient aware that he was going to be operated on? How did the doctor per Viswamathan Pillais case heet, when R Viswambhaiam was marked for operation? Mi Kartha should have answered these questions.

New royalties

WE BOAST of having abolished the Privy Purses but our new Mahar ajas—our Ministers MPs and MLAs—get privileges which our peor country cannot afford (Campaigning to more", 3 August) Are we supposed to have a socialistic pattern of society?

IN Ramach whan Madias

The Mystery of Nehru's Birthplace

On 4 August two MPs stood up in the Lok Sabha and said that Jawaharlal Nehru's birthplace in Allahabad, the rented house that Motilal Nehru had originally lived in, had now become a brothel. The Press took up the story: and the pages of newspapers were soon flooded with "pictures" of this "birthplace-turned-brothel". SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA investigated the story in Allahabad and searched the records at Teen Murti Bhavan to find out that the pictures were bogus; that the brothel being touted as Nehru's birthplace was not the house where the first Prime Minister of India was born. The truth is, in fact, more fascinating: a deliberate effort is being made to call a house Nehru's birthplace by some people with dubious motives. The MPs were taken for a ride.

N 16 October 1962 an American scholar, Melvin E Levision, associate pro fessor of education at Brooklyn College, New York, addressed a questionnaire to Jawaharlal Nehru One question aske whether there was any written de scription of the house, the grounds and the environment of the residence in Allahabad's Mirganj (howk where Nehru was born on 14 November 1889 Nehru gave a short reply "I do not know of any special de ription. The Mirgani house is no more. It was pulled down for some city improve This exchange, contained in one of the numerous files of the Ieen Murti Bhayan record room, has appa rently not been taken note of by those MPs who raised a storm in the Tok Sabha on 4 August by saying that a portion of the house in which Nehru was born is now being used as a brothel

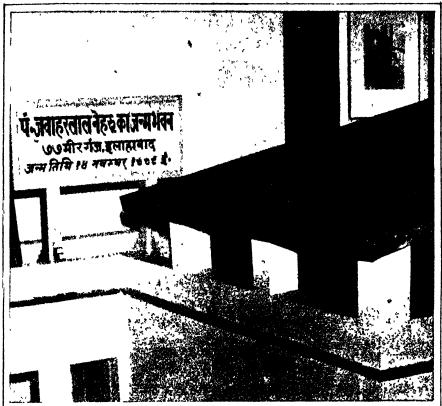
Significantly, the two members who raised the matter during the question hour do not belong to Parties ideologically opposed to Nehru. The matter was initially raised by Mr Ram Nihore Rakesh, the member from Chail a

7/ Mirganj This photograph now in possession of the Nehru Memorial Fund was taken in 1931 by P. N. Verma before the house was demolished.



suburb of Allahabad, who belongs to Mr H N. Bahuguna's Nehru-loving Democratic Socialist Front (DSF). The cue was immediately taken by Mr Arif Mohammad Khan, who represents Kanpur and is one of the joint secretaries of the AICC (I) The Minister for Social Welfare, Mr B. Shankaranand, who was at the receiving end, fumbled for a while and announced that the government was not aware of this and promised an enquiry. Soon newsdap-

The students of Allahabad's government carpentry school, relying on a certain photograph of Jawaharlal's birthplace, 77 Mirganj, constructed a wooden model of the house and displayed it at the swadeshi exhibition In 1950 this model was presented by the headmaster of the carpentry school to the Allahabad Museum and the museum authorities, who enjoyed tremendous patronage of Nehru during his lifetime (according to the



Fake model of 77 Mirgani displayed at Allahabad Museum

ers, including those published from Allahabad, stärted publishing detailed stories about the house which, accord ing to them, was the birthplace of Nehru The Allahabad dailies even went on to publish photographs of a dilapidated house of Mirgani which was supposed to have been occupied by the Nehrus in 1889 and now was being used as a brothel On seeing these reports Sunday decided to investigate the story and we came across facts which are even more appalling than the charge levelled on the floor of Parliament on 4 August — that there is almost total ignorance in the country today about the history of Jawaharlal Nehru and that the institutions close to the Nehru family have played a significant role in creating the present controversy about Jawaharlal's birth-

In 1948, an exhibition was held on the Kayastha Pathshala grounds in Allahabad in which various aspects of the freedom struggle were depicted.

museum's former director, Dr S. C Kala, Nehru sanctioned Rs 66 lakhs for the museum and gifted it many precious family heirlooms and personal documents), put the model on display without bothering to verify its authenticity. It is this model which has been relied upon by various agencies in recent years in their bids of prove that the house where the Nehru family lived in 1889 is now a brothel

In separate interviews both the present director of the Allahabad Museum, Mr R R. Tripathi and the former director, Dr S. C Kala (who was in charge of the museum right from its inception in 1938 till his retirement two years back) admitted that the model on display in the museum was fake and that no verification was done regarding its authenticity before it was put on display. Dr Kala, a recipient of the Nehru fellowship for his research about terracottas, is considered to be an expert on the history of Allahabad and the Nehru



family Many people whom this correspondent met in Allahabad suggested that Dr Kala should be consulted because he was very close to Jawaharlal Nehru Unfortunately, evem under the stewardship of such a person, a faux pas was committed in recording the life history of the first Prime Minister of India

Mirganj is situated in the heart of Allahabad, hardly a stone's throw away from the main business centre of the city, the Chowk Mirganj is in fact a part of the commercial district of the city Apart from being a redlight area, it is the main centre for the trade in silver, cotton, ghee, sugar, gur and, particularly, gold It adjoins the Sabzi Mandi of Allahabad Being in the centre of the city, Mirganj was a residential area of the elite in the late nineteenth century when Motilal Nehru's elder brother, Nandlal Nehru, rented a house in the locality sometime in the 1880s when he came to Allahabad after the UP High Court was shifted to that city from Agra. Soon afterwards Motilal Nehru also shifted his law practice from Kanpur to Allahabad and started living with his elder brother at 77, Mirganj Nandlal died in 1888, leaving the entire burden of his family of seven on Motilal But along with that burden Motilal also inherited a flourishing law practice and soon enough he became the second Indian to move into the westernised civil lines area of the city. But Jawaharlal Nehru had atready been born in this rented house of Mirganj on 14 November 1889.

THE family stayed in the Mirganj I house for about three years after Nehru's birth According to available material, Motilal shifted into 9, Elgin Road, owned by his friend and colleague, Sir Sunderlal Dave, in 1892 The family stayed in that house till 1900, when it shifted into 1, Church Road, which was purchased by Motilal Nehru a year earlier This house, now known as the Swaraj Bhavan, was named Anand Bhavan by Motilal in 1900 and the family stayed there till the present Anand Bhavan was built in 1927 in an adjacent plot of land It was at 1, Church Road that the two sisters of Jawaharlal, Mrs Vıjaylakshmi Pandit and Mrs Krishna Huthee Singh and his daughter, Mrs Indira Gandhi, were



born Swaraj Bhavan later served as the first official headquarters of the All India Congress Committee and was the place of residence of stalwarts like Acharya J B Kripalani and Dr Ram Manohar Lohia when they were AICC office beaters

MIRGANJ today is a flourishing red light area By nine in the morning, rows of prostitutes stand near the doors of the ground floors of the houses on both sides of the con gested, narrow lanes which criss cross the area off the Zero Road near the Rupabani cinema As you enter the red light area, the first thing that you notice is a small temple, built years ago, and the signboard of the local police outpost—Naka Badshahi Mandi, Thana Kotwali Both god and the police seem to stand guard at the entrance of the red light area of Mir ganj The narrow lane takes a right turn within ten yards of the entrance of the red light district and it is at this corner that the controversial birth place of Jawaharlal Nehru is supposed to be

The house, No 66/43, is owned pre sently by three cousins Daerath Vaish (who owns 75 of the premises),

Suresh Chand Kesarwani (12 1/2) and Ram Chand Kesaiwani (12 1/2 5) Since 1976 there has been a growing feeling among certain sections of the local popul ice that this house was part of the house occupied by the Nehrus at the time of Jawaharlal's birth The houses in Mirgan; were renumbered in 1958 The present system of number ing is quite scientific and the very number of the house in dispute sug gests that it was not the birthplace of Nehru At the time of renumbering the houses, the old numbers were retained in the first part of the house number House number 66/43, therefore, de notes that the original number of the house was 66 and it was renumbered to 43 in 1958. The area as such has undergone drastic changes in the recent past what to talk of the past century The police outpost, for inst ance, is named Naka Badshahi Mandi because the house where it is located was, at one time, part of the adjacent Badshahi Mandi locality, but now is part of Mirganj Many houses off the Zero Road in Mirganj have plaques indicating their date of construction as 1936 and 1937

The Allahabad Improvement Trust had moved in with a demolition squad in 1931 in the Mirganj area. At that time the chairman of the Improvement Trust was Pandit Baldev Ram Dave the grandfather of Mr Rajiv Dave, the present resident of 9, Flgin Road (he is a descendent of Sir Sunderlal Dave) Many houses were pulled down to make way for the Mohammad Alı Park and the adjoining spacious square which has now been named Jawahar Square 77, Mirganj is said to have been pulled down during this beautifi cation drive of Allahabad half a cen tury Ago

Apart from the documentary evi dence available indicating that there were large scale demolitions in the Mirganj area in the past few decades, a visit to the area will convince you of the fact Most of central Allahabad



The Nehrus

WHEN did the Nehrus move into their own, self-acquired, property in Allahabad? The house in Mirganj was a rented one, and the Civil Lines house, 9, Elgin Road, was owned by Motilal's lawyerfriend, Sir Shankerlal Dave 1, Church Road, the present Swaraj Bhavan, purchased by Motilal in 1899, therefore, was the first property owned by the Nehrus in Allahabad. It was in this house that Jawaharlal's two sisters and his daughter were born. This house was the residence of the family from 1900 till 1927, when the family moved into the present Anand Bhavan, adjacent to the old house

According to newspaper reports appearing since the present con-troversy started, the Nehrus moved into Anand Bhavan in 1913 This version is not substantiated by any documentary evidence A local newspaper of Allahabad published this version on 7 August and a day later the Allahabad correspondent of a news agency flashed it on the

national hookup

In 1961, the centenary year of Motilal Nehru, Mrs Indira Gandhi wrote an article in a souvenir published by the Motifal Nehru Centenary Committee Entitled, The story of Swaraj Bhavan (published on pages 73-77 of the souvenit), the article said "As far as we know, the house (Swaraj Bhavan) be longed originally to Mr Justice Mahmud, who sold it to Raja Par manand Pathak of Moradaliad, a judge of Shahjahanpur, it was bought by my grandfather, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in 1900 My father was already ten years old when the family moved into it But his sisters, now Mrs Vijaylakshmı Pandit and Mrs Krishna Huthee Singh, and I were born there" Again, some re-cent newspaper reports have claimed that the sisters of Nehru were born at Mirganj While Mrs Gandhi wrote this in 1961, the sale deed of the premises of 1, Church Road (preserved in Teen-Murri

around the Mohammad Alı Park you find the roads becoming spacious Moreover, the plaques on the houses' in the front portion of Mirgani off the Zero Road also indicate that the houses were either rebuilt in the mid Thirties or else they were constructed anew in that period An interesting part of the controversy is that while many in the Mirganj locality are prepared to believe-and propagatethat a particular dilapidated house was the birthplace of Jawaharlal Nehru, none is able to point out any house bearing the old number 77 The house which has been photographed

Anna Dance

Bhavans

with the Nehru Memorial Fund). indicates that the house was purchased by Motilal Nehru on 7 August 1899 from one Raja Jai Kishan Dass for a sum of Rs 20,000.

An interesting version of the sale is given in a book written by a sitting MP, Bishambher Nath Pandey (Allahabad: retrospect and prospect, published in 1955). According to this version, the house was built by Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh Muslim University. Mr Pandey has written that Sir Syed used to be taken into confidence by the British in matters of state as a gesture of goodwill towards the Muslims after the 1857 uprising. In 1867 Sir William Muir, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Frontier Provinces (whose jurisdiction covered the area of the present Uttar Pradesh), wrote to Sir Syed that, "As you are often needed at Allahabad for important consultations, it is proposed that you may have your own kothi constructed at Allahabad. For this purpose, I have got a site, measuring 20 acres of land, at a 10 minutes' drive from the govern-ment house (presently the Motilal Nehru Memorial Medical College)".

Sir Syed, according to Mr Pandey, accepted the offer and by 1871 a kothi was ready. He named it Mahmud Manzil after his son Justice Mahmud, a judge of the Allahabad High Court. Justice Mahmud sold the house to Raja Parmanand Pathak of Moradabad, who re-named the house, Pathak Bhavan. Motilal Nehru, according to Mr Pandey, bought the house from Raja Parmanand in 1898, for a sum of Rs 20,000, and called it Anand Bhavan.

Yet another version says that the name of the house at the time of its purchase by Motilal Nehru was Ishrat Manzil, which in Urdu means the same thing as Anand Bhavan. Motilal changed the name from Urdu to Hindi.

> by the local dailies is number 66/43. Two old Congressmen of Mirganj, Hafiz Rauf (85) and Pashupatinath Gupta(75) assert that the house where Jawaharlal Nehru was born was pulled down in 1931. Mr Hafiz Rauf says that he was born in a house which was situated behind Nehru's birthplace, and his house was pulled down along with 17, Mirgan; to make way for the Mohammad Ali park. Both he and Mr Pashupatinath Gupta allege that the present controversy is part of a game by some local politicians who have taken some MPs for a ride by feeding sensational information to them. Mr

Hatiz Kaut also described the location of the original house (see map), which indicates that it was situated opposite the present Kesar Vidyapith Inter College, which was earlier known as the Kesarwani High School The present location of the Bhapa hotel at the corner of the Mohammad Alı park was indicated by Mr Rauf to be the site of the rented house occupied by the Nehrus in the last century: the house extended from the point where the Bhapa hotel now is to the front of Lail Bibi ka ımambara. There was another gali in front of the imambara, which separated 77 Mirganj from the house where Mr Hafiz Rauf's family stayed as tenants

The Mohammad Alı park is not a park any more After partition, refugees from West Pakistan were allotted shop plots in the park, and rows of shops owned by Punjabis now cover every part of the park. Even the baradari (covered area used for holding meetings) is part of a general mer-chant's shop. The allotment of shops was done when Mr Zulfiquarullah (Chhote Mian) was the chairman of the municipality, and Nehru is said to have disapproved of the move. According to Mr Pashupatinath Gupta, soon after independence, there was a move by some people to construct a Jawaharlal Nehru Hall at the site of the park on the lines of the Jinnah Hall in Bombay, but Nehru frowned upon all moves to convert the park into anything else The adjoining square was named Jawahar Square thanks to the pressure of some local Hindus who did not like the idea of a Mohammad Ali park, they thought that the most convenient way of getting rid of a Muslim name was to name the square after Nehru

THE move for declaring the house at 1 66/43 Mirganj as a national monument started in 1976, during the chief

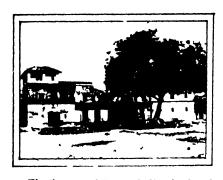


Bahuguna Ram Narain, who owns a tea stall in the Gur Mandi area, adjacent to Mirganj, went on a hunger strike in 1976 demanding that the prostitutes of Mirganj be evicted as the area was hallowed by Nehru's birth. He formed a Vaishyavritti Unmulan Sangharsh Samiti (Prostitution Eradication Action Committee) that year, and this organisation has been spearheading the movement for dec-laring 66/43 Mirgan, as Nehru's birthplace The reasons have very little to do with Nehru, and more to do with removing prostitutes. If the latter went, so much more area would be available for offices and shops, and real estate value would boom.

Mr Ram Narain is an RSS activist. He told this correspondent that he had been active in the RSS since 1946. He was first very assertive that the dilapidated house of Dasrath Vaish was where Nehru was born. But when confronted with the facts gathered by this correspondent, he said, "I have vowed not to speak on this subject", and went on to give a lecture on the need to eradicate prostitution. The RSS activists have formed similar antiprostitution committees in many towns of UP; and in Allahabad the RSS is using the name of Jawaharlal Nehru for its own ends.



Swaraj Bhavan >



The house of Dastath Vaish, 66/43 Mirganj, is today being pulled down to make way for a new construction. His family has lived here for the last 44 years, but owned it for the past 18 years only. No prostitutes he living in this house at present it is just not physically possible for them to do so as a major portion of the house has been pulled down and the remaining por tion threatens to collapse any moment Dasrath's mother Chandrakalı Devi(66), runs a small shop at the door of the house, which opens into the first lane of Mirgani's red light area. There are nine children in the family Das rath Vaish said that for the past four years life had become difficult for him and his family as Ram Narain's stooges have been mounting one offen sive after another to prove that his house was the birthplace of Nehru According to him, the move was pri marily directed against the prostitutes of the arca and his house has been unnecessarily dragged into the controversy "Agai yeh Pandit Nehru ka makaan hai to hame saari baat man 2001 hai Main is pareshani sc tang hoon (If this is really Nehtu's house then I am prepared to accept the fact I am fed up by this harrassment,, ' he said, requesting this correspondent to try to persuade the government to hold an open enquiry in the matter to ascertain the facts

Jaddanbai, the madame of the house next door to 66/43 Mirganj, was more assertive. She said that she had been living in the area for the past 47 years, but had never heard of this strange story before 1976 "1947 se le kar har saal Mohammad Alı park mein 15 August ko jhanda garha jata hai aur Nehruji ki janmdin bhi manai jaati hai Yeh jab Nehru zinda they tabhi se hota raha Par agar yeh unka janm sthan hai to kisine yahan aakar ek chirag taak kyon nahin jalaya? (Since 1947 a flag is being unfurled at the Mohammad Alı park every year on 15 August, Nehru's birthday too is cele brated by people But never has any one come to light even an earthen lamp at the birthplace of Nehru, though these functions started during his lifetime) Jaddanbai deplored those who were trying to dislodge the prostitues by dragging the name of Nehru into the controversy She pointed out that as the chairman of the Allahabad municipal board in 1923 Nehru had given a ruling against

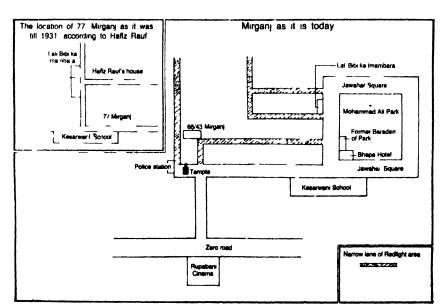


Pashupati Nath Gupta



Bhapa Hotel, at site of 77 Mirganj





moves to segregate prostitutes into one corner of the city (see box).

The local police outpost chief, subinspector Ramchitwan Dubey, said that he had been posted to the Naka Badshahi Mandi only three months back and, as such, was not in a position to give full details of the history of the controversy But in recent days especially since mid-July, the controversy had gained local momentum since 66/ 43 Mirganj was being pulled down by its present owners and rumours had gone around that a number of documents relating to the freedom struggle had been found in the secret vault (tahkhana) of the house According to Mr Dubev's information, when the vault was dug 20 kauris (sea shells used in the game of shatrani), one copper coin and some pieces of pottery were recovered Dubey pointed out that the house was owned by some nawab in the last century and, according to local belief, the recovery of the kauris and the copper coin in the vault indicated that the nawab may have



Front lane of Mirganj's red-light area house at extreme end is No 66/43



Dr S. C. Kala

lost heavily in a game of shatran; and vowed not to gamble again by symbolically burying the dice and the last coin Mr Dubey said that till 8 August (the day we met him) he had not been approached either by Press reporters who had visited the area, or the CID authorities who had investigated the case after the Parliament uproar of 4 August

THE first attempt to locate Nehru's L birthplace was made in 1948 when Seth Govind Das, a joint editor of the



Nehru, on prostitution

THE birthplace of Jawaharlal Nehru is suspected by some people to be a brothel today. Even if unable to prove that the house where Nehru was born is now a brothel, these people assert that the very fact that he was born in the Mirganj locality of Allahabad is enough to merit the eviction of prostitutes from that area Nehru, as chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board in 1923, had written a long note on the "residence" of prostitutes in the city. A cursory reading of the note may be enlightening for those who are now trying to drag his name into the crusade against prostitution in Mirganj.

On 10 June 1923 Nehru wrote a note entitled "On the treatment of prostitutes" (reproduced on pages 14-16 of Selected Works of Nehru, volume 11, Orient Longmans) which read: "The question of the residence of prostitutes has been before the board for many years. I have purposely headed this note differently. I want the question to be considered in its broader aspects and not merely on the narrow ground of place of residence... Last year the board made a brave effort to abolish prostitution by passing a resolution and appointing a committee. The effort was foredoomed to failure. The world would be a very different place if we could abolish prostitution and lying and cruelty and oppression and the thousand and one ills that flesh is heir to by resolution...

"Prostitution, it is well known, is largely due to two causes-the economic and the human. If we could raise the status of women and afford them honourable careers we would do more towards the lessening of the evil than by any number of byelaws. The human factor is more difficult to deal with, but everything that makes for social betterment and for equality between the sexes helps in the solution of the problem. We are scandalised at the residence of prostitutes in our midst. But prostitutes do not carry on their ancient trade by themselves. They are only one party to the transaction I seldom hear anything against the other party, the man who exploits the poor woman and casts all the blame on her The proper way to deal with the question of prostitution is to make it as dishonourable for a man as for a woman to help in it..

"I do not believe in issuing a fiat that prostitutes must not live in any part of the city of Allahabad except a remote corner If this is done I would think it equally reasonable to reserve another part of Allaha: bad for the men who exploit women and because of whom prostitution

flourishes."

In this note Nehru had made certain suggestions for dealing with prostitution. They included proposals for setting up homes for these unfortunate women where they could be taught some useful trade, educating people about the harmfulness of venereal diseases, and amending the law to raise the age of consent and imposing "extreme penalties on persons exploiting young girls and living on their earn-

On 14 October 1958, Nehru wrote a letter to V.R.Krishna Iyer (presently a Supreme Court judge), on the subject; "This is of course, a major social problem, and I wish you succeed in your efforts to deal with it. I confess, however, that I have long felt that the type of efforts that are made usually meet with little success. I remember that, nearly thirtyfive years ago, when I was the chairman of Allahabad Municipality, I tried to deal with this problem and wrote a long note on the subject. I did not succeed to any marked extent The problem is so much connected with other eco nomic and social aspects of our life that it is a little difficult to separate it. Anyhow, it is good to do some thing about it"



Nehru Abhinandan Granth (published in 1949 to mark his 60th birthday) visited Allahabad According to Dr S C Kala, he accompanied Seth Govind Day to the Mirganj area and, with the help of the local police and municipal records, tried to locate the birthplace, but could not Dr Kala said that according to an old citizen of Allaha bad, the late Ranendra Nath Basu (he was a member of the municipal board under Nehru's chairmanship, and later was its chairman) the house where Nehru was born was made of clay (as most houses then were) and was a double storied structure

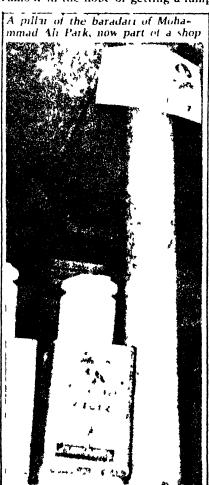
The photograph of 77, Mirgan, which is published here, was taken by a veteran photographer of Allahabad, the late P N Verma before the house was demolished in 1931. This photograph is now in the possession of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, Teen Murti Bhavan New Delhi and the photocopy of that puture was made available to us by the administrative secretary of the fund Mr M V Raian The negative of this photograph is not available either with the fund, the Allahabad Museum or P. N. Verma and Co in Allahabad The photograph was given to the I und in 1976 by the family of Mr Rajiv Dave after the controversy was first raised by Ram Narain The authenticity of the photograph was ventied by the sons of the late P N Verma who recall having seen such a photograph

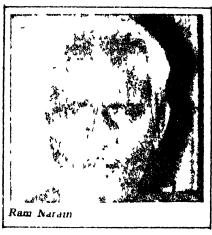




in their inther's collection, though they could not trace out the negative

The first controversy over Nehru's birthplace prose for a short while about 35 years back, when someone declared a particular house in Mirgani to be the birthplace Mr Anwarullah Khan, who was formerly the Congress councillor of the municipality from the Bahadurgan; ward (which includes the Mirgani area) recalls having seen an item in the newspapers some 25 years ago that a particular house was the birthplace of Nehru, but does not remember which house was so proc laimed The controversy died down when it was found out that some interested parties were floating such a rumou in the hope of getting a lump

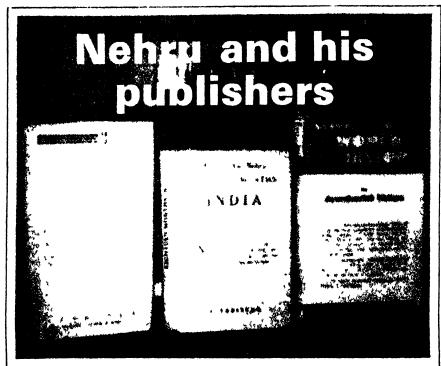




sum as compensation in case the government decided to acquire the house for a national monument

In 1976, Bahuguna's government ordered an enquiry after Ram Narain's fast, the enquiry died a bureaucratic death More recently, Mr Vithalbhai Jhaveri, who is making a documentary film on Jahawaharlal's life, went to Mirganj accompanied by Munshi Mahavir a 76 year old employee of the Swaraj Bhavan of Motifal Nehru vin tage, to try and locate the house He also drew a blank When this corres pondent met Munshiji at his office in the Swaraj Bhavan, he too denied the existence of the house, though a local Hindi Daily of Allahabad had referred to him as being an authority on the location of the house, while writing on the recent controversy

It is apparent that no serious effort has yet been made to record the life of Jawaharlal Nehru and the present controversy has exposed the chinks in the armour of the historians specialis ing on Nehru. It is significant that despite the Teen Murti Bhavan archives having sufficient proof to indi cate that the birthplace of Jawaharlal did not exist now, the Nehru Memorial Fund's office issued a contradiction only on 9 August, a full five days after the hue and cry in the Lok Sabha Moreover, the overenthusiasm of some experts, especially Dr S C Kala, to prove that the house presently in dispute was not Nehru's birthplace made them issue statements which were erroneous on other counts "The origin al house where Jawaharlal Nehru was born on 14 November 1889 does not exist in the Mirganj area of Allahabad Even if it had survived, there is no direct proof that the great leader or his sisters were born there "While it is true that Nehru's sisters were not born in Mirganj, it is surprising that Dr Kala should try to sell the theory that even Jawaharlal was not born in Mir gan; Mirgan;, during the last part of the nineteenth century, was not a red light area as it is today, though there were some houses of prostitutes in that area even then But in those days, prostitutes or tawaits, as they are called in Urdu, were associate mem bers of the aristocratic society, and no one should be ashamed of admitting such facts of history



Some of Kitabistan's historic publications

HILE there is no trace of the house where Jawahar lal Nehru was born, two institutions associated with him, his original pub lisher and his photographers' firm, still exist in Allahabad, albeit in dila pidated conditions. The original own ers are long dead. The publishing house, Kitabistan, is now owned by Mr Anwarullah Khan, a Congress (U) activist and a former councillor of the Allahabad Municipality, who acquired the firm from the Custodian of Eva cuee Properties in 1954 after the ori ginal owner, Muhammad Kalimur Rah man, had migrated to Pakistan The photographers' firm, P N Verma & Co, still exists at Allahabad's Chowk and is run by the sons of the late P N Verma Both these firms clearly have seen better days. While Kitabistan's original owners did not approach Nehru for help when the firm fell on bad days, the present owners of P N Verma & () feel let down by govern ment departments, who, they allege, have not given a fair deal to the firm while acquiring rare Nehru photo graphs

The bookshop of Kitabistan had to be moved from its criginal home at 17 A Kamla Nehru Road near Allaha bad University after a court judgment evicted the firm. It is now housed in a backlane of Chak off the Zero road, at the residence of Mr Anwarullah Khan This firm, established by two brothers, Muhammad Kalimur Rihman and Muhammad Obaidur Rahman, in 1933 was the original publisher of Nehru's Glimpses of World History Other books by Nehru published originally by Kitabistan were Letters from a father to his daughter Whither India, Recent Essays and Lighteen mpnths in

India Other eminent autnors of Kitabistan were Subhas Chandra Bose (Through Congress Eyes), Sardar K M Panicker (Hinduism and the Modern World), Asoka Mehta and Achvut Pat wardhan (The communal triangle) Di Ram Manohar Lohia (The guilty men of India's partition) and the famous Hindi poetess, Mahadevi Verma (Deepshikha and Yama)

Kitabistan in its heyday was not only a leading Indian publisher but also one of the biggest importers and distributors of foreign books and was the biggest Indian publisher in English Only the Indian branches of Oxford University Press, Orient Long man and Macmillan were ahead of Kitabistan In 1938 the firm opened an office in London and the publications of that period bore two addresses one of Allahabad and the other 20 21 Tooks Court, Cursitor Street, London EC4 M O Rahman had gone to London to look after that office, but the outbreak of World War II in 1939 put a stop to this ambitious project of Kitabistan and M O Rahman retuined home

After Independence, M K Rahman left for Karachi to open a branch of Kitabistan at the new capital of Pakistan According to Mr Anwarullah Khan, M K Rahman had no intention of permanently settling down in Pakistan but was only interested in extending the activities of the company to that country as well. His departure, however, spelt doom for the parent firm as, according to the Indian law dealing with evacuee property, M K Rahman's property was attached by the Custodian of Fvacuee Properties and the Indian government appointed a manager to look after the firm. The new manager had no experience of the

book trade and the first seven years after Independence saw the original publishing house of Jawaharlal Nehru languish, till it was auctioned in 1954 and Mr Anwarullah Khan took it over The company under the new management never rose to the glorious heights attained by it under the Rahman brothers

A reason for the firm slowly falling from grace could have been certain differences which arose between Nehru and Kitabistan over money mat ters in the late Thirties The corres pondence files meticulously pre served by Mr Anwarullah Khan, throw some light on an interesting side of Nehru's life. Differences initially arose over the proposal of Penguin Book Company of England to publish the Glimpses of World History in four volumes Kitabistan were offered the exclusive sales rights of the Indian edition by Penguin Books The nego tiations began on 26 March 1937 when Nehru wrote a letter to M K Rahman, who wrote back saying that the arrangement did not suit him as the Indian edition being offered by Pen guins exclusively to Kitabistan was being priced at eight annas a volume whereas the England edition was to be



priced at six annas Rahman feared that some wholesaler would import the six anna edition and thereby jeopardise the chances of the Indian edition He, therefore, suggested that Pen guins be asked to price their two editions identically This, however, did not please Nehru, who wrote back saying that Kitabistan was being unleasonable Ultimately the deal with Penguins did not go through, though when another English firm, Lindsay Drummond, took up the rights of the book, Kitabistan were excluded The bid by the Rahman brothers in 1938 to set up a branch in London is viewed by Mr Anwarullah Khan as an attempt to

compete with the British firms on their home ground, but the move apparently did not have the blessings of the right quarters

Another tiff took place between Nehru and Kitabistan over the book Letters from a father to his daughter. On 11 February 1938 Nehru wrote to M K Rahman stating "I am worried about the arrangements according to which my little book Letters has been prescribed by certain educational authorities. This does not fit in at all with my own views on the subject or with certain offers. I have made to provincial governments. The price you have fixed for the school edition of the Letters seems to be absurdly high.

cannot understand how a small book

like this can be priced at Re 1 special

ly when a large edition is brought out

of schools, etc. (12%), freight and postage (7%), advertisement expenditure (3%) and net profit to the publisher (2%) Nehru, however, was not convinced about these economics and again in a letter dated 25 May 1939 asserted the need to reduce the price of the school edition of his book

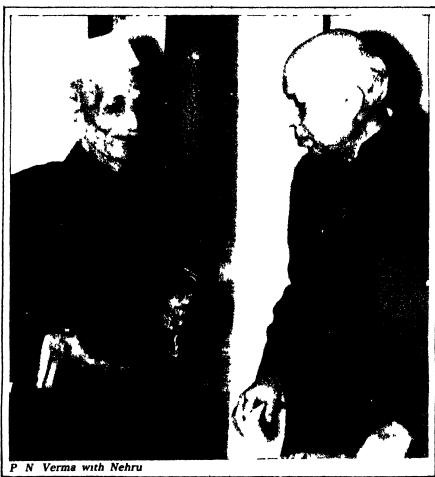
An interesting letter from Nehru in Kitabistan's collection is one written from Prague on 16 August 1938. In that letter Nehru wrote to M. K. Rahman that he had received a letter from his father and was 'surprised' to learn that Kitabistan owed him royalties amounting to Rs. 5,000 which had not been paid. He also complained to Rahman that the latter had not been paying the printers, the Allahabad Law Journal Press, regularly Rahman promptly wrote back, clarifying the

THE photographers' firm, P N Verma & Co, was established in 1909. The photograph of Nehru's birthplace, 77 Mirganj was taken by P N Verma in 1931 before the house was demolished by the Allahabad Improvement Trust This is one of the many rare photographs, the negatives of which are still available with the company, now being run by P N Verma's sons, Mr J N Mehrotra and Mr B N Mehrotra The negative of the photograph of the disputed house however is not available anywhere now, though the Mehrotra brothers distinctly remember their father having taken such a photograph (The original is now in the possession of the Nehru Memorial Fund, New Delhi)

The Mehrotra brothers bear a grouse against government depart ments, especially the Information and Broadcasting, Ministry and the Posts and Telegraph Department They say that the P and T authorities took a photograph of Motilal Nehru in 1961 for printing a postage stamp but never paid anything to the firm Again, in 1964, after Nehru's death, the Informa tion and Broadcasting Ministry author ities approached the firm for rare Nehru photographs needed for an ex hibition An album of 34 photographs was taken to New Delhi for approval and on 19 August 1964 one K K Puri wrote to the firm on behalf of the principal information officer of the Union government (letter No 10/3/64) PPU) stating that 14 photographs had been approved Subsequently those photographs were copied and display ed in an exhibition in New York, the Mehrotras claim The album was returned to the firm, but no payments have been received by it from the government so far say the Mehrotra

When this allegation was men tioned to Di S (Kala former director of the Allahabad Museum and to Mr V Rajan administrative secretary of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, it was not denied that the firm's photographs were acquired by the gov ernment for exhibitions, though neith er of them were in a position to throw any light on the payments not being directly associated with the agencies responsible for that Mr Rajan, howev er, stated that once when he negotiated with the firm, they had asked for an 'exorbitant' rate of Rs 5,000 per photograph, which was beyond his reach Dr Kala also expressed similar sentiments though he said that in 1957, when the UP government had organised an exhibition to commeno rate the centenary of the 1857 upris ing he had helped the government select some photographs from the firm and they were paid Rs 23 000 for the deal though initially thay had asked for a sum of Rs 50,000

Apart from the Nehru photographs among the rare originals with P N Verma & Co are the photographs taken after the mattyrdom or Chandrashekhar Azad who was shot dead in an encounter with the police in a park in Allahabad



We have been criticising the price of school books in the past, as high prices mean an exploitation by the publishers and the author of the students. For me to be a party to this is a painful matter. Is it not possible to reduce the price? It seems to me that eight annas would be a mate times for the book."

would be a right price for the book "
On 15 March 1938 M K Rahman wrote back to Nehru, regretting his inability to reduce the price To substantiate his case, he gave the following breakup of the cost of the book cost of production (33%), royalty to the author (10%), commission to the sole agents (Oxford University Press 33%), free (specimen) copies to headmasters

position Interestingly, the letter from Prague dated 16 August was repiled to by Rahman on 22 August that year!

Apart from the galaxy of Kitabistan authors stated above, attempts were made by M K Rahman to get the translation rights of G B Shaw's books He wrote to Shaw in 1937 seeking permission to translate his works into Indian languages Shaw's secretary wrote back saying, "GBS would like to know in which of the Indian dialects you want to translate his works" The project apparently did not proceed any further, for there are no further letters in this connection in the antique files of the company

Who do legislators think they are?

6 August 1980

Honourable Mr Speaker,

MR K K SAXFNA of the Lok Sabha Secretariat has sent me a copy of Mr Arif Mohammad Khan's notice and asked me to state what I have to say in the matter for your consideration

Mr Khan has given notice of his intention to talse a question involving breach of privilege and contempt of the House against me "for writing (sic) and publishing an article about the proceedings of the House named 'A Furore a Day' (28 7 1980)" He feels that "the article has tried to create an impression that Lok Sabha and other Legislative bodies are not meant for (sic) serious business but they are institutions thriving on indiscipline"

There are four things in defence of the article that I would like to submit for your consideration

A: TRUTH

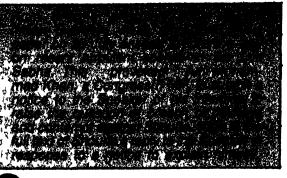
The first is truth Each incident that has been described in the article actually occurred and was described in that manner by correspondents of sev eral newspapers who themselves wit nessed the incident In Annexure-I (not printed nere) I have furnished against each of the incidents men tioned in the article a partial list of the newspaper reports which described the incidents and on the basis of which my article was written. To the best of my knowledge none of the original reports has as yet been challenged in any Legislature for having been in accurate

That such unfortunate incidents occur is common knowledge. You have yourself had occasion to chastise members for their conduct, to say, for instance on 24 July, that you wished the constituents of a member were to witness what he was doing, to remind members that valuable time and money were being wasted, to warn them that the voters would not pardon them if they persisted in unruly conduct.

Speaking in Bhopal on 3 August you were equally emphatic The UNI re

ported you as saying that you "received numerous letters from people all over the country expressing concern over the deteriorating standards in the I ok Sabha and also the state legislatures" You are reported to have gone on to say, "The unruly scenes withessed in the Lok Sabha often disgust the people and if corrective steps are not taken in time, democracy itself would be threatened The Iimes of India turther reported you as saying that you hoped mock parliaments in schools and colleges would not emulate the actual proceedings of Parliament and state Legislatures

Or consider the reports in this morning's papers about the Lok Sabha vesterday They describe what the Statesman characterises as "an uproar stronger than any in recent years" Members are reported as shouting at each other for 45 minutes, as waving photographs and documents Two members are reported to have been "challenging each other menacingly," to have nearly come to blows You are described variously as "going ahead dourly with the business on hand,' having "remained sitting, watching helplessly red faced members gesticu lating at one another and wanting the chair to take notice of their pleas, as being "harassed and bewildered," as resorting to "a new technique," that of, as you are quoted as saying, letting MPs "get their gas out" In the end you are quoted as having been constrained to remark (as the record is not avail able at the moment, I am quoting from the newspapers) that the conduct of the members was "absolutely wrong and highly undignified," that you "could not stand the indecency," that you wondered how such things could happen in the presence of those who had occupied key positions, that members should remember, after all, that the House was not a wrestling arena The Petriot reports you as telling the members, "It ill behoves all of you to shout in this manner You must exer cise some discretion, some self control and show some sense It is very undignified of members of this House to behave in this manner," and as telling them, "If each of you is to behave as he



wants, why run this House? Come, let us all go out and work outside " The Hindustan Times reports you as asking the entire House how long such scenes could be permitted, as asking whether such conduct was not against the Rules of Procedure formulated by the House itself, as asking them whether such conduct was not "uncivilised be haviour"

Nor are you the only Speaker of the Lok 6abha to have been driven to such remarks. I vividly remember the state to which your distinguished predeces sor, Mr K. S. Hegde, was often reduced in his attempts to bring order to the House.

The Rajya Sabha is little different I am sure I do not have to list for you the numerous occasions on which and the terms in which even a soft spoken person like Mr Hidayatullah has had to chastise members. The day before yesterday a full hour was lost in he ated exchanges, yesterday again, the papers this morning report, disorder marred the proceedings of the House for half an hour

We thus have your direct testimony and that of other distinguished presiding officers on the state of affairs that I depicted summarily in a "A Furore a Day" Nor are presiding officers the only ones from within Parliament to have expressed apprehensions of this kind

Perspicacious members too have on occasion expressed their dismay at some of the proceedings As just one instance, I draw your attention to the column "Last Hurrah For Democracy" by Mr Khushwant Singh, the disting uished member of the Rajya Sabha and Chief Editor of the Hindustan Times Writing in the Hindustan Times of 2 August 1980, Mr Khushwant Singh has affirmed that his stay in Parlia ment confirms the substance of my article He has narrated incidents from his direct knowledge Reflecting on his own experience, on what is known about the goings-on in several Legislatures and on the costs of such periodic tumult, Mr Khushwant Singh, MP, has been led even to remark that "People may well ask Did we elect these jokers to these august Assemblies to go and shout at each other and create scenes?"

The remarks made by Mr K. S. Hegde and Mr Hidayatullah on several occasions, your own remarks and the

testimony of an MP like Mr Khushwant Singh convince me that I was not wrong in writing as I did about Parliament And, as you know so well, proceedings in the Assemblies of Bihar, UP, MP, Haryana, to cite four examples of Assemblies whose records I have examined, are much more tumultuous than those of the Lok Sabha

I do not believe and certainly did not want to suggest in "A Furore a Day" that members of the Lok Sabha and other legislative bodies do no serious work at all and spend all their time shouting at each other Indian Express along with several other papers faithfully reports the substantive debates that take place in our Legisla tures as well as the important laws that are passed During the one and a half years that I have spent at the Indian Express there has not been a single occasion when a Legislature has complained that, given the limitations of news space and staff under which we have necessarily to function, the paper failed to report the serious business transacted by the House In "A Furore a Day" also, whenever I could find a reference to the actual time that the particular outburst took, I recorded it Eleven incidents in the Lok Sabha, for instance, are mentioned in the article I could locate the time (ranging from 20 to 45 minutes) taken up in the case of six of these incidents and this was duly recorded. No objective reader could infer from these references that the Lok Sabha did no serious work at all on these days as he must surely know that the sessions of the House lasted longer than 20 to 45 minutes on these days

In brief, the first point I would submit for your consideration is that the narration of incidents mentioned in my article is truthful and is a fair summary of what actually transpired You will recall that by the 44th Amendment Parliament, introduced Article 361(A) into our Constitution This Article states, inter alia, that no person shall be liable to any proceedings in a court for publishing in a newspaper a substantially true report of proceedings in a Legislature unless the publication is proved to have been made with malice. The earlier qualifying clause in the Feroze Gandhi Act that the publication was actionable if it could be established that it was not in the public interest, a clause that was liable to elastic interpretation, has been dropped I cannot imagine that while a Legislature would prevent the courts from punishing anyone for publishing a substantially true report of proceedings in the Legislature, it would go ahead and itself prosecute the person for doing just that

B: INTENTION

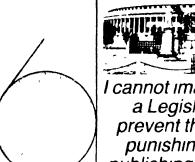
After truth, the second point I would like to submit for your consideration is intent As you know, it has often been held (see, for instance, In

Re S Mulgaokar, Supreme Court Reports, 1978, III, po 162-189) that proceedings for contempt should not generally be launched against a person if his intention was not that of bringing the institution into contempt. The Lok Sabha is, of course, the sole judge of its privileges but this principle is so unexceptionable that I am confident the House will find it worthy of its dignity.

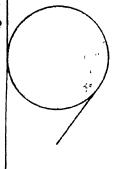
I believe and have consistently maintained that parliamentary institutions are of vital importance to our country My objective has always been to strengthen these institutions, not to enfeeble them by bringing them into contempt

Over the years, along with a very large number of observers, I have watched with distress the fact that individuals in these institutions have abandoned the high standards that alone are consonant with the status and high purpose of these institutions Watching the Legislatures and the

I am encouraged to note that in a recent exchange on the floor of the House, you yourself seemed to indicate that the remedy may lie only with a better informed citizenry You will recall that on 24 July there was considerable disorder, and a member of the House thought it fit to stand up on the bench After a number of exchanges with him and other members you remarked (I am recording a free translation of your remarks), "The point to see is and I think it would be good if voters observe you and see how you conduct your business. I am saddened by this You are the ones who have formulated the rules and regulations and the Parliament shall be conducted according to those But if this is the way in which you want to conduct yourselves, then I cannot take exception After all, the House is not mine alone, it is your House Conduct it as you will But remember one thing. people outside will not pardon us. It is a straightforward matter we are re-



I cannot imagine that while a Legislature would prevent the courts from punishing anyone for publishing a substantially true report of proceedings in the Legislature, it would go ahead and itself prosecute the person for doing just that.

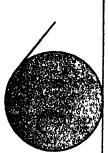


increasing difficulty that presiding officers have faced in persuading members to restrain themselves, I have been led to believe that if there is any hope of preventing things from sliding further it lies with the citizen ry, a citizenry that has been aroused to what is going on and, realising the eventual consequences of the drift, then restrains its representatives. For this reason I have in the past (Indian Express, 16 August 1978, 27 March 1979, 12 May 1979) urged that proceedings of our Legislatures should be televised and broadcast and that they should be reported in the minutest detail by our Press The article in question, "A Furore a Day", was written precisely in this spirit, of doing whatever little I could to strengthen our Legislatures by awakening as many people as I could reach to the state of affairs

sponsible to people outside "

In the remarks you made to the Bhopal Union of Working Journalists on 3 August to which I have alluded earlier you were even more specific. You said that proceedings of Parliament should be televised so that people get an idea of what their elected representatives do and how they conduct themselves.

In your remark directed at one member in the Lok Sabha on 24 July as well as in your general comments in Bhopal you certainly did not want voters to witness what is going on merely for their amusement. The import of your remarks obviously was your expectation that if voters saw what is going on they would be sufficiently aroused to bring their representatives to book. My intention has been no different. Knowing that constituents cannot be physically present.





I also hope that your suggestion to televise proceedings of Legislatures will be acted upon soon so that people may, as you desire, get to know what their representatives are doing...



in the House and that the proceedings of our Legislatures are still not being televised or broadcast, I have periodically written about the proceedings to inform as many citizens as I could reach "A Furore a Day" was written with the same intention, that of informing voters so that they may ensure better and more productive conduct from their representatives

I, therefore, submit as the second point for your consideration that Mr Khan has taken offence as he has misconstrued the purpose of the article

C: PRIVILEGE

The third point I submit for your consideration is the nature of privilege itself Privilege is not meant to set individual legislators up as supermen It is meant, as May and other authorities have stressed, to enable legislators to perform their functions more effectively With your deep acquaintance with such matters, you will recall May's observation in Parliamentary Practice that, "The distinctive mark of a privilege is its ancillary character The privileges of Parliament are rights which are absolutely necessary for the due execution of its powers "That is why, for instance, legislators are accorded freedom of speech and debate, immunity from arrest, and immunity from court proceedings for what they say in the Legislatures. As a citizen I cannot see what function would be facilitated if the Press were restrained from presenting a faithful and true account of what transpires in Parliament or the state Assemblies On the contrary, if the Press desists from reporting incidents of the kind I catalogued in "A Furore a Day", it could be held to have actively harmed the cause of the Legislatures and in the long run contributed to disabling them from performing their functions. The sequence is easy to forecast unre ported, and thus unrestrained, such incidents become commonplace, such

incidents having become commonplace, the legitimacy of Parliament and Legislatures dwindles, legitimacy having dwindled, people stop recognising their authority and the Legisla-tures are disabled from performing their primary function, that of legistating for the people Should the Press contribute to such a process by silence, it could certainly be held in the long run to have thwarted Parliament's functions and thus breached its privileges But how can the Press, and in this particular instance, I be held to have breached a privilege when I have recounted truthfully events that actually transpired in Legislatures and have done so precisely to strengthen Parliament and the Assemblies so that they may perform their functions more effectively?

D: DUTIES AS A CITIZEN

I realise that under present practice each Legislature is the sole judge of its privileges. I also realise that even though privileges of Legislatures are not mentioned in Article 19(2) as constituting a ground on which reasonable restrictions may be placed on the freedom of speech, the Supreme Court has in the past held that fundamental rights must subserve privileges of Legislatures. I realise furthermore that in spite of the expectation of the Constituent Assembly that Articles 105(3) and 194(3) would be replaced within a short period by a more specific enumeration of privileges, for 30 years our Legislatures have not defined their privileges and have continued to reply on Articles 105(3) and 194(3) which define them with reference to the unspecified privileges of the House of Commons I realise that these three things taken together mean that today the Lok Sabha has, to use Maitland's apt expression, "a legal power to turn into a contempt just what it

pleases."

But there is a higher consideration than current practice and rulings such as MSM Sharma—the higher consideration that determines the duties of a citizen and the proper relation between a citizen and his elected representatives I attach great importance to this partly because I consider the matter to be vital to the health of democratic institutions and partly because the substance of the matter lies in lessons bequeathed to us by Gandhiji.

Gandhiji, as you know so well, used to say that "real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when abused In other words, he said, "Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses, to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."

Given this, Gandhiji often stressed that legislators are the "servants" (in fact, as you will recall, he used expressions such as "doubly servants", 'slaves") of the citizens and not the other way round He stressed that unless the people at large and specially those "who have accepted service of the land as an article of faith" continually monitor the conduct of their representatives and ensure that the latter keep to the promises they made at the polls, the legislators shall become masters and the people slaves to them He, therefore, counselled all to continually monitor what their representatives were doing and, in the extreme, to resort to non-compliance of the laws passed by legislators should their conduct or the laws themselves warrant this All of this, he stressed again and again, was equally relevant whether a foreign government was in power or our own

It is because of this that he taught us that neither legislators nor Legislatures are to guide the people, that the latter are to be the guides. His counsel is so apposite that you will bear my recalling it for your consideration

Firstly, he said, I have not made any distinction between the present and the future Assembly under Swaraj. secondly, it is an illusion to think that MLAs are the guides of the voters. Voters do not send representatives to the Assemblies in order to be guided by them On the contrary, they are sent there loyally to carry out the people's wishes The people are, therefore, the guides, not the MLAs The latter are servants, the former masters. The illusion is due to the present system of government. When the illu ion disappears, the existing unseemly competition to get into the Jegislatures will also be much less. There will be a few whose duty it will be to go there, and they will go to do the people's will... The third mistake in the argument is that the Assemblies are best fitted to guide the people.

If we look around the world we shall find that the best guidance is given by those outside If that were not so, a rot would set in in all governments, because this field for guidance is vast and the Assembly is a very small thing Parliaments are, after all, a mere drop in the ocean of national life

As this is the counsel that Gandhiji has bequeathed to us, I am sure you would not want me to barter my duties as a citizen

A further consideration is involved As our Legislatures have refused to codify their privileges and, through Articles 105(3) and 194(3), continue to rely on British practice, permit me to begin by recalling for your consideration the restraint with which and the considerations on which the power of committing for contempt and breach of privilege is exercised there I shall cite but one instance, namely, the observations of Lord Denning in Regina Vs Metropolitan Police Commissioner ex p Blackburn

This is the first case, so far as I know he says, where this court has been called on to consider an alle gation of contempt against itself. It is a jurisdiction which undoubtedly belongs to us but which we will most sparingly exercise more particularly as we ourselves have an interest in the matter.

Let me say at once that we will never use this jurisdiction as a means to uphold our own dignity. I hat must rest on surer foundations. Nor will we use it to suppress those who speak against us. We do not tear criticism, nor do we resent it. For there is something far more important at stake. It is no less than freedom of speech itself.

It is the right of every man, in Parliament or out of it, in the Press or over the broadcast, to make fair comment, even outspoken com ment, on matters of public interest Those who comment can deal faith fully with all that is done in a court of justice They can say that we are mistaken, and our decisions erroneous, whether they are subject to appeal or not All we would ask is that those who criticise us will remember that, from the na ture of our office, we cannot reply to their criticisms. We cannot enter into public controversy Still less into political We must rely on our conduct itself to be its own vindica

The office our legislators occupy is certainly not such as to deter them from replying to criticism or from en tering into public controversy. Indeed, it gives them' several advantages in such controversy. And yet, instead of examining their own conduct, they direct privilege and contempt notices at others.

I submit, sir, that in doing that, in asking me, for instance, to explain my

conduct in writing a truthful account of a few of their deeds, they address the question to the wrong party

Who is it that brings a Legislature into contempt—the legislator who switches loyalties, betrays the trust and mandate of the people, who hurls abuse and objects at his colleagues, who indulges in malpractices such as renting out his official accommodation, does he bring the House into disrepute or the one who merely and truthfully brings these deeds to the attention of the people?

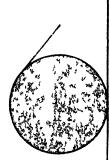
There is cause, I believe, sir, for some introspection, for recalling what Gandhiji so often stresssed-that neither the supposed honour nor the perquisites of office should lure any one to a Legislature, that the only attraction must be the opportunity a seat in the Legislature affords for serving the people—there is cause, sir, for recalling this and contrasting it with what is happening in our Legisla tures There is cause also, sir, for recalling the sage counsel that the Supreme Court gave to all who would use the power of committing for contempt without first looking at their

Wise Judges never forget that the best way to sustain the dignity and status of their office is to deserve respect from the public at large by the quality of their judgments, the fearlessness, fairness and objectivity of their approach, and by the restraint, dignity and decorum which they observe in their judicial conduct. We venture to think that what is true of the Judicature is equally true of the Legislatures.

CONCLUSION

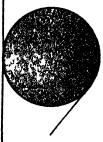
In sum, Mr Speaker, I submit that I have not breached any privilege of the House nor committed contempt and that for the following reasons

- What I reported was a fair and true account of what actually transpired,
- 2 The purpose of my article was to strengthen the legislatures by awakening the citizenry to the conduct of their representatives.
- 3 Privilege is ancillary to function; and far from functions of the House being impeded by what I wrote, silence is what will worsen the state





Privilege is not meant to set individual legislators up as supermen. It is meant, as May and other authorities have stressed, to enable legislators to perform their functions more effectively.



own conduct In response to the Spe cial Reference No 1 of 1964 the Court observed

We would like to refer to one aspect of the question relating to the exer cise of power to punish for con tempt So far as the courts are concerned Judges always keep in mind the warning addressed to them by Lord Atkin in Andra Paul Vs Attorney General of Trinidad Said Lord Atkin "Justice is not a cloistered virtue, she must be allowed to suffer the scrutiny and respectful even though outspoken comments of ordinary men We ought never to forget that the pow er to punish for contempt, large as it is, must always be exercised cau tiously, wisely and with circums pection Frequent or indiscriminate use of this power in anger or irrita tion would not help to sustain the dignity or status of the court, but may sometimes affect it adversely".

of affairs and thus eventually contribute to impeding the functions of the House, and, finally,

4 Reporting the conduct of their representatives to as large a number of people as I can reach is my duty as a citizen

I sincerely hope that you will dispose of Mr Khan's motion in the light of these submissions. I also hope that your suggestion to televise proceedings of Legislatures will be acted upon soon so that people may, as you desire, get to know what their representatives are doing and furthermore that you will take the lead in getting our Legislatures to replace Articles 105(3) and 194(3) by, as the Constituent Assembly had intended, a more specific enumeration of their privileges

Yours sincerely, With best regards, ARUN SHOURIE

Planning for a holiday

FCENTLY it a meeting of the MPs' Consultative Committee on Plaining I was informed by the Minister for Planning Mi N D. I iw it that a new draft Sixth Plan (1980-85) will replace the old draft Sixth Plan (1978-83). Promptly I isked him for three good reasons why Or was it merely that the old draft was the Janata Putys?

Mi I will whose tikalut (manner) is Ye Olde Worlde hotly denied that charge but he could not advance three good teasons. In fact, he meckly offered two bad reasons. First, the new government had decided to scrap the Janata's Rolling Plan, and second, the new government, had decided to have new objectives for the Sixth Plan.

I have continually been amazed at how a non-existent concept like the rolling Plan has acquired a life of its own During the Janata rule when people used to ask me, Pray tell us about the rolling Plan'. I had limply answered, "There is no such thing." One day I asked Moraribhai to show me light but he too kept me in the dark by saying, "I tell you I will never appoint an economist as a Minister of Planning. You cannot trust expects.

After much wasteful sleuthing. I came to the finding that 'rolling Plan' simply means an annual reappraisal of the five year end production target on the basis of the annual performance data. In the past, we used to have mid plan reappraisal, yiz after two and a half years. The Janata government had decided to make it every 12 months. At first I refused to believe my own detective work "Surely", I said to myself, the whole country cannot be made to believe that

I have continually been amazed at how a non-existent concept like the "rolling Plan" has acquired a life of its own...When people asked me about it, I limlply answered, "There is no such thing".



By SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY

appraisal of performance is plan ning!" But that is what the then government, newspapers and university professors made the people believe. So voluminous were the rolling Plan bhajans that my dissident voice in the wilderness was dismissed as outpourings from a man who was not made a Minister.

Now Mr Tiwari has decided to give what was not there in the first place Bravo! The second argument for a new draft Sixth Plan is that the successor government wants to tormulate new objectives for the Plan What are these new objectives? After much pulverising Mr Tiwari said lamely that the old draft envisaged a 4.7 per cent growth rate in national income and the new draft will aim at a 5 per cent growth rate.

Nothing could be more pseudo precise than that! Indian statistical data are better than most countries', but still there is a 15 per cent margin of error in the data. There fore, how can one calculate such precise target differences as be tween 4.7 per cent and 5 per cent? Even when the Janata draft came out, I had told Morarjibhai, "Why 4.7 per cent? Why not 4.71324 per cent?" Morarji's reaction one can easily guess.

Even if New Delhi Tiwari (as NOwas known during the Emergen cy) could distinguish between 4.7 per cent and 5 per cent on the basis of Indian statistical data, I asked how this came about Were there new priorities, for example, was the sectoral allocation for agriculture more in the new draft or less? Is there a new economic strategy? Is the government going to mobilise new resources?

Mr Tiwari floored me with his reply He placidly said, "That is too early to say, since even the Approach (to the new Plan) Paper is not ready!"

Bit I remained as eager as a beaver I said, "But the first year (1980 81) Plan of the new draft Sixth Plan whose Approach Paper is not yet ready, has already been presented in the Annual Budget of Mi Venkataraman and passed by Parliament So you must have some idea of your Plan!"

"No", persisted Tiwari, "unless the National Development Council clears the draft Plan which can be readied only after the Approach Paper has been finalised and cleared by the same Council, I can not say anthing about the priorities, strategy and resource mobilisation of the new draft Plan"

I protested "That means that the new draft Plan based on the new Approach will not come to Parliament before July 1981, by which time the Annual Budget con taining the Annual Plan for 1981 82 will have already been okayed by the Lok Sabha"

"That's right", Mr Tiwari bright ened "That's right, my foot', I thundered "This means there will be two years of Plan holiday (1980-82) of the five years of the supposed Plan (1980-85)"

"Majboorisan hain" (There are difficulties) Tiwari broke into Lucknowese He was damn right. The electorate of India had made a choice in January 1980 on the basis of this majboorie and chose incompetence over non performance, stupidity over buffoonery.

When I left the meeting later, I thought to myself what I would do if I was in Madam G's seat. The Indian economy affords such a wonderful opportunity to experiment with bold radical changes a rate of domestic savings of 22 per cent (compared to 5 per cent in 1956), an easily replenishible foodgrains buf ferstock of 18 million tons, an inex haustible investible foreign ex change reserve of Rs 5,000 crores and the world's third largest scien tific labour force Not'totalk of Sper cent growth rate, India can easily achieve a 10 per cent rate. What do we need? Read my next column

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Carter's naughty brother

How did Billy Carter, the self-styled US diplomat, strike the secret deal with Libya that brought his brother to disrepute? CLAUDIA WRIGHT reports

> IILY (ARIFR faces three accuations that he traded on the family relationship for his own enrichment that he was willing to accept advances from Libyan government officials in return for his influence with the President on Libya's behalf and that not content with a Libyan payoff, he offered his influence in Impoli to obtain increased oil supplies for an American

company that promised him millions of dollars in commission

Fven if true none of these activi ties is illegal. Washington is filled with respectable ladies and gentlemen who make their living trading a commodity of dubious value called influence. But for those who ply their trade on behalf of foreign governments there is an obligation imposed by law to register Justice Department files show that in 1979 there were just over 6,000 reg istered foreign agents currently busy around town

The files did not include Billy Car ter until 14 July when, after nearly two years of Justice Department inves tigation threats of prosecution and editorial noise, he filed his registra tion form. This admitted to receiving a four gold bracelets, a suit of clothes, and two fully paid trips to Libya (arter also declared he was not presently acting on behalf of Libya Two payments totalling \$220,000, evidence of which had been picked up by the I BI in June and which reactivated the investigation were identified by Billy as the instalments on a loan from the Libyans not as a gift or payment

The registration started a new Pre s blitz primarily by the Washing ton Star (owned by Time Inc) and the Washington Post (proprietor of News

week) In response to their investiga-tions, a number of new disclosures have been made by the White House Press secretary, Jody Powell, by legal counsel, Lloyd Cutler, by the national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and by Mrs Rosalynn Carter Among these is the White House claim that last November Billy Carter was asked to use his influence with the Libyans in the matter of the American hostages in Iran According to the White House story, Rosalynn mentioned to Jimmy, who later dropped a hint to Zbigniew, that he should let Billy know that it would be a nice idea for Qaddafi to intercede with the Ayatollah Khomeini in Tehran for the release of the hostages Both Billy and Colonel Qaddafi are said to have obliged

The Libyan version (as yet unpub lished in the United States) of Billy's contacts with Tripoli, his role at the White House and in the hostage epi

sode is quite different

Through the mountain of circum stantial detail and culculated official ambiguity runs the thread—explained by the newspapers in special ethnolo gical reports on the Arab mind-that the Libyans are a crafty yet traditional bunch of bedouins, who value the blood tie above all other relationships, and so saw Billy Carter as a natural conduit to the President But since the Libyans are also according to the editorialists the world's most blood thirsty terrorists, Billy was part of a nefarious scheme to draw US Middle Lastern policy into Qaddafi's clutches Among other things, therefore the President has been accused of cover ing up his brother's dealings with Libya and secretly obstructing the course of the Justice Department's investigation into Billy in order to let him off the hook Such a President, the pressmen have concluded, does not deserve to collect the vast majority of votes he piled up during the Democra tic primary campaign, nor the Party nomination next month. In Washing ton the Star and the Post have there fore begun to identify a 'groundswell' of opinion within the Democratic Par ty to knock Carter out of the Presiden

"The Press is trying to make milk out of water", says Ali El Houderi, the chief Libyan representative in the Un ited States "Billy is not a politician, not even popular in the media. They think of him just as a funny man. He was not meant to be used by the Libyans Eventually people will be shocked when they have all the facts They think something has gone on It

WHAT happened is this Billy Car ter first heard about Libya early in 1978 from a local newspaper story A Georgia business friend told him that the oil state, which supplies the United States with roughly ten per cent of its oil imports, was worth a closer look The two, Billy Carter and Randy Coleman, requested—and got a briefing on Libya in March 1978, from National Security Council staff Six months later, Billy was in Libya as the guest of Ahmed Shahati, one of the most powerful men in Tripoli's bureaucracy and head of the Foreign Liaison office

In February, 1979, Shahati led a delegation to the United States, and Billy escorted him around the country But Billy's remarks about "the Jewish media tearing up the Arab countries" and about there being "a hell of a lot more Arabians than there is Jews", led to a Press outcry and an abrupt decline in Billy's lucrative speaking engagements and trade promotions

An old marine buddy who was connected to a Florida oil refiner, Charter Oil Company, encouraged Billy to think of setting up as a broker between the Libyans and the oil company In April 1979, the company lost 20 per cent of its oil allocation from Libya Accounts vary on whether Charter approached Billy or Billy Charter, but on 21 August 1979, a deal was struck Billy would be paid a commission of 55 cent per barrel of additional oil he could secure from Tripoli before a deadline of mid-January 1980 By then Billy had his sights set on earning several million dollars. Ten days after the agreement with Charter, Billy left for his second trip to Libya

The Libyans say they knew nothing of Billy's deal, and indicate there was no likelihood of a backdoor arrangement with Charter At the December OPEC meeting, Libya indicated it would impose a 16 per cent cut in April 1980 El Houderi says the reduc tion was not negotiable "There is a limit We couldn't cut old customers (to increase Charter's share)" Houders says he does not know whether the oil company paid Billy anything, but "he got nothing from us'

What he does admit is giving Billy a loan of \$220,000 In August 1979, Billy was desperate for cash and in trouble with US tax authorities. He proposed a second visit to the Libyans, apparently hoping to talk about Charter's oil and collect his commission before time ran out on his agreement. He was mistaken The visit was inconvenient for the Foreign Liaison Office in August. Billy insisted on going (with his wife), and on arrival demanded a meeting with Qaddafi He waited four weeks without seeing him. El-Houderi says that Carter then asked for a loan. On his return to the US, he kept pressing the oil issue-the Libyans said they couldn't help However, they were prepared to lend the money because they felt Billy's loss of income had been due to his association with them

Cheques for \$220,000 were signed by El Houderi in January and April, payable on an American bank account Billy's registration file declares that a loan for \$500,000 had been negotiated. Charges that the money was compensation for Billy's political influence, or an advance by the Libyans for commissions on a future increase in Charter's oil allocation are false, El-

Houderi says

He also disputes the White House and Press versions of Billy's role in the Iranian hostage episode. According to the Libyan, late in November he received a call from Brzezinski's secretary, requesting a meeting. This took place on 27 November when El Houders arrived "There in the office was Billy Carter I did not know he would be there' El-Houders demies the White House claim that the meeting was set up by Billy Brzezinski did the talking He wanted to know "if I could be of help in persuading brother Qaddafi to persuade Khomeini to re lease the hostage" El Houderi says the request was relayed to Tripoli and agreed to without asking for a quid pro quo from the Americans

HE year had already been marked by severe tension along the Egyptian border, which the US was helping Egypt to reinforce, and by the onagain, off-again embargo by the US government of delivery of military transport and Boeing 747 aircraft, which the Libyans had ordered and paid for several years before El-Houderi says that no offer on the planes was sought or made at his meeting with Brzezinski or subsequently He denies allegations that Libya connived with Billy or with any other intermediaries to obtain release of the planes Libva, he points out, could easily recover its money and buy Italian, French or Soviet substitutes Instead, he regards the planes a test of will with US which the Libyans want to win openly, without subterfuge, bubery or backstage influence

El-Houderi says that Qaddafi agreed to relay the White House message to Tehran, and sent a special emissary, Abuzayed Omar Durdah, to carry the American offer to Khomeini On 6 December, Brzezinski asked El-Houders for a second meeting By this time there had been a demonstration and attack on the US embassy in Tripoli (on 2 December), and the State Department was publicly fulminating about cutting off diplomatic relations Brzezinski and the Libyan met alone, and then with the President in the Oval Office The conversation was brief, according to El-Houderi, and concentrated on the hostages in Iran and the US embassy incident in Tripo li The President was "polite and charming He asked me to deliver a message to brother Qaddafi concerning the hostages and his concern (about the embassy in Tripoli) We talked about sending (another) delegation and the President made it clear he wanted positive results

El-Houders would not be more specific about the contents of the American message to Iran, but four days later, on 10 December, Qaddafi himself gave a broad hint of what was in the works. He told a reporter from the New York Times that he had had talks with Iran on the hostages. "If the US were to throw the Shah out of America", he is quoted as saying, "or to inform him publicly that he is not wanted as a political refugee and take some action to try to repatriate some of the money he took", the way to a solution might be open

On 2 December the Shah left hospital in New York, with White House making clear it expected him to leave the country after a brief recuperation in Texas Apparently the White House had signalled to Qaddafi that it was willing to go along with other terms, for El-Houders says he was confident that Khomeini would agree He refused to disclose the terms that were discussed, or whether Iran or the US caused the mediation effort to fail All he will say is that when "all the facts" are known, "Carter (the President) will gain something out of this. he is going to be as clean as before. and it will improve his image." He states explicitly that a third meeting with Brzezinski, reported by the American Press, did not occur, and he is emphatic that Billy had no role or influence in what transpired.

The White House has an obvious sensitivity to signs, last December and now, that the President may have been hinting at a change in his Middle Eastern policy after re-election This is precisely what Qaddafi claimed in his 10 December interview with the Times There is some evidence that Jewish members of the White House staff, who have long contested Brzezinski on Middle Eastern policy, were responsible for a campaign of Press leaks, which began ammediately after the first El-Houderi meeting with Brzezinski. At the time the leakers thought they were blocking rumoured Brze-zinski overtures to the PLO

By making Billy appear responsible for contacting the Libyan embassy, the White House thought of evading responsibility for the direct and personal approach to Qaddafi that it still does not want to own up to To the Press, this has made Billy look an even more certain agent of Libyan influence. And because of antagonism, within the White House and in editorial circles, towards Libya and the possibility of a Carter shift towards the Arabs, Billy's case has oftered a perfect set-up for

attacking the President

This is how an otherwise minor affair of a jealous and greedy brother can cast a deadly shadow over pres idential politics And the White House hasn't helped by its effort to break free of Billy's self-serving exploits. It failed to tell the full truth about the contacts with Libya, and probably sought to delay Billy's registration until after the Republican Convention, to minimize the damage to the President himself. The White House hasn't been sure which was more damaging the connection with Billy or the connection with Libya The Press has been more than happy to tar the President with both feathers

(By arrangement with "New Statesman")

COMICS





by GOSCINNY









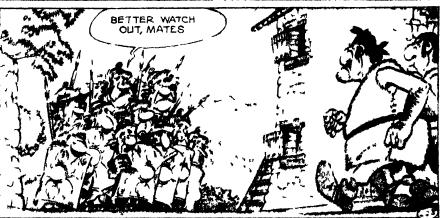






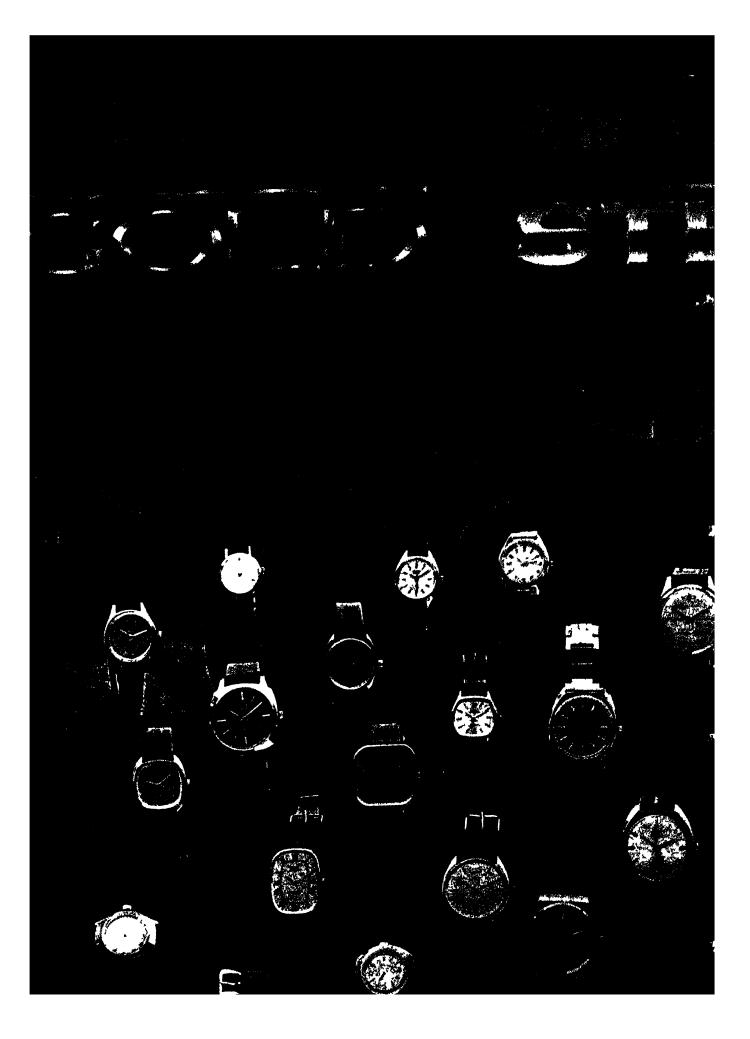


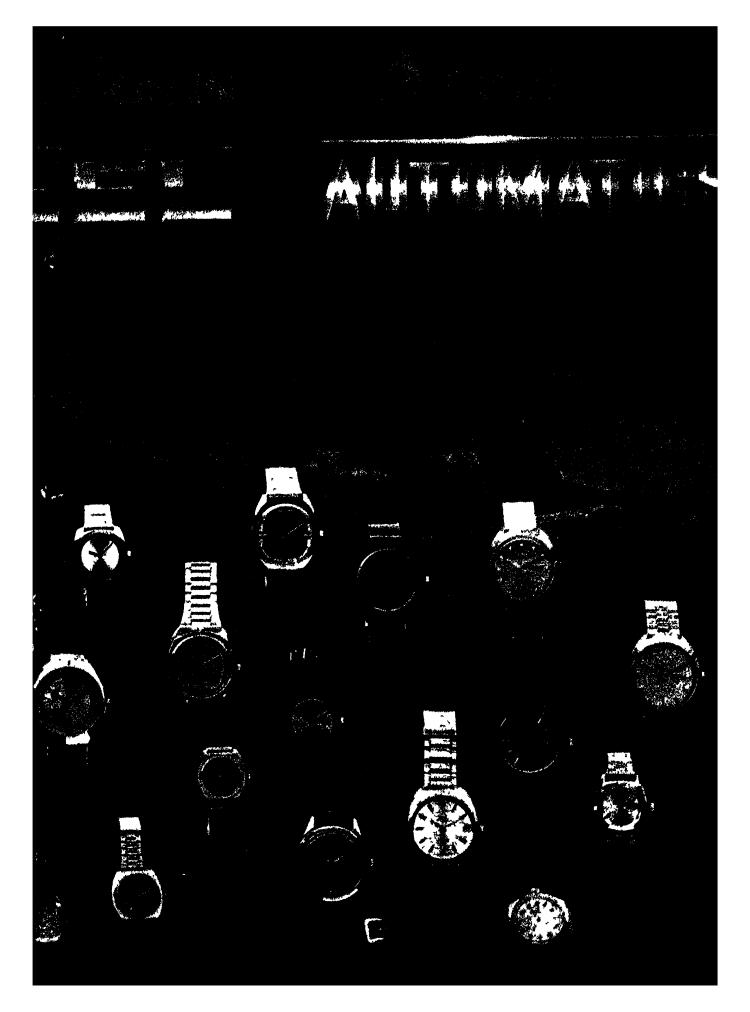




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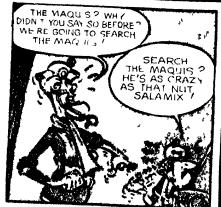


















TOOSHAR PANDIT reports on

Calcutta's Deadly Football Madness

ATURDAY, 16 August was a red letter day for some 80,000 soccer fans gathered at the Eden Gar dens in Calcutta to wit ness the first league tie between the traditional rivals, Mohun Bagan and East Bengal It finally turned out to be a day of mourning, and shame Watch ed, among others by seven Cabinet Ministers and the city police chief, ten young men were trampled to death and over 100 were wounded (six died later bringing the tally to 16) in a stampede at the low priced eastern stands The sense of shock was truly widespread as the tragedy was witnes sed by lakhs of viewers on TV later in the evening. The impotence of the government was laid bare and all it could do was to later cancel the remaining league matches

How did it all happen? Midway through the second half's play all hell broke loose at the Ranji Stadium stands after Dilip Palit. I ast Bengal's right full back tripped Mohun Bagan's left winger Bidesh Bose rather danger ously. Agitated Mohun Bagan supporters at the stands shouted abuses and threw missiles at the I ast Bengal fans to register their protest. The Last

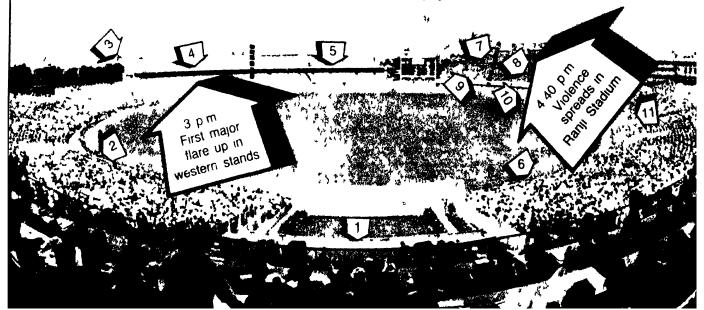
Bengal supporters retaliated with more missiles and abuses Meanwhile, Bidesh Bose rose to his feet and kicked Palit hard The East Bengal fans turned furious Another spell of brick batting and yelling tollowed The Fast Bengal fans were, however, pacified when referee Sudhin Chatterjee gave marching orders to Bidesh But their calm was short lived For, a few seconds later the referee ordered Palit also out of the ground

After this the tension escalated rapidly as the fans reacted to every twist and turn in the play by fighting harder among themselves Soon after the referee resumed the play by 'drop ping the ball' it was a free for all at the Ranji stands for the next 15 minutes of so till the end of the play. The East Bengal fans clustered at the western section of the Ranji Stadium were in an overwhelming majority occupying almost three fourth's of the stands Because of this the Mohun Bagan fans were steadily losing ground. At one stage they exhausted their stock of missiles which they had carried with them into the stands. For replenish ment some started pounding the concrete seats with shoes and rods A number of spectators swarmed to

wards the two exits in the stadium for cover from the flying missiles. The gates were however locked and no body could escape. Even then more and more people started crowding near the narrow and already jammed gates for whatever meagre protection the walls around them could offer. According to their position in the stands, Mohun Bagan supporters made a dash for the eastern gate and the East Bengal fans for the western gate. Play continued even when the imprisoned spectators shouted for help for water. But nobody responded. The police who were sitting at the base of the stadium on the ground, seemed absorbed in the match.

When the police who had remained passive almost all through stormed the gallery with swinging lathis, after the final whistle, the spectators started running in panic, knocking each other in the melee. A regular stampede was on Some of those who had collected near the gates turned back and ran for the lower tiers of the stands hoping to escape to the ground That was not easy. There was a ten foot drop to the lower tier concrete benches. Unde trred, many took the plunge, some failed to survive the fall. The streams

Fiden Gardens (1) The Club House (2) East Bengal enclosure (3) Where Mohun Bagan flag was raised (4) Mohun Bagan fans (5) East Bengal fans (6) Mohun Bagan enclosure (7)
East Bengal fans (8) Mohun Bagan fans (9) Western exit (10) Eastern Exit (11) The spectetors took the plunge here

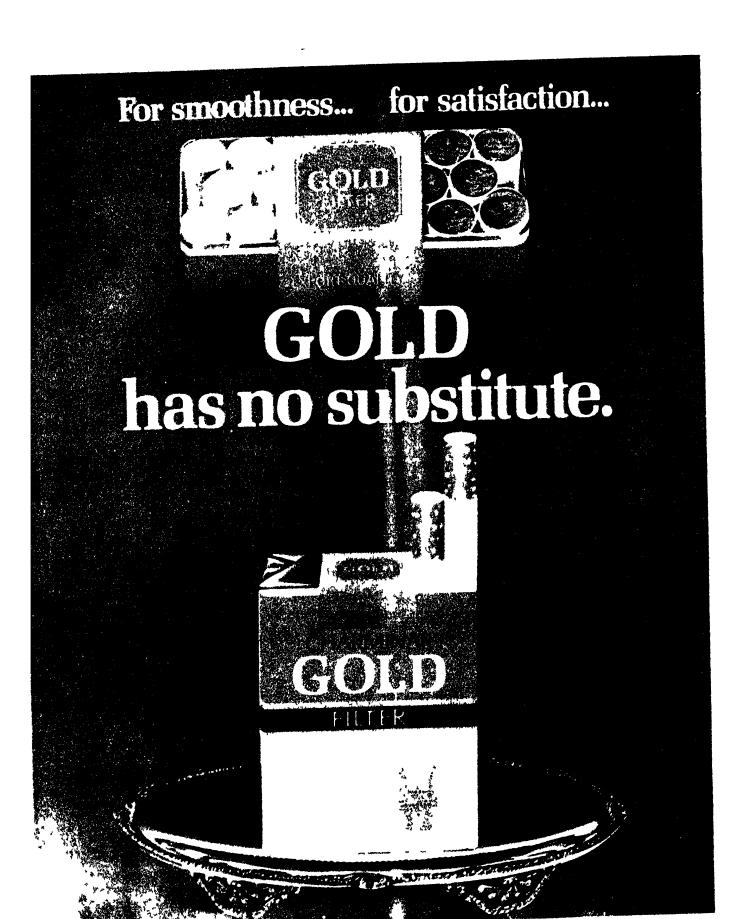




of people cascading through the nar row gates knocked down some who were trampled The Mohun Bagan sup porters being in a minority were more in panic. Amidst the confusion the survivors started bringing the dead and wounded to the Club House First a teen age boy—dead Then another One by one ten bodies—all without life—wère placed on the floor of the Club House. The wounded and the dead covered the whole floor. The tragedy slowly sank into the conscious ness of a benumbed public.

EVFN before the match started, the atmosphere was perceptibly tense, as it always is during an encounter between the two traditional rivals Many were however hoping that it would be different this time since both the teams had already earned berths for the semi finals and the stakes were considerably lower A win though would have been a morale booster which both the teams needed to face Mohammedan Sporting who have fielded a strong combination this sea son (Sunday 5 April) It is the only team which had not dropped a point till then Mohammedan Sporting who were one point ahead of Aryans (the next best team in the group) and had one more match to play (against Aryans) was expected to finish at the top of group B. According to the rules the top team of group A (the group in which Mohun Bagan and Fast Bengal were drawn) would play the number two of group B and the number two of group A would face the top team of group B in the scmi finals. The press ure certainly was more on Fast Bengal because Mohun Bagan with a better goal average could also do with a draw As usual the area around the Gardens swarmed with streams of excited fans long before the start of play Many moving in knots carried the colours of their favourite teams -ma roon and green for Mohun Bagan, red and yellow for Fast Bengal Long ser pentine queues formed in front the of gates leading to the stadium. The first hint of trouble came at around 245 p m when the supporters of the rival teams standing in the queues before the gates for low priced tickets (Rs 1 10 and 60 paise) started brickbatting each other For quite some time they had been tracing abuses From argu ments to pushing and prodding and jostling, then the scuffles and the skirmishes Mohun Bagan fans claimed that East Bengal supporters had snatched away the sacred maroon and green flag and defiled it at a couple of places, East Bengal fans complained similarly The police had a tough time restoring order and on several occasions had to swing their lathis to disperse and disengage the warring groups working themselves up to a frenzy

Many felt uneasy. One of them was B K Saha, deputy commissioner of Cal cutta Police whose task was to main tain peace and order in and around the



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Gardens A crowd of 80,000 is always awesome But 80,000 East Bengal and Mohun Bagan fans assembled in work ed up tribal confrontation is an explosive mixture any time. Were they a little more unruly than usual on 16 August? Did the police fail to note this? Were their hands tied?

Just about the time the tension at the gates appeared to be ebbing, vio lence started in the western stands Evidently the fans had carried their quarrels with them to the stands. At around 3 pm, it intensified when some Mohun Bagan supporters raised a huge maroon and green flag in a corner of the stand. Some people from the Last Bengal enclosure were seen rushing towards the stand where the Mohun Bagan flag had come up They tried to plant an Last Bengal flag at the base of that stand but could not Retreating, under a hail of missiles hurled from the upper tiers of the block the fast Bengal fans finally hoisted their flag near the Fast Bengal club enclosure Iwo more Mohun Bagan flags came up at two other stands. Soon there was another Last Bengal flag in another stand. This way the western stands were divided into two distinct camps, the flags indicating the nature of the division. Lach camp resisted encroachments by the other by hurling missiles and abuses freely. The steel helmetted riot police made repeated for ays into the stands to bring order. It is noteworthy that bringing flags into the grounds not to speak of lathis and stones is banned. The police commissioner promised not to allow this But say the police "Do you want us to conduct an airport type security check on 80,000 people?

By this time, deputy commissioner Saha was definitely worried. So he spoke to the city police chief Nirupam Som sitting in the Club House VIP enclosure Saha briefed him about the situation in the stands and the possibility of things getting out of control unless the police took some action. Som, however, thought that any strong action at this stage could be counter productive and asked Saha to get in touch with the Chief Minister for his counsel.

The play began at 3.45 pm. Right from the word go, the players of both the teams indulged in rough tackles, dangerous fouls and violent show of tempers. The supporters in the stands took the cue and there were sporadic clashes and brickbatting. A number of fans hit by missiles had to be given first aid at the make shift medical centre at the Gaidens. There was a steady deterioration in the mood and temper of both player and spectator. Even then when play resumed in the second half there was hardly any hint of the impending tragedy.

Meanwhile, having failed to trace the Chief Minister, Saha was back again at the Club House for consulta tions with his chief Again, the idea of firmer police action was considered unwise Consultation with the state's Labour Minister Krishnapada Ghosh the ranks next to the CM in the Cabinet) who was also in the the Club House followed He too favoured res traint. The police chief suggested that it might be a good idea if some police men went into the troubled stands. But he did not pursue the idea very vigor ously. This perhaps explains why the police remained passive onlookers throughout the game Besides there was hardly any point in sending some toothless policemen inside the Stands when the mere sight of the police always tended to provoke the spectators. With the policemen having been rendered impotent the trouble en gulfed the eastern Rann stadium soon after it subsided in the western stands And it continued till the worst tragedy in the country's sporting history had occurred

THERE are no short answers as to why it happened. There has been a steady deterioration in the manner and the spirit in which first division toorball is played in Calcutta now by the top teams. Frayed tempers rough rickles and even physical assaults have become regular features. One re ison is that football now means a big business. The three big clubs together

An injured tan being lowered to the ground



invest about Rs 20 lakhs every season A players's fee can be as high as Rs 80,000 for a single season Even in 1972, a fce of Rs 5,000 used to be considered high Now the minimum that a big club offers to a player is Rs 10 000 Naturally these clubs want the run for their money. But most of the players fetching top prices have pas sed their prime Obviously, to be in the game and the money they have to adopt any means whatsoeyer, fair or toul to make their club win If they cannot play then they must fight Soc cer in Calcutta is always a tense affair Nothing excites the Bengalis more not even politics. And if the encounter involves the Big Three, soccer mania becomes uncontrollable Chief Minis ter Jyoti Basu is right in his diagnosis that unseemly behaviour of some players during the game and acts of vandalism by a section of the fans on and off the field' have combined to create a psychological climate of animosity in which insane violence is easily sparked oft

But this can hardly be an excuse for the administration's failure to ensure safety in the playground which the tragedy so brutally emphasises. Soccer has always been associated with violence wherever the game is played. In Buenos Aires 73 people were killed in a stampede at the stands in 1968, in Lima, the capital of Peru 300 Used rioting in 1964 But always it has been the administration and the police which have had to contain the violence and also take the blame for any far lures to arrest it. The administration committed the first mistake when it decided to sell tickets for Saturday's match from one counter making so regation of the fans supporting rival teams impossible. The usual practice had been to sell the tickets from two counters one at the Mohun Bagan Club and the other at the Fast Bengal Club

The administration also failed to read the writings on the wall. Only on 18 July the league match between Mohammedan Sporting and Wari marked all through by trayed tempers and rough play had to be abandoned in the 20th minute of the second half when Prasanta Bhattacharya, the left striker for Wari, was seriously wound ed by missiles from the stands. Earlier on 7 May there was violence over a wide stretch of Central Calcutta after the Federation Gup semi final match between Mohun Bagan and Mohamme dan Sporting at the Eden Gardens Excited fans attacked passers by with razors, burst crackers and threw stones Nine persons were wounded The police had to fire five rounds of tear gas shells and make lathi charges several times to quell the disturb ances The next day again, some 100 spectators were hurt in clashes be tween the supporters of the rival teams during the Federation Cup final between Mohun Bagan and East Bengal The match itself was more a demonstration of muscle than skill



Countdown to a peace that wasn't

The Shillong talks on 18 August between the representatives of the centre headed by Union State Minister for Home Yogendra Makwana and those of the Assam agitation failed to find a solution to the ten-month old imbroglio. But they were at least talking to each other again after eight long months. The last meeting between the agitation leaders and Union Home Minister Giani Zail Singh was held in Gauhati on 22 February. The credit for bringing the two sides to the conference table goes to the dapper Rajkumar Dorendra Singh (48), Chief Minister of Manipur And he succeeded where people like Yashpal Kapoor had failed Dorendra was not in Shillong for the talks but the agitation leaders insisted that he should be. And, even after the negotiations have deadlocked again. Dorendra remains the only bridge between Mrs. Gandhi and the Assam leaders. Here K. C. CHAUDHURI gives a blow-by-blow account of how Dorendra achieved the breakthrough

27 June Dorendra met Mrs Gandhi n New Delhi and volunteered his services to resolve the deadlock ed dialogue with the Assam agitation leaders. She had no objections. The Manipur CM then rang up his director, Veterinary and Animal Husbandry de partment B N Kakoti, an officer of Assamese origin, in Imphal asking him to proceed for Gauhati and establish contacts with the student leaders

28 June On reaching Gauhati Kakoti started hunting for contacts who could lead him to supposedly underground student leaders. Finally he got one a teenaged boy (he does not want to be identified) who led him to the 'hideout' of the leaders travell ing first by a bus and then walking a distance from the University campus in Jhalukbari The AASU leaders pre sent in the house Pratulla Mohanto the president, Bhrigu Phukan, the general secretary and Dhruba Baisya the publicity secretary were suspicious at first. Could be a policeman in disguise, they thought Kakoti was asked to present his identity card. He did and was let in The first meeting however did not yield much as the student leaders did not think that a meeting with the Manipur CM would be useful Even then, they agreed to give it a try

29 June Dorendra arrived at Gauhati airport accompanied by his Commissioner for the Hills, M D Tyagi and a Delhi businessman Rajesh Mehta He had a choice of two cars one sent by the Assam government, and, the other-a liat-sent by the AASU Dorendra chose the frat He was driven to the same 'hideout' the Gauhati University Hostel where Kakoti had met the students on the previous day Mohanto, Phukan and Baisya were all present Kakoti too was there The student leaders alked in detail, explaining their stand. They however, did not want the meeting to be publicised as they thought it might hinder rather than help the delicate negotiations Returning to the Circuit House, the CM sat down to work on the draft of an agreement that had to include, among other things, the AASU demands for the release of the detained leaders, reinstatement of the

government employees punished for participating in the agitation and re mission of collective fines imposed in disturbed areas. The venue for the resumption of a dialogue between the government and agitation leaders was specified. It had to be either Gauhati, Shillong or Imphal With the draft Kakoti met the students. They wanted one more clause to be added to accommodate their demand for the withdrawal of the P D ordinance

30 June The Manipur CM returned to Imphal Kakoti and Tyagi went to Shillong to attend the North Fastern

Council meeting

2 July Kakoti met Mohanto and Phukan in Gauhati and pleaded with them for the acceptance of the draft without insisting on the inclusion of the clause relating to the PD ordi nance. The AASU leaders agreed but they asserted that the draft must in clude all their other demands

3 July Kakoti returned to Imphal and apprised the Manipur CM of the willingness of the student leaders to resume the dialogue even if the PD ordinance was not rescinded. Doren dra informed New Delhi of this im

4 July The Governor of the north eastern states, L P Singh, arrived in Imphal The Manipur CM told him about the progress he had made

5 July The Governor accompanied by Kakoti and Tyagi left for Gauhati in a special flight. There Kakoti and Tyagi had prolonged discussions with Mohanto and Phukan for the next two

7 July The students finally approved the draft Tyagi rang up M L Kompani, the additional secretary in charge of the north eastern desk in the Union Home Ministry in New De lhi, to tell him about it On Kompani's suggestion Kakoti and Tyagi handed over the document to H C Sarin, the principal adviser to the Governor of Assam Sarın, however, was against committing himself in advance to the reinstatement of the suspended government employees

10 July Tyagi and Kakoti returned to Imphal

23 July Dorendra accompanied by Kakoti reached Gauhati Talks were

held between him and the student leaders for the next two days. He also met a few other important politicians The Gana Sangram Parishad leaders too spoke to him Other callers included Khanin Barua a retired IAS officer believed to be one of the agitators, 'behind the scenes' advisers and Bharat Narah the AASU assistant general secretary, said to be among the hawks' in the organisation

24 July The discussions continued

well beyond midnight

25 July The talks ended at around 2 am At 10 am the Manipur CM called a Press conference at the Cir cuit House to announce the outcome But, the conference was delayed by almost an hour as he talked to New Delhi over telephone. Only attei te ceiving the green signal from Delhi he announced that an agreement had been reached and the students had agreed to resume the dialogue

26 July Dorendra left for Delhi For two days he remained inaccessi ble supposedly ill

29 July He met both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister

30 July The Home Minister Zail Singh informed Parliament of the accord

31 July The Manipur CM came to Gauhati Tyagi and Mehta were with him Kakoti was also summoned from

Imphal

- 2 August Kakoti arrived at Gauha ti Dorendra went to Shillong for con sultations with the Governor Return ing to Gauhati he sent for K N Sharma, the dean of law in Gauhati University and the AASU's official interpreter Sharma carried the draft to the students for signature Later the student leaders and the AGSP leaders gathered at the circuit house for the final round of discussions with the Manipur CM
- 3 August Talks continued till 1 am Again, it was resumed in the morning Around 5 p m the talks were
- 4 August Dorendra left for Imphal Tyagi and Kakoti stayed back to get the formal signatures of the agitation leaders Mohanto and Phukan signed

'l had to do something

RK DORENDRA SINGH talks to K.C CHAUDHURI



There is criticism that instead of grappling with the pressing problems of your own state you are burning your fingers tack ling the Assam problem

A The exact reason for which I volunteered to help find a solution to the Assam problem was to defuse the tension in the entire north eastern region, my state not excluded. One has to appreciate the situation in the prop cr perspective When Assam is burn ing other neighbouring states and union territories cannot be free from the conflagration I ven West Bengal is not outside the range of this confligra

Q How did you come int the picture)

A I was convinced that if the Assam problem was solved the problem in other areas would also find their solution. I had to do something. I went to Delhi in connection with the work of my state. I met the Prime Minister and indicated to her that I was prepared to volunteer my services to seek a solution to the Assam agitation on the "foreigners issue She was not averse to it. The AICC(I) members of the north eastern region had a meet ing in Shillong about two months ago Mr Shyam Sunder Mohapatra general secretary of the Congress(I) also attended We formed a goodwill de legation with the Congress(I) leaders of this region. I was one of the mem bers Every one in the meeting was anxious that peace must be restored There I volunteered to talk with the agitation leaders, students and the Gana Sangram Parishad (GSP) On my way from Shillong I met them Mr Mohapatra also met them

Q How did they react to your offer

of mediation?

A They were responsive They told me that it would be incorrect to attri bute communalism to their agitation They claimed that there were members in the AASU (All Assam Students Union) representing all religions and languages They wanted that "fore igners" must be deported

Q How is it that Mr Rajesh Mehta, a businessman, and an Assamese offi cial of your government was also brought into your mission?

My idea is that I should take help from whichever quarter it comes

You know how complicated the prob lem is. Mr Mehta, a businessman from Delhi knows a lot of people in Gauha Mr B N Kakoti, an Assamese officer on deputation to Manipur, per sonally knows a number of the AASU leaders. I wanted to meet as many people and talk to them to know their minds. That is how they came into the picture. I have even taken with me one of my own officers. Mr Tyagi a commissioner to help me

Q Ultimately you were able to

create a thaw?

A (Smiles) I do not know that But one has to keep the national interest above everything. In my own way 1 thought I had a responsibility in strengthening our Prime Minister's hands in the national cause Now com ing to the negotiation, the third meet ing was indeed a crucial one. I had prolonged negotiations with the AASU leaders at Gauhati. The GSP also agreed to my proposals

Q There is a lot of criticism that you agreed to the oil blockade. In this process the central government is the

loser

A This criticism stems from a mis conception. It is not a correct interpretation I did mention the oil blockade in my talk with the students. The AASL leaders told me that when other things went well, the oil blockade would not be a stumbling block So they wanted to retain the oil blockade for the time being. In a negotiation there is always "give and take' What is more important is to create a congenial atmosphere So I relented, you can say My agreement with the AASU leaders was discussed by the Central Parliamentary Board and the political affairs committee of the Cabinet It was approved and the Union Home Minister made a statement in Parlia ment approving the agreement and giving certain assurances on the basis of that agreement There was again



some misunderstanding I was working under great strain in Gauhati When I went to Delhi I fell ill My blood pressure went up Unfortunately I could not meet the Prime Minister and the Home Minister This led to a lot of speculation, I suppose (Later) I met the Home Minister and explained things I had also a meeting with the Prime Minister Things were (then) cleared

Q Now we hear of the plywood blockade

A It is somewhat complicated It will also be solved

Q Did you exceed your brief in reaching an agreement with the agita

tionists in Assam? A There was no question of exceed ing my brief as no brief was given As I told you I volunteered my services for

this I kept New Delhi informed about

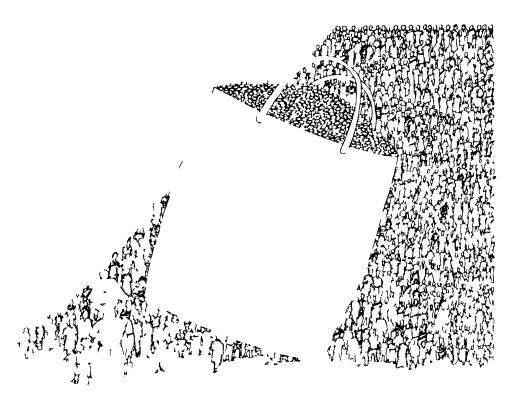
the progress of the talks and the agreement

Q One of your Party colleagues in West Bengal Mr Subrata Mukherjee, accused you of preparing a secret formula with the AASU leaders for a cut off year. He said that in that deal over thirty lakh Bengalis would be made refugees for the second time

A No no, the question of a cut off year is open to negotiation. It is abourd to think that I would prepare a secret formula with the leaders of the agita tion Such criticism is misplaced I know the Prime Minister's attitude on this matter. How can I commit (myself) on such a controversial matter when it is not within my jurisdiction? Yes, the AASU leaders raised many issues. But they did not insist on any cut off year at that stage though they aired their known views on this matter

Q Was the Imphal talk a tailure? À (Laughs) You Press people have no limits. What was there for it to be a success or failure? The AASU and the Sangram Parishad representatives came and in the meeting they complained that the authorities in Assam were slow in implementing the assurances the Home Minister gave in Par liament. A joint secretary of the Home Ministry was also present. He told them that he would convey their feel ings to the central government. You see the (official) procedure (adopted by the) government machinery at times is also responsible for delay. In my own government even I find it difficult to move things quickly due to procedural problems like movement of files etc. I understand the students would not insist on release of those who were specifically involved in vio lence They also claim that their move ment was peaceful Whatever hitch may be there, that can be overcome with mutual understanding I don't think that all these would stand in the way of negotiation

Q What will be your next role? A In a sense my role is over My efforts have been aimed at breaking the ice in order to help both sides to come to the negotiation table



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In the Service of the Nation

THE WORLD

A doctor's role

When not attending his professional calls, Dr Asit Kumar Saha cannot stay away from the stage A general practitioner in a village near Sunderland in north east Eng land, Dr Saha was recently awarded a gold medal for acting from the London Academy of Music and Dra matic Art Our Tarapada Basu met him in London recently Said the 34 year old Indian "I would like to make a career as a good doctor practising medi cine and keep drama as a hobby to help me relax "Saha is no novice either he studied drama at Monkwearmouth College and had appeared in 50 plays and seven films be fore leaving India in 1976 Now he hopes to join the Sunderland Drama Club and



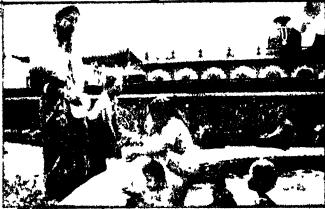
possibly enrol at New College in Durham for another drama course

Net result

H h oops! And that is right Pierre Cardin stretched more, as you will note, than his imagination to give these two girls the "hula hoop look" he pulled some jersey fabric and festive silks over hoops to give the knee baring dresses a d stinctive shape. The exhibits are part of Cardin's high fashion collection for fall and winter in Paris



Gilt-edged faith



The cult started in India, moved on to the West, gathered followers who were looking for something new The number of Krishna devotees grew and grew The movement built temples and did them on a lavish scale

One such temple opened recently was aprly named Prabhupada's Palace of Gold. The multi million dollar palace was built by the Krishna Consciousness devotees living in Marshall County, West Virginia, USA

Non-White Paper

A White Paper has been recently published for the non whites in Britain This paper on British Nationality I aw divided citizens into three categories British dependent territories and those who do not fit in to the other groups. So who will be the main sufferers it the White Paper's recommendations are acted upon? The numerous Indians, Pakistanis, Bang.

ladeshis Malaysians and the many Chinese. The Pakista nis, for example, will be able to keep dual nationality but the Indians will not be able to do so. Indians and Bangladeshis who have settled in Britain after 1 January, 1973 will have two years to decide whether to exercise their right to citizenship by registration, a process which will cost the intending citizen about £160.

Portraits of China

The Chairman died in Sep tember 1976. At that time a painting was seen adorning the walls in Peking which showed Chairman Mao with future Prime Minister Hua Guoteng The caption attri-buted to Mao said "With you in charge, I'm at ease" With the plans of the present Chinese government to de Maoify the country the post ers, pictures and poems of the once great Chairman vanished This was the decree of the Chinese central com mittee which said publicity of individual leaders was "lack ing in political dignity" But that has not stopped the pre sent Prime Minister Hua from putting up his portraits and inscriptions Perhaps, he is taking one last fling to be remembered because he will probably be forced to resign from his premiership at the coming national peoples con gress





Kashmir
For a little more than it costs to stay at home.

His life was no song

KISHORE CHATTERJEE profiles Debabrata Biswas, the doyen of Rabindrasangeet singers, who died on 18 August in Calcutta

HE first time I ever met (Debabrata) George Bis was I remember thinking of Beethoven It was not his music but his room that brought the comparison to mind That day, there was a hartal in the city and a friend, a Rabindrasangeet singer and a pupil of Debabrata, who had promised to take me to the famous room in Rashbehari Avenue had chosen the day because Georgeda would be alone As we walked down he warned me about Debabrata's caus tic tongue and angularities. If he was in a bad mood he was quite capable of throwing us out I was thrilled The lonely bachelor in his dirty den, the unpredictable uncared for artiste, this was the stuff legends were made of We had decided to give my large collection of Debabrata records as the excuse for the visit I wanted them autographed and my friend felt that even his Georgeda was vulnerable to flattery

The incredibly dirty and over crowded room, George Biswas bare bodied and in a loongi sitting in the midst of chaos and dirt (no wonder his asthma never left him) it all looked like the famous portrait of Beethoven in his old age, sitting in his room fiddling with his earphones, sur rounded with music, medicines and uneaten food George Biswas's room had that atmosphere of total unworl dliness Rows and rows of tins, piles of medicine bottles and strips, books, music and the harmonium

"So you want me to sign my re cords? Why? Do you want to sell them off? "His humour was sharp and dou ble-edged but not malicious (The Vis wabharati restriction on his recordings had already started, so even though unworldly he knew that his records

THE Rabindrasangeet singer was a I rebel who lifted the conventional effemiaste style of singing to something robust and closer to the masses. As a result he became the centre of a controversy with the Vishwa Bharati Music Board (whose approval is necessary for recording Rabindranath's songs). He insisted on the freedom of the singer and even used Western instruments to heighten the meaning of the words. In an interview given to Sunday on 6 July 1975 he said: "Rabindrasangeet as an institution has emerged only since Tagore's death. Tagore learnt from his experiences in developing his own music; he was thus both a creator and a student. But he succeeded by a set of people who had more of the teacher in them than the student. But by which standard can you judge a Rabindratangeet place? Every Board member ases himself as a final arbiter of the system...my misfortune is that they are sort of united in their jihad applicant me."



would ultimately become collectors' items)

Fortunately in those days, his asthma still allowed him to laugh and a loud and grainy laughter followed this bitter crack Only George Biswas could have laughed this way at fate My friend looked pale and paler in anticipation of the bricks that George Biswas would go on dropping, but he signed all the records and ever created some verses on the spot

The lonely, unworldly bachelor, his caustic wit, his lodgings and cruel asthma Again and again I thought of Beethoven As George Biswas picked up the spray, I thought of Beethoven's deafness and his numerous earphones A composer struck with deafness and a singer suffering from the breathing disease—asthma There must be some connection, some reason, some logic for these little ironics?

All his life Debabrata Biswas was a fighter Fighting against disease and tradition To transform Rabindra sangeet from an effete, intellectual often effeminate and drawing room art, as George Biswas did, into a mas sive, universal and popular force was a muacle, but to do it against such heavy odds that was the greater glory Asthma forced Debabrata to change his style of singing in his maturing years Just to breathe he was forced to take long instrumental pauses When the pundits of Viswabharati and other stray pundits criticized and ultimately punished Debabrata Biswas for his unconventionality with a ban on recordings, I wonder if they realised that Gerorge Biswas was fighting just as much for the future of Rabindra sangeet as tor his own existence George Biswas freed Rabindrasangeet

from the shackles of rigid conventions and by doing so has given this art form a new future. By reaching out to the masses, by almost becoming totally identified with a new, forceful, manly style of Rabindrasangeet singing, George Biswas during his active career became a kind of watershed in the history of Rabindrik singing, a crucial turning point. No amount of restrictions can prevent the stream now from moving on

Personal tragedy, physical afflictions can never be an excuse for the ultimate creative product Debabrata Biswas overcame his asthma as a man of his stature could in his songs. Only sometimes at recitals the spray would come out and with the harmonium placed on the chair, would remind us that a fight was on The three hundred songs he recorded and the numerous private tapes will carry the story of the Debabrata 'non tradition' to the future generations Like Beethoven's deaf ness, George Biswas's asthma makes us come closer to the man, the music soars beyond the problems of physical pain

In the late Fifties and Sixties, George Biswas riding on the motorbike was a familiar sight in Calcutta I wonder what happened to the motorbike at the end and when he last rode it? But I will always remember him on the motorbike, his saffron coloured kurta flowing in the wind and his large face beaming. There goes George Bis was we would say Like his bachelor hood, his loneliness his dirty room his unconventional singing, George Bis was on the motorbike will remain fixed in my mind as the ultimate symbol of the individual fighting against tradition and tragedy

Nandi's tale of torture

And the kind judge who told it

BUT for the tenacity of a judge, the story of a frail little girl, Nandi, whose real name is Paati, from a remote village, Puruna Chatrapur in the Ganjain district of Orissa would remain untold The girl is now at the temporary rescue home in Cuttack beyond the reach of tormenting policemen and heartless parents

On 29 May, very late in the evening, Justice Kunja Behari Panda was relaxing in his verandah when he noticed some movements outside his gate. He asked one of his servants to take a close look. A frail brown-skinned girl was found standing at the gate, alone. She was brought in hurriedly, and the judge was astonished to find ugly brand marks on her hips and buttock. The girl said she had been branded at reserve inspector. Arkhit Behera's house, where she was working as a maidservant.

Justice Panda took up the matter with the police. This led to a bitter confrontation between the judge and the police, which was subsequently taken to court. Nandi's case is to come up for hearing before a Cuttack magistrate on 9 September.

After hearing the child's pitiable story, the judge informed the nearest police station. The next morning a police officer turned up at his house The judge asked him to get Nandi medically examined and also record an FIR A few hours later the officer came back and returned the girl to the judge Meanwhile Arkhit Bohera arrived at the judge's house on a motorcycle to take the girl back But Nandi had told the judge her cruel story how she was made to work almost round the clock, not paid her wages, and constantly tortured by her employers Police sources also confirmed that Nityananda Panda, a police constable who was arrested in this connection and later released on bail, had branded the girl at the inst ance of Arkhit Behera's wife So Justice Panda refused to let her go with the reserve inspector, apprehending danger of similar treatment. Unable to locate the girl's parents 15 days after the incident, Justice Panda took her to the office of the Samaj, Orissa's most influential local daily and requested the editor to publish her story along with the photographs This would help her parents to locate her

The police had taken statements from the judge, his wife and other members of his household in connection with Nandi's case, which had been



The branded girl

registered Later the police visited the judge's house with a letter, supposedly from Nandi's parents asking for their daughter's return The letter bore thumb impressions, which the police claimed were her parents' Justice Panda was suspicious. He wanted to know why the parents did not present themselves, and refused to part with the girl A few days later a couple introducing themselves as Haribandhu Behera and Radha Beherani came to the judge's house. They claimed they were Nandi's parents But the girl refused to identify them as her parents, even though they were her father and mother So Nandi stayed Later when I asked Nandi why she did not go with her parents she said that though the couple were really her parents, she saw her father wearing a shirt that belongs to reserve inspector Arkhit Behera This scared her, because she is terrified of working in Behera's house, where she was sure of being sent back. So she refused to identify her parents

Though only eight years of age, Nandi, has already faced great hardship Nandi belongs to an extremely poor family which barely managed two meals a day Her parents quarrelled persistently Three years back her parents had abandoned her. Her mother fled with another man to Rourkela and her father left in search of work Nandi, who was then working in the same village as a maidservant for Rs eight a month and some food, was sold off almost as a slave, to a local police officer Relating the story of her brand marks, she said she had once stolen a currency note from Arkhit Behera's house (though she did not even know its denomination) The reserve inspector's wife, intent on

punishing Nandi for this "crime", asked her husband's orderly, Panda, to brand the girl with a red-hot cooking spud Panda obeyed, but not before gagging the helpless child It was a cruel act of sadism "I began crying when freed of the gag The orderly threatened to strangle me to death, said a trembling Nandi, recalling the ciuel moment. Twelve days after the incident, Nandi found an opportunity to go the nearby police dispensary where she showed her festering wounds to the doctor. When the doctor asked her how she got her marks, she was too scared to say anything But more cruelty was to follow. When the reserve inspector was informed of Nandi's visit to the hospital he scolded his wife. And she in turn severely beat up Nandi at night. The next day Nandi escaped to Justice Panda's house

During the two months Nandi was with Justice Panda the police had started an insidious campaign against the judge The judge wrote to the Governor alleging that the police was trying to hush up the matter. On 6 August the police issued a Press state ment saying that Arkhit Behera was not responsible for the child's branding An investigation—the usual recourse—was in progress and the police authorities investigating the case were awaiting the government doctor's report. The police claimed that though Nandi's real parents had met Justice Panda, "the girl was not returned" They even hed that Nandi was related to reserve inspector Arkhit Behera and sent petitions in Nandi's parents' names to several places, asking for the girl's release But the judge would not budge

Reacting angrily to the police's statement that the search for Nandi's father was not started at his behest but the Cuttack Police's Justice Panda said that he had personally met the district collector Miss Rajalaxmi at Behrampore and the superintendent of police Jackhuk about Nandi. The judge said that Nandi's parents had all along been staying with Arkhit Behera and this was evident from the numerous petitions sent by them which were marked "care of Arkhit Behera", above his address. The beatings at Arkhit Behera's house had left Nandi a nervous wreck the little girl would scream in her sleep, pleading with her oppressors not to beat her, or asking to be excused one last time. "This is no way to behave with human beings when we tend our cows and dogs more gently" said Mrs Panda, the judge's wife

SWARUP JENA, Bhubaneswar

A film's struggle

"The Naxalites" was almost banned



Mithun Chakravarty in The Naxalites

NO political censorship'—thus went the clarion call at a recent meeting of the Forum For A Better Cinema Some of the "serious" filmmakers from Bombay's "parallel" cinema had gathered to condemn the Censor Board for banning K. A. Abbas' latest film, The Naxalites

A Abbas in his film has not been able to slip in his message. The Naxalites is a bad film, melodramatic in its glorification of a phantom force of avengers built up in the countryside and the sophisticated environs of Calcutta's Presidency College But here, at least, is a man who genuinely feels what he talks about Mr Abbas, who felt over five years ago that he must make this film before he died spent over two years trying to raise the money for the film "I turned into a writing machine", he told this correspondent recently. "Whoever was willing to give me Rs 500 for a short story was promised a short story Stories, articles, anything just to raise the Rs six lakhs that I needed for the film".

He thought of making the film when some Naxalite youths came to see him one night in Calcutta. They demanded he make a film on them "I told them who will want to see your film? They said, you people from Bombay who want to make films on dakus (dacoits), and on smugglers, you have no idea as to the sort of possibilities there are in a film on Naxalites. And at least the whole thing will not be a figment of someone's imagination-it will all be true. In fact, there and then I decided that a film should be made. Later in Bombay, since there was nobody I knew who would be interested,

I took on the project myself"

Although Abbas has tried to depict the atrocities of the time unbiasedly in the film, in truth it is not very realistic. This is mainly because he has used some very dramatic sequences in the film. Further, his treatment of the problem in its final stages is such that some of the real life issues, like the differences that had developed within the Naxalite ranks regarding question of violence, have been sidestepped.

The film was banned soon after it was made. Abbas naturally reacted strongly. In a letter to the Censor Board, Abbas wrote "The second person (after the typist) who read the script was none other than your Hon'ble Chairman and my friend Mr (K.

L) Khandpur, who kept it for a month (which should have been sufficient for reading and re-reading it), and it was only after he telephoned me to go ahead that I started the picture I know that scripts change in filming and so precensorship cannot be official, it can only be triendly advice, but let Mr Khandpur say whether I have made any serious departures from the

original script "
Mr Abbas feels that the main controversy was based "On the Censors' own conditions. They wrote to me that the film 'attracts provisions of Section 5B(1) of the Cinematograph Act of 1952' This relates to the interests of the Security of State and public order. But do they know that the same section 5B also deals with contempt of court? In my earlier film, A Tale of Four Cities, Justice Hidavatullah had expressly stated that when the film had been banned and the matter taken to the Supreme Court that matters relating to the freedom of artistic speech should not be left to the discretion of mere secretaries, which these people now have done, and that the matter of the censor certificate should necessarily be determined within 57 days Yesterday (that is 21 July) was the 92nd day since the film was submitted for censorship. So if I am violating this Cinematograph Act, then so are they "

Three weeks after the 92nd day, the Censor Board finally agreed to a few mild cuts. Mr. Abbas, clearly happy with the fact that he has got off lightly has now busied himself with the task of distributing the film "Atter the struggle to get the film through the Censors, now the struggle to get the film to the public starts. Khwajasaab has received a few offers, which are ridiculously low. But he is happy, because at least he has done what he had decided to complete, over six years ago", said his nephew Anwar Abbas who is helping him with the work of distribution

ASHISH RAJADHYAKSHA, Bombay

An angry protest

Lok Dal's anti-rape movement

It all began on 18 June, ten minutes after the incident at Bagpat," said Satpal Malik, secretary of the Lok Dal, referring to the anti-rape movement the Lok Dal launched "One of our men, Jagat Singh, was present when the incident was taking place. At once he went to the police station and spoke to the SHO to ascertain what had happened. He was not satisfied with the explanation the SHO gave and he came to Delhi and informed us."

The next day the Lok Dal sent a team to Bagpat to find out the details and ascertain the facts. The same

evening, members of the Lok Dal went to meet the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, V P Singh, who was then in Delhi The result an assurance that he would look into the incident On 22 June, a delegation of Lok Dal MPs again went to Bagpat to check the details they had gathered about the incident Unconvinced about the police version, they found nothing against the men who had been shotdown except that they flad petty criminal records

"But that was not the point, We were willing to overlook the killings, but not the stripping of the woman in

the open marketplace. This was the issue," said Mr Malik And this is the point Chaudhury Charan Singh drove home. In the Lok Sabha he announced that people could not forgive or overlook the humiliation of a woman The Lok Dal leader decided to hold a meeting in Bagpat on 4 July "No one can accuse us of not giving the government a chance to set things right on their own The incident took place on 18 June, and Chaudhury Saab decided to hold the meeting on 4 July It is just that the government decided to do nothing and not punish the guilty officers," said Satpal Malik

The meeting was a success Thousands of people had thronged to Bagpat from neighbouring areas to hear the Lok Dal leader speak At the meeting Charan Singh said that the fight for justice would continue and that a satyagraha would be launched The meeting adopted a resolution demanding the resignation of the Central and state governments "for their failure to protect the honour of women and punish the guilty police officials inthe Bagpat incident". Slogans like "Chaudhury Charan Singh Zindabad" and "Nyay le kar rahenge" rent the air as the Chaudhury announced his programme of satyagraha Madhu Limaye the Party general secretary, held a meeting to chalk out the course of action and Satpal Malık was made convener.

The next stage of the movement began on 7 July courting arrest It was decided that 25 people at a time would court arrest but, said Satpal Malik, "When we went there we found that about 1,000 people had gathered Finally, instead of 25 people, 350 people courted arrest" Except on Sundays, groups of people continued courting arrest and each day they were led by a Lok Dal MP Within three days about 700 had courted arrestand the movement spread Lok Dal supporters started courting arrest in Muzaffarnagar, Ghaziabad and Bulandshahr According to Mr Malik, the jails were soon crammed-full and the police grew helpless As a last resort, Section 144 was withdrawn and that marked the end of this phase of the movement

"Once this phase ended, we were at a bit of a loss," said Mr Malik. "We now had to plan out a different course. So we changed our line and decided to peacefully obstruct the functioning of work in government offices and courts Our movement was so successful that for a week, work in courts and offices in Meerut, Saharanpur, Bulandshahr and Bagpat remained paralysed," said Satpal Malik It was also decided to observe 21 July as 'Bagpat day' when people in all districts of UP, except the hill districts, would court arrest. In Haryana and Delhi too, satyagraha began. While in Haryana a number of people courted arrest, in Delhi, between 1 August and 8 August about a hundred women went on satyagraha in

front of Delhi's Boat Club. On 9 August, a large number of Lok Dal workers including Mr Malik, Rambilas Paswan, Jagpal Singh and Satyanarain Reddy—all Lok Dal MPs— were arrested at the Boat Club

Chaudhury Charan Singh called a meeting in Bagpat and declared that on 10 September he, along with MPs and MLAs of the Party, would court arrest This, members of the Lok Dal feel, would be the climax of the movement The Lok Dal has also decided to observe a Jana Jagran week from 27 August to 2 September when economic issues will also be highlighted Second October, Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary, will mark the end of the anti-rape movement.

Is the movement meant to achieve political ends? "No", said Satpal Malık "Whatever political gains accrue will be incidental. This movement is not political. We want justice We waited from 18 June to 4 July before we took any action. We gave the government enough time Besides, our demands were simple suspend the guilty officers In the case of Narainpur, Mrs Gandhi insisted that Banarasi Das should resign But our demands are limited to just suspending the officers Of course there have been some political gains. We do not deny that For instance, because of courting arrest and carrying on with the agitation our workers have become fearless They have learnt what it is to go to jail-something most of them had not experienced before Besides, it has been good for the morale, they now feel a sense of achievement And final ly, it has shattered the myth that the Lok Dal does not have the support of the harijans In our movement, the

harijans joined in too-in large numbers."

And not without effect: On 12 August Home Minister Zail Singh introduced a bill in the Lok Sabha which proposes a minimum imprisonment of seven years and a maximum of life imprisonment for rape The bill proposes to make the law more stringent without prejudicing fair trials, amend the definition of rape to remove certain loopholes, ensure that consent is disregarded unless it is real and given out of free choice, the prosecutors are protected from embarrassing publicity during the stages of investigation as well as trial and any information leading to the identification of the victim is not disclosed Finally, in the case of rape by a police officer, a group of persons or by a person having a custodial control by virtue of his special position in relation to the victim, once it is proved that sexual intercourse has taken place, the onus should be on the accused-not the accuser-to prove that sexual intercourse was with the consent of the woman

Following a spate of communal violence all over the country after Id, the Lok Dal president Chaudhury Charan Singh decided to suspend the anti-rape satyagraha programme on August 17 till normal conditions returned Chaudhury Saab said "The law and order situation throughout the country was already intolerable. It has now been compounded by the Moradabad holocaust and its repercussions" also left a warning for the ruling Congress(I) "One can only hope that the situation will not be exploited by the government as an excuse for imposing an Emergency'

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

Oberoi goes to Melbourne

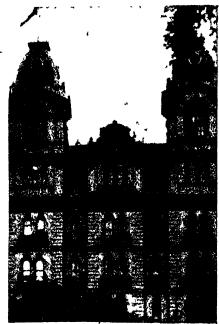
Despite prejudice, another hotel

ON 22 August, 1980 the Oberon group added yet another showpiece to its international chain of luxury hotels The Windsor in Melbourne, Australia, became the twentysixth hotel of the Oberoi empire in the midst of a major public controversy. For a two-year contract, Oberoi, back ed by a Saudi Arabian millionaire Sheikh Abdullah Fouad, offered the government of Victoria 1.1 million Australian dollars to snatch away the Windsor from the only Australian con tender, Federal Pacific Hotels which had been running the Windsor for the past three years. The management of Federal Hotels was particularly upset with the deal, especially since it had lifted the languishing Windsor out of the red after taking it over in 1977. The loss of the Windsor was the second setback in recent months for the Federal group which saw its plans for

opening a casino in Melbourne scuttled by opposition from the local church.

Instead of bowing out gracefully in favour of the highest bidder, John Haddad, Managing Director of Federal Hotels, tried to make political capital of the Windsor issue. He accused the State government of selling out to foreign interests for a paltry extra 25,000 dollars a year, which was the difference between the Oberoi and Federal tenders. "For the sake of \$ 25,000 it's a very, very poor judgment and I believe the government is putting the Windsor at some sort of risk," he said.

Haddad's criticism sparked off a flurry of protests. More than hundred members of the hotel staff petitioned the government against a change in management. A Liberal politician was so annoyed with the deal that he



vowed to have the decision reversed. An obviously motivated movement was started to whip up public opinion against the Indian takeover Letters of protest poured into newspaper offices A coupon campaign, similar to a signature campaign, was set in motion Radio reports indicated that even taxi drivers and sales girls were opposed to the Windsor passing out of Australian control Some critics went to the extent of predicting that the hotel would degenerate into a haven for Indian and Arab terrorists, besides being "a popular venue for demonstrations against foreign interests." All this patriotic hue and cry was nothing short of veiled discrimination against Asian business enterprise. It is unlikely that a similar uproar would have been raised if an American hotel chain had won the Windsor contract

The Windsor, which is located in the heart of the city, overlooking Melbourne's famous Treasury Gardens and Parliament House, is an impressive piece of Victorian architecture which originally attracted Mr Mohan Singh Oberoi, patriarch of the Oberoi group, as one of the few existing hotels in the grand palatial style Mr Oberoi has assured the Victoria government that "the colonial atmosphere of the Windsor will absolutely be maintained." There are no plans for retrenching staff or to even change the hotel name since it has links with British royalty Mr Oberoi had, once, as a young hotelier, hosted the Duke of Windsor during the latter's visit to India.

Besides, in purely commercial terms, the Oberoi proposal was too attractive to refuse. The Victoria government bought the Windsor for \$ 4 5 million in 1976 when it was losing \$ 500,000 annually, and leased it to Federal Hotels for \$ 60,000 a year plus 50 per cent of the net profits. However, it collected only a negligible \$ 400,000 during the three years of the

Federal management. The Oberoi lease, on the other hand, will bring in \$ 550,000 a year or \$ 225,000 plus 4.5 per cent of total receipts.

In addition, Oberoi is spending \$ 2.5 million on renovations including colonial furnishings, air-conditioning and decor. An Indian restaurant will be an added attraction at the Windsor

For the last four years Oberoi has already been running an international hotel called Hotel Australia in Adelaide, complete with an Indian restaurant Mr Oberoi's experience in Adelaide has been so encouraging that he has set his heart on buying a house facing the hotel

The Windsor controversy has only spurred Mr Oberoi to make a bigger success of his new investment in Melbourne Designers and architects got busy the day the deal came through

"A lot needs to be done," said an enthusiastic Mr Oberoi. There is little doubt that the Windsor will thrive under the Oberoi stewardship If all goes well for the next two years, Oberoi will have the opportunity to extend the lease for another twenty years or buy out the hotel according to the original plan.

For many years Oberoi has been competing with international hotel chains in the Middle East and South East Asia That competition will now intensify in the sophisticated State capitals of Australia The 80-year-old Mr Oberoi, who still nurses his dream of being recognised as the world's foremost hotelier, is already making plans to buy hotels in Sydney and Perth Move over, Hilton and Sheraton Here comes Oberoi

JIMI HAFIZJI, Melbourne

Police arrogance

UGUST 18. The time was Aaround ten p.m The Foreign Secretary, Mr R D Sathe had gone to the airport to receive the Bhutanese Foreign Minister, D A. Tshering. But before his car could enter the VIP enclosure he was stopped at the gate A liaison officer of the Ministry of External Affairs, Pradeep Chaudhury, then went up to the gate, produced the relevant documents and requested the inspector-in-charge, Suresh Sharma, and the constable, Dharam Vir Singh, attached to the Delhi airport, to open the gate But the police personnel remained unim pressed They refused to open the gates The protocol officer of the Ministry, M. J. Rana was also pre-sent. Both Mi. Rana and Mr. Chaudhury produced their identity cards. The policemen still refused to let the car pass and a heated argument ensued Finally, Mr Sathe stepped out of the car as he was wondering what had happened At this the liaison officer, Pradeep Chaudhury himself went up to the gate and tried to push it open. This obviously angered the police constable As soon as Mr Chaudhury tried to open the gate, the constable hurled a blow at him. It missed and landed on the iron bars. More angered, the constable hurled two more blows, both of which landed on Mr Chaudhury It was only after this and further wrangling that Mr Sathe countered

All this in spite of the fact that the police outpost at the airport was given advance intimation about the number of cars, along with their licence numbers, which were to be allowed into the VIP enclosure outside the VIP lounge, and that the External Affairs personnel were carrying special permits to

allow the car to pass through.

Officials of the Ministry of External Affairs were obviously sore at this incident. The next day, senior officials of the Home Ministry, including senior police officials and officials of the External Affairs Ministry met to discuss the issue. Smoother security identification measures were discussed which would preclude the chance of such an incident happening again.

However, after senior officials of the Ministries concerned had discussed the issue, they wanted the incident to be played down Mr M H Ansarı, chief protocol officer of the Ministry of External Affairs, when contacted by this reporter simply said, "Oh, it was just an inter-departmental misunderstanding There is nothing really to worry about We have sorted out our differences You see those chaps had to do their duty and our chaps did their duty." Mr Ansari was however silent on whether the police were however right or wrong in beating up one of his officers. This obviously was too embarrassing for him especially since he is a senior government officer Almost apologetically he said, "You see the airport police have a special task to perform There are a lot of security arrangements Besides, the account is being exaggerated. We have settled it amicably.'

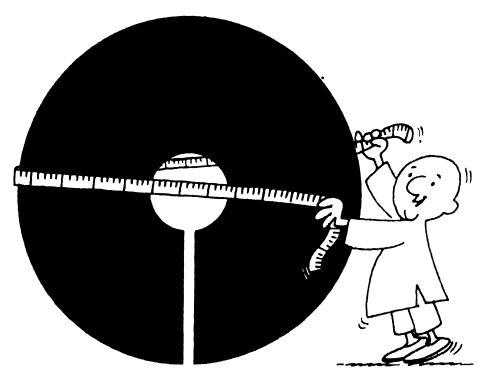
But the fact still remains that this is not the first instance of police arrogance. There have been instances before, especially in the airport, where many a newsman and photographer have complained of the rough behaviour of policemen.

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, New Delhi

Measuring up to your trust

State Bank's vital statistics:

Deposits over Rs. 7,500 crores
Number of offices over 5,200 in India
and 33 abroad
Number of depositors over 1 crore



., And we continue to grow all round with your trust. Put your savings in State Bank—they will grow fast And help the nation grow

We have a scheme for every dream.
Savings Account, Fixed Deposit, Recurring
Deposit, Perennial Pension Plan,
Reinvestment Plan, Janata Deposit.
And the Minor's Account



Unjust designs

Terrorism in an architecture school

THERE has been a growing tension among the students of Delhi School of Planning and Architecture ever since an Afghan student, Haider Pardais has taken to terrorising the students and the director has let things take their own course. The rivalry among students is intense and a section of the students have now become

wary of the director.

It all began, when, in April last year, the students of the institution went on a strike after a professor of the institute had manhandled a student The students of the institution also took this opportunity to launch a demand for a student union. Bijit Ghosh, then the Head of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, and now the director of the institute, had encouraged the move for the formation of a union. However, once he became the director, in October last year, he started opposing the move saying that it was illegal and put forward the idea of a students' council. Some students however, decided to start off the union without the permission of the director. In November, 1979, the union was launched, and some office bearers were appointed on

an ad hoc basis till elections were held.

It is at this time that Haider Pardais entered the picture. According to Arundhuti Roy, the secretary of the union, the director, Bijit Ghosh, decided to take action, against the office bearers of the union and told Haider Pardais to break up the union. This led to a series of confrontations between the office bearers of the union and Haider Pardais. In one such confronta tion Haider Pardais beat up the presi dent of the union Eugene Pandala in April this year Pandala fell unconscious with a fractured nose. A case was promptly registered with the police and Pardais was arrested under section 325 IPC. Pardais was, however, released on a personal bond of Rs 5.000 The students complain that not only did Bijit Ghosh defend Pardais but he even put in a good word for him.

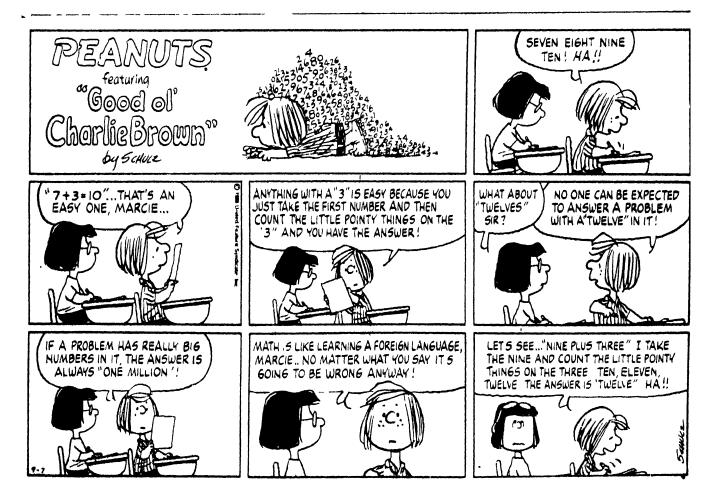
There have been other incidents too. On one occasion, Gerard Da Cunha (another student) was chased all over the college with a knife with Haider shouting 'I will kill you' He finally saved himself by rushing into a professor's room and locking himself

up there. "The director did not take any action against Haider," saic Gerard. "As a matter of fact he ever defended Haider against the police.' Again, according to Arundhuti Roy Pardais had threatened to physically assault her. "The director does no even give me a hearing. This man is mad. Something should be done abou it. Pardais should be thrown out of the hostel, as with him around, the lives o hostelers have become perilous," she said.

"A lot of lies are being spread about me. I did not bash up anyone We had a fight. Besides, all this i because of union rivalry. I am the president of the architectural society which is recognised while these people are not," said Haider Pardais. Bu people still continue to be wary of him "What am I to do?" asks Biji

Ghosh. "As far as Haider is concerned in one instance there is a case on in the court so we cannot have a departmen tal inquiry. As far as the second case i concerned we have set up a committee to figure out if Haider is guilty, but i is true that this boy is prone to vio lence But I have to rely on hin because he is the president of the architectural society. You see we are small, good institution. So we like to settle our own problems without tak ing help from the police."

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi



LIVING

In the heart of art



Not so long ago Smita Patil was in Calcutta, shooting for Ashwamedher Ghora And Mrinal Sen was on the hunt. armed with yet another story by Amalendu Chakra borty (the man who wrote the legendary Ek din Prati din) So Sen bagged Smita, found-for the first time-a producer to bankroll his film before it went on the floors and, on Independence Day, announced Akaler San dhanay The story, reports **Jimi** Hafizji, is set in a vil lage in Bengal during the famine of 1943 A film crew

arrives to shoot scenes o starvation Its members are soon torn between demand: of the profession and the call of conscience The villa gers, on the other kand, con sider them urban intruder: capitalising on human mis ery The crew finally leave: the village, disillusioned and unable to complete the film The message Accord ing to Mrinal Sen himself "It takes a sensitive persor to project reality into a film It is not enough to know the art One must also have a heart"

Facing the Times in Goa

Times of India can t get away from the courts in Goa, re ports Mario Cabral e Sa First it was the quaint "Sir Dom"— the "knight of Piast", where ver that is-who took editor Giralal Jain and ait critic Nadkarni to court for defama tion and libel Nadkarni had reviewed "Sir Dom's" exhibi tion of paintings held in Bom bay And "Sir Dom" had taken offence But "Sir Dom" is hardly the man for causing tremors in the Times of India, he is, as he claims, an assis tant inn keeper-by virtue of the fact that he gives a help ing hand at his father's tavern in a suburb of Panaji-and, to his few patrons, is quite simp ly Dominic Martins

And now the ex Speaker of Goa, N S Fugro, has also taken up arms against the Times of India and its Goa correspondent, Chinu Pan chal Fugro's case is that an incorrect and tendentious re port filed by Panchal led to his defeat at the polls in the constituency of Diu This ob viously implies that the Times of India is somehow very in fluential in Diu where En glish, Chinu Panchal's or any body else's, is Greek to over 90 per cent of the population And, shying away from a bland denial that indeed it is not so very influential, the Times of India emissaries have been trying for an out of court compromise

Dog day night

it was one of those myste rious phone calls But it soon had the Chandigarh south police station in a state of alert Sector 23 at that hour was as dark as a dungeon The police party descended into the nullah(open drain) to locate what was accord ing to the mysterious caller a "dead body However after a few hours the search had to be abindoned Reason poor visibility Next morning the cops were in the drain again Many citizens of (handigarh watched the spectacle with bated breath Finally a policeman emerged from the abyss, carrying the remains of a dead dog wrap ped in a gunnybag

Arch competitor

Reverend Robert Alexander Kennedy, Archbishop of Can terbury has entered his 1967 Morris Minor 1000 for the 1980 Himalayan Rally In a simple ccremony at Lambeth Palace London on 4 August, the Archbishop presented the keys of his car to the two drivers who will be participat ing in the rally-Philip Young editor of Collectors' (ar and Reverend Rupert lones who teaches religious education Said the Archbishop I wish the drivers ill the best in this highly adventurous expedition The car has served three Archbishops very well over the years and I hope it re mains just as faithful on the mountains? The car and the two drivers will be flown to India by Air India.

Two on one



Deborah—she refuses to divulge her last name—is 19 with a cheeky, impish grin And with those long and love ly legs she has managed to race into the fashion world of Delhi She's a girl who believes in functionalism and in

the bikini which, as she told Amichar, "is one of the most practical outfits for a woman, at least in summer—it gives you so much freedom" True to her words, she spends most of her time dressed in a two-piece swimsuit, looking cool



STORMY days are ahead for films and filmwallas if the rumour that Dev Anand's Lootmaar has been recalled by the revising committee turns out to be true The film was slated for an Independence Day release and announcements to this effect were being splashed around Now suddenly the censor board has stepped in and the film's fate is uncertain. The censors bogey has reared its head again and the superaction filmwallas are beginning to get insomnia If the title Lootmaar is anything to go by, violence is going to be the main victim of the censors' scissors.

Dharam: One, two, many for the sets

ISHI KAPOOR had to cancel a massive shooting schedule because he had a mysterious nervous breakdown. The reason was traced very surprisingly to none other than wife Neetu who is expecting a baby. Some kind of sympathetic gesture on the part of the young hubby? There are also those wicked stories which suggest that Dimple's walk-out on the Khanna household is partly the cause of Rishi's nervous disorder. Though why the ripples had to affect a person so far away, is what intrigues

EENAT AMAN also has

Inot been feeling too well lately. Of course the conclu-

sion is drawn from the schedules which she too had been cancelling of late because of some vague illness or the other. The last few scenes of a long-delayed multi-starrer were held up in spite of the three or four other big stars of the film being down at the studio because Zeenat, who had gone to Delhi for the premiere of Qurbani did not report back on time. What could have afflicted Zeenat who is usually so regular at her work?

DARIKSHIT SAHNI came back from USA with the other members of Suraag more than two months ago And he returned from his training in Moscow (film acting course) more than two decades ago! But the man still cannot get rid of his yearning for the Soviet land. This time it was hoped that he would come back greatly affected by the affluence and glamour of the USA and would get rid of his one and only topic of conversation-Moscow. But now he relates only the terrible incidents he saw and experienced in the States, like fist-fights, oppression of Red Indians, highway murders and burglary, racial brawls, etc. And then: "Back in Moscow this would never happen..." Will he never change? HARMENDRA had this strange illness when he

came a bit late on the sets of his film. The rest of the superstar cast who were waiting were astonished to see him hefted into his make-up room by two of his men under each shoulder. He couldn't report on the set for some time after that and then when he did, he had those strange red, glassy eyes, which could focus on nothing in particular and he couldn't stand straight, try as he might. And he kept swaying, though certainly not under his own weight. Everybody thought that he was sufficiently under Hema's intoxicating spell to need anything more!

UESS who is taking to Umorning jogs on the beach? None other than skinny-boney Deepak Parasher, the newcomer who needs to be love-sick all the time, to keep his spirits afloat. He doesn't need any jogs on the beach, if it is his figure he has to watch. Go out there to Juhu before the city wakes up and watch his eyes, glazed with love-sickness and a figure that boasts a trimness which puts other joggers to shame and envy! Maybe he is working out what is on his mind rather than around his middle.





66 TN OUR family we don't lgo around sleeping with our brothers, however frus trated we are," raged Zarina Wahab when a Malavalam producer's wife accused her of having an affair with a handsome technician "I call him Bhaiya (elder brother) and I mean it", declared the actress. As for the allegation that she ditched the producer of Swath, Zarina said she has worked in four films for Tarachand Bai jatya's Rajshri outfit in Bombay 'They're such disciplinarians that they won't hesitate to sack any indisciplined artistes from their films "

Suman and Ramya in "Elamai Kolam"

WFDDING bells to:

Ashwini and director I S Ranga may not a nig tor quite some time, it seems Ashwini is getting busier in Madras and Ranga has started a small busine is in cine equipment in Bangalore But Savitir the Kannad chilm that brought Ashwini and Ranga together i till to be released, though completed a year ago and shown in the Indian Panorama section of the International Film Lestiv al at Bangalore this year. It is produced by Hunja Imam a movie buff who's the back

bone of Bangalore's Max Muller Bhavan It is believed that a top notch distributor in Bangalore wanted to release Imam's film but he burnt his fingers after showing another "artistic" film, Vatsalya Patha That flop was a convenient excuse for the distributor to postpone the release of Savitri

VIJAYKUMAR who used to waste his time doing PR films for MGR has done a good role in Kaali But it's doubtful whether his career will change for the better Just before the Assembly elections he switched over to the DMK, and surely MGR has not for given him. As they say, he would have been out of the market a long time ago but for the patrofage of MGR sponsored films.

NOT many people know that Uttam Kumar acted in a Bengali film for a Madras producer two years ago. The film was made by the well known Gemini Bilan was the temake of a Lamil super hit made two decades ago. Since the Bengali film flopped, despite Uttam's dual fole plus action and thills. Gemini already in a soup, gave up making films.

keen on cinematography and is constantly seen in the company of cinematographer Ashok Kumar Suhasini is also an assistant to Ashok but these days she's busy with couple of movie assignments **PIOUSJI** Rathi Agnihotri 1

SUHASINI, the daughter of the renowned producerdirector the late B R PantuBeginning September 7

This week the Sun and Jupiter are in Leo, Saturn and Mercury are in Virgo, Mars and Uranus are in Libra Neptune alone is in Scorpio, Kethu alone is in Capitorn Venus and Rahu are in Cancer. The Moon will be moving through Leo, Virgo and Libra from Cancer.



ARIES (March 21—April 20)You will make slow progress in business You will enjoy a happy domestic life but womenfolk may cre-

ate problems. Think twice before taking advice from a friend of the opposite sex especially regarding financial matters. Disagreement with a relative is likely. After a minor setback you will have better fortune in the weekend. Good dates. 13, 14 and 16. Lucky numbers. 4, 6 and 8. Favourable direction. West.



TAURUS (April 21—May 22)This is a lucky week for you You will gain financially unexpectedly through speculation Guard against

deception Defer courtship and marriage Do not be afraid to adopt new methods in your dealings. A happy romance is in the offing. Make your own intuition your guide. This week will bring you a lot of good fortune. Promotion is likely Good dates: 7, 8, 10 and 11. Lucky numbers. 3, 5 and 7. Favourable directions. North, and West.



GEMINI (May 23—June 21)Although you have overcome recent difficulties you will continue to experience minor obstacles in busi-

ness or in the professional field. You will face opposition from an elderly person or from a member of the opposite sex. Your affairs will make progress. Benefit from an unexpected source is likely. Exercise tact with those in authority. You may be deceived by some quarters in the weekend. Do not be upset if progress is slow. Good dates: 9, 10, 12, and 13. Lucky numbers. 3, 8 and 12. Favourable direction. North



CANCER (June 22—July 22)This is an ideal week for love affairs and matrimonial negotiations. A new friend will enter your life.

You may have to cancel a journey at the last moment Contacts with elders and senior officials are likely to benefit you in your professional life. Time is favourable for expansion of your business Do not hesitate to put your plans into action Good dates: 7, 8, 10 and 12 Lucky numbers: 3, 6 and 9. Favourable directions. West and North

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LEO (July 23—August 22) Your companions will pick quarrels with you Do not enter into controversies with your friends, relatives

and superiors Avoid troubles with elders. The time is unfavourable for tours and parties. Unlike the first half of the week when you will be beset with problems, the latter half will bring you some good news. You will gain through a new friendship. Time is good for love and matrimonial alliances. Good dates: 7, 9, 12 and 13. Lucky numbers: 2, 3 and 4. Favourable direction.



VIRGO (August 23—September 22)Mixed fortunes await you this week. For those in service there is likely to be a promotion. Businessmen

are likely to reap some profits during this week. Tax-payers are advised to keep their accounts up to date. Time is ripe for parties and entertainments. A distant relation will send you some good news. Those planning and implementing new ideas are not likely to meet with success. Good dates. 8, 9, 10 and 11 Lucky numbers. 4, 7 and 11 Favourable direction.



LIBRA (September 23—October 22) You should devote some time to solve the problems of your terrify Time is favourable for the

acquisition or disposal of property A letter will bring good news. You might spend some time entertaining your friends this week. The health of your spouse may cause you some worry. This is a good week for speculation and gambling. Good dates. 7, 9, 10 and 11 Lucky numbers. 3, 6 and 9 Favourable directions. South and West.



SCORPTO (October 23— November 21)Some of your problems will be solved this week Avoid controversy with your ofders. You might

have to travel on business. Times are favourable for love and matrimonial alliances. You will meet some new people who are likely to be of great help to you in your work. You are likely to have some financial problems, but they will not last for a long time. Keep an eye on your health. Good dates. 10, 11 and 13. Lucky numbers: 1, 3 and 10. Favourable direction: North-West.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22—December 22)Partners and relatives will be of great help in your business You are likely to enter into

a new contract Do not take decisions in a hurry But discuss matters with elders and those in a position to give you good advice Avoid travelling. You will not have any financial problems. Do not indulge in extravagances. The health of your family is likely to cause some worry. Good dates 7, 8, 11 and 12. Lucky numbers: 6, 9 and 11. Favourable direction.



CAPRICORN (December 23— January 20)An unpleasant week lies ahead of you There will be trouble on the domestic front Your sub-

ordinates wiff give you some cause to worry You might fall ill during a journey that you wiff have to undertake Postpone pending suits Avoid matrimonial alliances Keep an eye on the health of your family You require faith and patience to deal successfully with the difficulties of this week Good dates 8, 10, 11 and 12 Lucky numbers 1, 2 and 4 Favourable direction South-East



AQUARIUS (January 21— February 19) You are advised to exercise caution in your business this week Check extravagances

There is going to be some change in your business and personal life. The health of your family may give you some cause to worry. Time is favourable for love affairs, but do not enter into any agreements hastily. There will be peace on the domestic front. Good dates. 7, 9, 11 and 13. Lucky numbers. 2, 5 and 7. Favourable directions. North and West.



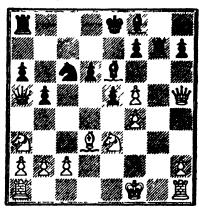
PISCES (February 20—March 20)Let your intuition be your guide and you will be crowned with success A week of happiness and

good fortunes. Your business and financial affairs will make steady progress. A promotion is not unlikely. Time is favourable for marriage negotiations. But watch out for deception on the part of your sweetheart. Keep an eye on your health. Good dates. 9, 10, 11 and 13. Lucky numbers. 4, 9 and 10. Favourable direction. West.

M. B. RAMAN

chess

Sax (Black) to move



Hubner (White) Spreading the word

Once upon a time opening theory was something one learnt by trial and error There were no widely published sources of theoretical information, so that if by chance a candidate master in Ljubljana happened a candidate master in Ljubijana nappened to discover a refutation of your favourite gambit there was no need to worry. The chances of any prospective opponent find ing out about it would be very slim indeed. Nowadays with so many international publications on the market there is a con-

siderable exchange of ideas and information across and throughout the world. The average player can have at his fingertips volumes of theoretical material on a scale unheard of even 10 years ago. The result is that present day players read and know more about the game especially the open ings, than ever before A well known grandmaster of the older generation was recently overheard to complain 'in my day I knew more theory than anybody. Now everybody knows more than I'

Certainly one of the factors in the spread of opening knowledge has been the ECO (Encyclopedia of Chess Openings) series, compiled in Belgrade by the producers of the well known informator series. The last of the ECO series paradoxically labelled vol-ume A has recently been published in Britain (Batsford £15) It fills the gaps left by ta antecedents volumes B C D and E which basically consist of the English and Reti openings garnished with a few of the slightly less common defences to 1 P-Q4 For those unfamiliar with the ECO and informator series I should point out that these books are in algebraic notation and contain no words or explanations only variations and assessments in the form of symbols

 Despite the prolification of opening theory, fresh ideas are being discovered all the time, even in well known positions. I give below a game in which a completely new move in a very popular opening leads to a fascinating, though brief, duel

White W Hubner Black G Sax Rio De Janeiro 1979 Sicilian Defence Sveshnikov Variation

New York (No. 1) 1. P.—K4, P.—QB4, 2. N.—KB3, N.—QB3; 3
P.—Q4, P.X.P., 4. N.X.P., N.—B3; 5. N.—QB3, P.—K4; 6. N(4)—N5, P.—Q3; 7. B.—N6, P.—QR3; 8. N.—R3, P.—N4; 9. B.X.N, P.X.B; 10. N.—Q5, P.—B4; 11. B.—Q3, B.—K3; 12
Q.—R5, Following a well-known and trodden path Theory sees no playable alternative to 12 B-N2 in this position but Sax does 12...R-KN1, Not previously considered because it secrifices the right to castle, but

in return Black obtains some active coun-

13. P—KB4I? Very sharp, but against 13 0--0 P--B5I 14 Q x RP R--N3 Black will have at least a draw by perpetual attack on the queen (R--R3--N3), for if 15 Q--R5 B--N5

B—NS 13. . RxP; 14. N—K3! The point of White's play if 14. R moves 15 PxBP and 16 0—0—0 when Black will be punished for leaving his king in the centre .. Q-R4+ Very cunning If 15 P-B3 R x NP demolishes White, so the king move is forced

15. K-B1, R-N2; 16. Px BP. 16. . . Q—N51 A fine piece sacrifice which very nearly wins. If instead 16 B—Q2 17 very nearly wins if instead 16 B—Q2 17 N—Q5 White holds the initiative 17 P x B, Q x BP+; 18. K—K2 N—Q5+ 19. K—Q2, N—B6+ Black rightly sees that the tempting 19 R—N7+ leads to trouble after 20 R—Q111 as 20 QxN allows mate in two - 21 OxP+ K—Q1 22 Q—Q7
20. K—Q2, N—Q5+ Drawn A very interest ing and entertaining struggle

MICHAEL STEAN

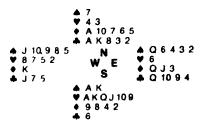
bridge

ONE of the lesser known professions in America at any rate is that of bridge-writer-bashing. A correspondent to the Bridge World draws attention to a number of inaccurate comments by celebrated columnists (or their ghost-writers). The horrible thing is that the critic seems to be right in all cases Here are two

North South defended in Five Clubs against Four Hearts expecting to go only one down. This observed the columnist they would have achieved but for East's careful discarding. What happened was that after a heart lead and continuation a club to the Ace and another heart. South played a diamond to the Aue and East unblocked the King averting the threatened elimination play (after AAK have been

cashed) Thus the penalty was 500
Anything wrong with that? Only that if
South delays the play of a trump until he has eliminated the other suits. East sunblock of ♦ K does not he of the defence, South is only one down

The other example



The columnist pointed out that in Six Hearts after a spade lead the declarer should not rely on a 2.2 diamond break but should establish a long club thus obtaining two diamond discards He added. The King of diamonds opening would have doomed the contract inevitably, because it would remove a vital entry to the table

Not 'inevitably South may duck on the opening lead, then again he has enough entries to dummy to establish a long club

TERENCE REESE

stamps



IT IS just a century since Canada took possession of the Arctic islands lying to the north of the mainland. The move was prompted by British fears that Americans who had applied for grants of land in the region might realise that the islands still had no legal owner and so encourage the United States to acquire them. Even then, it was not until after the discovery of gold in the Yukon in 1896 had attracted attention to the Northwest Territories that the Canadian Government began a systematic development of their resources. A 17-cents stamp showing a map of Canada has been issued by the Canadian Post Office to mark the centenary of the acquisition. Collectors who wish to buy mint Canadian stamps and firstday covers direct from Canadian stamps and first-day covers direct from Canada may obtain details from the Philatelic Service, Canada Post, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0B5 Com-memorative stamps are normally on sale for six months from the date of issue

C W. HILL

quiz

OUESTIONS

- What is a courtesy book?
- Who would a scop be?
- 3 Tammany Hall politicians have their origins in an organisation. What is it? What, in a classical symphony
- orchestra, would a timpani be?
- 5 Where would one find the Charlton Kings?
- Who is John Dory?
- What would a group of boars be called?
- 8 When would a Runcible spoon be used?

8 Myeu bickle is being esten

Sabod to rebnuos A T

A fish found in temperate seas

In Cheltenham, England

A kettledrum

Indian chief

benevolent society named after a Red ed in New York and formed from a 3 Tammany was an organisation found-

lentenim noxa2-olgnA nA S

11 01

philosophy on the art of living and a guide 17th century the books embodied a 1. A book of etiquette in the 16th and

VHSMEUS

this ındıa



DODBALLAPUR The donkeys of Guddadahalli, near here, were guests of honour recently when the women of the village washed them, "dressed" them in sarees, with vermilion and decked them in garlands before worshipping them with arathi. The taluk is in the grip of drought and the belief is that the surest way to please the rain gods is by treating the donkey as an honoured guest. The donkeys were later taken in procession to the accompaniment of drums and nadaswaram Mr G C Ramaiah, village headman, led the procession By the time the procession ended there was a drizzle, but heavy rains are awaited—Deccan Herald (S. Krishna Murthy, Bangalore)

CALCUTTA People stopped on Theatre Road to see a procession of nearly 100 naked urchins with placards in hand Some people got down from buses to witness it There was a traffic jam in the area for some time A constable was busy controlling the traffic and the crowd At first no one could make out what the procession was for When inquired some of the urchins bubbling with enthusiasm said that they were posing for shooting of a film Later a senior police official confirmed the news. He said that usually the police were informed when such a shooting was done-The Statesman (Chinmoy Kumar Hota, Mayurbhanj) ·

BHOPAL A girl who never passed her B.A examination was reportedly enrolled by Ravi Shankar University at Raipur from where she subsequently passed her M A and B.Ed examination On the basis of a migration certificate issued by Agra University in 1971-72, the girl was admitted to a college affiliated to the University She also got a job. After doing her M.A. the girl enrolled herself as a research scholar and started preparations for a Ph D degree. In the mean time, doubts were raised about her migration certificate. Ravi

Shankar University wrote to Agra University together with a photostat copy of the certificate. Agra University has flatly denied having issued such a certificate saying no such girl had ever appeared in the B.A. examination of that university—The Hindustan Times (Sunil Gaur, Gwalior)

BANGALORE A case of a man giving expression to the saying "cutting the nose to spite the face" of his wife was reported in the city. The victim was Mrs Suganaveni (28), an accounts clerk in the Bangalore Development Authority. The woman, however, did not lose her nose but sustained a deep cut on it. The police have arrested the woman's husband Jayaram (38), a Class IV employee in the Karnataka Government Insurance Department According to the police the husband attacked his wife when she was coming to the office in Kumara Park West in the morning. The Seshadripuram police were informed and the Circle Inspector of the station, Mr UD Puttaswamy Gowda rushed to the place along with two Sub-Inspectors and caught the alleged assailant on the Railway Parallel Road The police said the relations between the couple were strained and the wife had sought legal separation. The husband had told the police that he had no intention to murder but only to inflict such a wound that she would think of him whenever she looked into a mirror The husband has been charged with causing grievous hurt. The woman is progressing at the Victoria Hospital—The Hindu (K C Krishnadas, Bangalore)

TIRUPATI. Hundi collections at the temple of Lord Venkateswara at Tirumala spring a surprise every day. On August 7, the Tirumala temple authorities while sorting out the day's collections, found a cloth bag containing 4,731 hundred-rupee notes and 578 fifty-rupee notes amounting to Rs 5.02 lakhs The temple authorities believed this to be the biggest ever single offering dropped in the hundi—The Hindu (Dhanpat Agarwal, Tadepalligudem)

INDORE: Death came to a monkey while sitting in a posture of prayer before a Hanuman temple in village Harfola 15 km from here. The news of the monkey's death spread like wild fire and people gathered in large numbers to participate in a funeral procession through the village streets. After the monkey was buried according to Hindurites, a "mritya bhoj" (feast after death) was conducted and prayers offered for the peace of the monkey's soul—The Mail (Sudarsh Kumar, Madras)

THERE is politics behind all this— Indira Gandhi's comment on the recent communal riots

CRITICISE us for anything, but don't accuse us of being unpatriotic—L.K.Advani

IF TEN leaders coalesce, it makes a big Party; if three get together, it is a small Party...After a while all organisations are reduced to oneman Parties—Piloo Mody

WE HAVE no lack of direction here. We know exactly where we are going—Indira Gandhi

A SATELLITE launch or a hockey victory in the Olympics are no substitute for good government—S. Nihal Singh in *India Today*

MR NEHRU was a great advocate of socialism which he never took care to define—Ranajit Roy in Business Standard

TV IS ruining the state. Children don't study because of TV. Please take away TV from Punjab—Sundar Singh, MP

Do we live in the space age or rape age?—Jayantiben Mehta, BJP MLA in the Maharashtra Vidhan Sabha

BEFORE the country became free it was common to hear patriotic songs. But after 1947 they have almost vanished—RSS chief, Balasaheb Deoras

THE best teachers (of natural family planning) are those who have taken the vows of chastity—Mother Teresa

I DID what I thought was best for our country and best for the hostages and I believe that's exactly what Billy was doing—Jimmy Carter

I AM a late bloomer My mind and my experience have caught up to my body—Actress Raquel Welch on her 40th birthday

I USED to think that my salvation would be a wife Then I got a wife, and now what I need is a woman—V. S. Naipaul quoted in Newsweek

TINA has started looking buddhi. I want a new girl for my films—Dev Anand

Bjorn Borg may not be son of a bitch but he plays like one—World Tennis

INNOCENTS ABROAD

FUNNY tales are tioating back from Copenhagen, which was the venue of the recent international meet on women The official Indian delegation to the meet was headed by Mrs Gandhi's relative and Con gress(I) MP, Shiela Kaul, and com prised mostly ladies from the ruling Party It seems that the delegation was approached by the widow of the assassinated Chilean President, Salvador Allende, for a discussion Mrs Allende wanted the Indians to support a move by the exiled Chi leans to create a fund to help the women among them The Indians "What is looked confused "What is Allende" they asked That was not all When there was a move during the conference to hold a meeting of the delegations from the 'Group of 77' (the name given to the confer ence of the developing countries which orginally had 77 members, now there are 120), the Indian de legation politely refused, saying that India was a non aligned coun try and not a member of any group According to a delegate from India who was not a part of the official delegation but was invited on the UN quota, after these two incidents a bewildered organiser came to her and asked, 'Can you please tell me who is the political person in your country's delegation?

KID BROTHER

DELHI Lt Governor Jagmohan's brother P L Malhotra, who was elevated to the post of dean of colleges in Delhi University a few months back, has moved up further on the academic ladder He has been appointed the vice chancellor of Himachal Pradesh University at Simla P L Malhotra was the prin cipal of the College of Vocational Studies in Delhi, a small institution with around 500 students, for a number of years The adequacy of his experience as a university don was therefore questioned when he was elevated a few months back to the post which is of the rank of a pro vice chancellor But his few months in the post of dean of col leges seem to have equipped him to handle the task of vice chancellorship at Simla

UNPERSON STILL

THE change of portfolios brought about by the union Cabinet reshuf fle on 8 June does not seem to have made any impact on the officials in Parliament House yet. The name plate of Pranab Mukherjee outside 100m No. 27 of Parliament House gave his portfolios as Commerce, Steel and Mines and Civil Supplies' even in mid August Apparently the fact that Vidya Charan Shukla is now the Cabinet Minister in charge of Civil Supplies has not registered

AWARDS FOR ARJUN

WHAT is Arjun Das, the motor mechanic friend of Sanjay Gandhi who rose to be a political heavyweight during the yuvaneta's heyday, doing now? He had got a parting gift from Sanjay, before the latter died, in the form of an appointment as the vice-president of the Super Bazar, the government departmental store in Delhi, which is supposed to be the instrument to check the price rise But Arjun Das is no ordinary vice president Breaking all precedents, he has been allotted a room in the Super Bazar premises, in the heart of New Delhi, Connaught Place Hitherto only the president got this

That is not all, the managing committee has also sanctioned the purchase of a new car for the exclusive use of Arjun Das But the Super Bazar is not the only government agency at the beck and call of Mr Das The Delhi administration's Department of Information and Publicity too has fallen in line, under instructions from the Lt Governor's office, it is learnt The department has a selection of Hindi movies, meant to be screened in resettlement colonies and back ward areas along with 'message carrying' documentaries These films are now being specially screened in the Laxmibai Nagar area, which is the Metropolitan Council constituency of Arjun Das Apparently the message of the Con gress(I)'s possible candidate in that constituency in the forthcoming elections (due this winter) is being conveyed by the Publicity Depart ment along with feature films. The tilms are also being screened at the Delhi Flying Club, where Arjun Das heads the pro Sanjay faction (a case is pending in the courts, Das was the official receiver till recently), as well as in Munirka, the south Delhi colony where Arjun Das stays Some eyebrows have even been raised about his Munirka flat, purchased from the Delhi Development Authority He was given the best flat, a ground floor corner one, mostly used by the DDA as the model flat for displaying to pros pective buyers He even got the unusual bonanza of a large lawn Normally large lawns are not a part of the DDA scheme, but Arjun Das is no ordinary person either

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SUNDAY

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Dr Datta Samant Special Report

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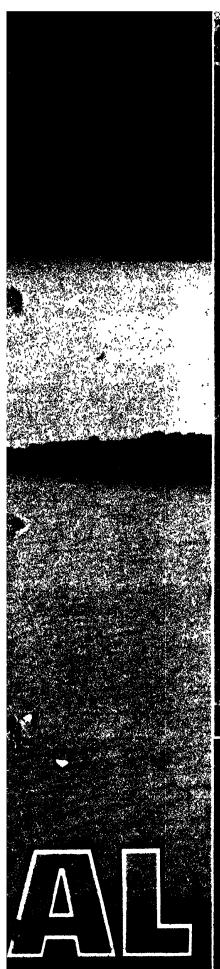
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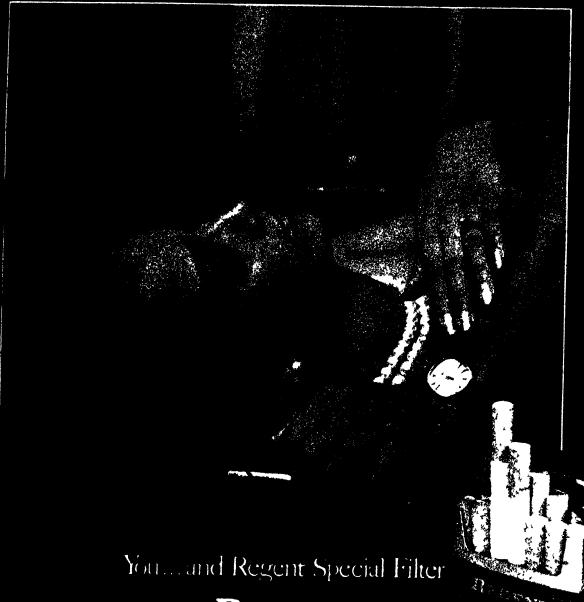
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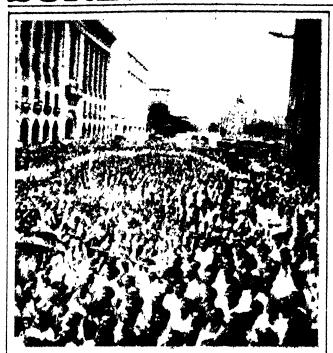
An Exclusive Hair



REGENT

Qual filler

September 7, 1980



Bombay's trade union movement is in the grip of violence. Everywhere workers are up in arms. And political labels are becoming outdated as workers now believe that a leader matters more than ideology Sunday surveys Bombay's labour and trade union front Page 18

There is one MP the ruling Party is scared of He is the raucous, volatile Jyotirmoy Bosu of the CPI(M). Sunday profiles the legislator who does his own detective work to expose misdeeds, wherever he can find them Page 46

the state of the same





Bangladesh's President Ziaur Rahman, in power for nearly five years, is facing problems despite the Army's support. There is corruption in the Ministerial ranks, inflation and the law and order situation is deteriorating. Diagruntled opposition politicians are now demanding a midterm poli. The question on everybody's mind is: will Zia ever go?

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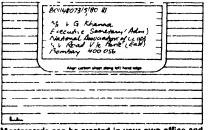
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Couple of ambitions

ı

DOM MORAES' book extract "Indira and Feroze" (10 August) says that both had the same political views but while Indira succeeded politically, Feroze failed Both had great ambitions Indira wanted to become famous like her dynamic politician But Pandit Nehru had doubts about Feroze The article proves Mrs Gandhi's extraordinary qual

Asit Bhattacharya, 24 Parganas, West Bengal

COMING in the Independence Week, readers expected your story to focus on Indira and Feroze's political achieve

Case for macro

T IS surprising that Dr Subramaniam Swamy ("First, remove ignorance", 3 August) disagrees that the Indian economy can improve only if we increase production The reason he gives is "An economist or anyone aware of modern economic analysis would never say that Without challenging the validity of Dr Swamy's basic idea that "the real problem of economic policy is the question of making choices" one can very well point out that there is a branch of economic analysis that deals with the factors causing fluctuations and growth in the level of aggregate national output and that this branch, known as macroeconomic analysis, is now considered an integral part of economic analysis by all modern economists all over the world. It is, therefore, neither improper nor incorrect to talk in terms of an increase in the level of aggregate output (production) of

the country Nor is it necessary to think anymore that resources are scarce, even in the long run. It is quite well known by now that, given time, the supply of resources can be increased and/or resources substituted and new resources discovered or developed. It is not clear why Dr Swamy is reluctant to accept macroeconomic analysis

A C Gupta, New Delhi

THERE is a mistake in Dr Swamy's first column He said that the first point of Mrs Gandhi's 20-point programme is "to go all out to increase production". To be precise, the first of the 20 points is. "Continuance of steps to bring down the prices of essential commodities Streamlined production, procurement and distribution of essential commodities. Strict economy in government expenditure" The word "streamline" is no synonym of "increase"

Swapan Mukherjee, Jharia

ments rather than their household attairs

Ameeta Bose, Hooghly

THE bookshop in Bloomsbury called "Bibliophile" which Indira and Feroze trequented was run by Dr Sashadhar Sinha and not "one Dr Sen" Later, Dr Sinha, became assistant editor of the Hindusthan Standard and subsequently director of publications under the cen-

THE author mentions the various factors riage with a Parsee boy, Feroze. Khagen Hom Ray, Calcutta

tral government. Supratik Sanatani, Noamundi

Nehru considered before giving his daughter's hand in marriage to Feroze. But there is no mention of the part played by Mahatma Gandhi According to newspaper reports of the time (1942) it was on Gandhiji's advice that Jawaharlal Nehru finally consented to Indira's mar-

Demands and duties

ARE workers getting selfish?" (27 A July) by George Fernandes is simply superb. I have not read a more brilliant treatise on present-day trade union ills, and had to pinch myself to believe that the analysis came from a firebrand trade unionist like Mr Fernandes

M Thomas Varghese, Calicut

WORKERS have forgotten their fundamental duties to their fellowmen and their country. Many of the trade unions and workers have not protested against the police atrocities on agitating agricultural workers in Karnataka. Nor have they come out in support of the agricultural workers' demands. Only opposition lobbies have supported their demands. S. Prakash, Mysore

THE article is an expression of Mr Fernandes' own failure to delve into the genesis of the basic problems of workers

and trade unions Does he not know that the social system in our country is explottative and workers here are robbed by the proprietors at the behest of governments? Neither minimum wages nor employment is guaranteed. Workers in our country have been fighting for more wages and will have to continue fighting, whether they are in the public or private sector. About their demand for better dresses, Mr Fernandes' remark is unfortunate. If a well-managed firm wants to issue uniforms to its workers, what is the harm in demanding dresses of a better quality? Food and good clothes help to keep the body and mind fresh. Mr Pernandes' remark that good clothes only attract girls may be from his personal experience. Workers have not drifted from their basic position. Instead, it is he who has changed in his attitude to workers, particularly from the time he betrayed the working class as Industry Minister during the Janata regime. Perhaps no trade union leader created so much disappointment as Mr Fernandes.

S. N. Sircar, Cuttack

Shaky ties

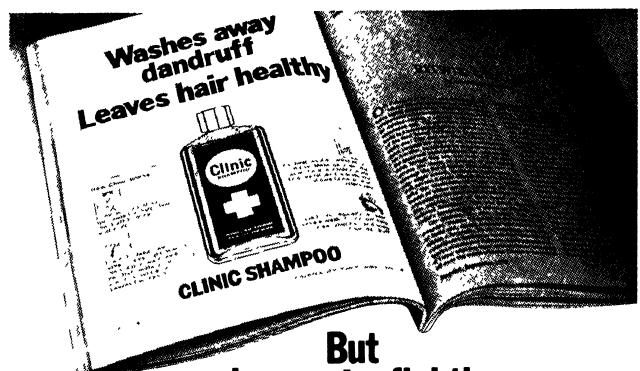
INDIA and Pakistan shake hands ("India Pakistan Handshakes, but", 10 August) only as a formality I find it difficult to support Pran Chopra's view that Mr Agha Shahi's visit was successful on many grounds Only on one issue did both countries share the same feelingthat political moves alone can solve the Afghan problem, not military action. That Mr Shahi's visit would not bear any fruit was apparent when the Pakistan media began attacking India. Debashish Ray, Vanvihar, Orissa

Home truth

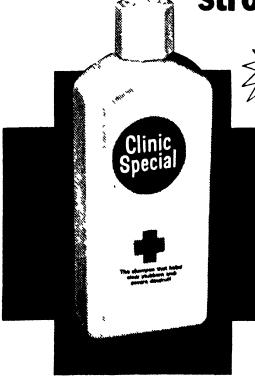
T IS disgraceful that a Home Minister Ashould remain in his post even after being accused of violating administrative procedures and abusing authority by a commission of inquiry ("Home Minister guilty", 10 August) Even if the presentation of the Gurdev Singh Commission reports is explained as a result of inner-Party rivalry, they must be accepted; after all an ordinary citizen cannot give such an excuse when convicted. Ashis Kumar Chatterjee, Calcutta

Good relations

KHAT is happening in the Youth Congress?" (10 August) by M. J. Akbar and Udayan Sharma's interviews with Ghufran-e-Azam and Sarvjit Singh clearly describe the controversy in the organisation. Sarvjit Singh was right in saying that in our political set-up succession is always on merit Ghufran-e-Azam's views about the "Maneka or Rajiv" issue were also balanced and realistic. Maneka is not Rajiv's rival. the two play complementary roles The "draft Maneka" signature campaign started by Ashok Vajpayee, MLA, and others is a mean attempt to create bad blood in a happy family. Chandra Nath Mishra, Unnao



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Bhupesh Gupta, MP, contradicts Dom Moraes

As ONL of those Indians who re aboard the SS 'City of Paris" via the Cape along with Shrimati Indira Gan dhi (then Nehru) in 1941, my atten tion has been drawn to what Dom Moraes says in his book Mrs Gandhi about her speech in South Africa He writes. 'She told the rich Indians, to reduce it to a phrase she did not use but which was the main point of her speech, that they were bastards, that while salting away money in South Africa they not only did not help the nationalist movement in India but they did not help the beaten African tribes now abused by British and Boers alike, whom Gandhi had once tried to assist. Then she left. The Sindhi merchants were surprised "

I am simply astonished at this blatant distortion I was also present on all the occasions when Shrimati Indira Gandhi spoke either at public gatherings, or private meetings. I too spoke At this distance of time it is obviously not possible to recollect exactly what she or anyone of us had spoken then Shrimati Indira Gandhi no doubt spoke forcefully, though briefly, about our freedom struggle and also against apartheid But she never used such language as Dom Moraes attributes to her. On the con trary, her speech was eminently digni fied I would like to add that the Indian community, all the non whites as well as the anti-racist whites in South Africa were highly pleased, Bhupesh Gupta, MP, New Delhi

Early Effects

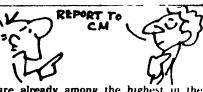
THIS refers to 'Behind the Phantom This refers to believe the Treat" (10 August) by S. Urmila Ma jumdar May I point out that the first investigation of Kirlian photography in India was carried out by Prof Y I Thathachari and Miss Pushpa at the III, Madras Their report on Kirlian Phantom Leaf was published in Current Science, Volume 45(6), 1976 (pp 207 210) Prot Y 1 Thathachari was a visiting professor at the IIT, Madras from 1974 to 1976 and the investigation referred to was con ducted during this period. After he left the institute the work was discontinued R Srinivasan, IIT, Madias

IT WOULD be appropriate to refer to the phenomenon called Kirlian photography as the "Bose Effect" Sir J. C. Bose got the first photograph of a plant's section without light around the turn of the last century in Calcutta. The internal structure of the plant section was obtained on a photographic plate placed in a box. His box was placed between two metallic plates which were connected to a machine that caused electric oscillation in the intervening space. Thus the "Kirhan Effect" was obtained more than a quarter of a century before Kirlian him self started his work

Prof S D Chatterjee, Emeritus Profes sor, Jadavpur University, Calcutta

Sorry state

In 18 a fact that corruption is at its peak now in Andhra Pradesh government offices, whether Channa Reddy is our most corrupt CM or not (3 August) On a recent visit to Andhra Pradesh I observed that no papers move in govern ment offices without money changing hands When asked about the illegal practice, one revenue official laughed and advised us to report the matter to the CM | Apart from corruption, people of the state are victims of inefficient administration too the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation's charges



are already among the highest in the and another hike in bus fares is COMM: d-now It is a shame on the ргорс Predesh State Electricity Board tivilages are still not electrified Ante tite **In spite of two large rivers** flowing across the state, Krishna and Godavari, water supply 14 very poor in towns on the rivers banks

Prasuna Rao, Travandrum

Pray, now

SOME of the statements made by Archbishop Arulappa of Madras ("The hoodwinked Archbishop", 3 August) in his affidavit filed in the Madras High Court as reported in the daily Press and, in particular, his assertion. "It is my personal money received from my friends abroad" are downright arrogant. The Archbishop claims that "he had acted bona fide in his dealings with Acharya Paul who had cheated him", and he denies the charge of breach of trust Even a village idiot would have shown greater caution and prudence than the Archbishop in paying out large sums of money to Paul totalling Rs 20 lakhs Did the Archbishop take any steps to investigate Paul's bona fides before

reposing such blind trust in him?

The Archbishop states that Acharya Paul was introduced to him by one Mr Mariadass What were his credentials that the Archbishop accepted the recom mendation of Paul with such naive and touching faith? I hold the Archbishop responsible for gross negligence and fai lure to carefully handle Church funds, which did not belong to him personally, but of which he was merely the custo dian. As for the statement that, under Canon Law, the right of Church administration should be left to Roman Catholics and that such right is vested in him as Archbishop, does he fondly imagine that this gives him the authority foolishly to waste Church funds as though they were his personal property?

A. K. Subbu, Bangalore

All the same

FAIL to understand the irritation Lexpressed by some leading missionar ies in "Opinion" (3 August) I have no hesitation in admitting that Hinduism is suffering a lot because Hindus are intolerant of non Hindus But if this land is to witness social reform, it cannot be done by converting people to another religion. Let the missionaries know that in the eyes of god, all-Hindus, Muslims, Christians and non believers-are the same One need not necessarily convert people to do them good D P Mukherjee, Bankura

Made in India

BARUN SENGUPIA'S 'Communist giants woo CPM" (10 August) was very timely The Indian Communists would do better to guard against Soviet or Chinese superintendence and try to implement Marxism Lemnism in the light of Indian needs, socio-economic conditions and history Benov Sengupta Calcutta

Other way round

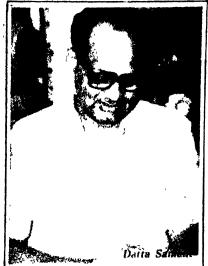
YOU featured a reverse print of Your 27 Delhi zoo train on page 31 of your 27 OU featured a reverse print of the July issue. This could be detected from the NR' lettering on the engine which was printed in reverse Raj K. Dass, 24 Parganis

Absurd

PADMANABHAN's suggestion . (Opinion, 10 August) to clear Fripura of Bengalis not only betrays his feelings against Bengalis but also his indifference to the ghastly Mandai massacre he sees it as the normal reaction of a few extremist tribals because of the "latter's prefutable claim that they have lost their soil to aliens. Does Mr Padmanabhan know that the helpless men, women and children who were killed in Mandai were no land grabbers but as poor as the tribals? The Bengali refugees came to Tripura because they had no choice after partition, they left behind them not only their ancestral possessions but almost certain death. Fortunately, the then king of Tripura was sympathetic towards the refugees, realised that they could contribute to economic develop ment, and allowed them to stay on Jovesh Bhattacharjee Burdwan

Throw more light

HE IMRB opinion poll which you brought out to show West Bengal's "Generation gap" (15 Junc) is a waste of time because it does not give the reasons why the respondents came to their conclusions, whatever they are -rational, emotional or whimsical However the opinion poll highlights two facts about the residents of Calcutta. First, despite hardship due to loadshedding, they continue to oppose the (ongress(1) and second, they find the centre responsible for each ill that plagues them S N Shivapuri, Calcutta



Once Calcutta was known as the city of labour unrest and violence; today Bombay and its industrial suburbs have acquired that reputation. Independent trade unionists—the most prominent and fiery of them being Dr Datta Samant, have displaced Party-supported unions. The workers have become more militant. Both inter-union rivalry and anti-management violence are becoming endemic. OLGA TELLIS tries to find out why.

BOMBAY'S TRADE UNION



HEN Dr Datta Samant was arrested in 1972 after violence and death followed interunion clashes at the Godrej factory, the pulsating eastern suburbs of Bombay, Kuila, Sion, Vidya Marg, Ghatkopar, Vikhroli and Mulund, came to a stand still a bandh was called in protest Even trade unions unconnected with Dr Samant got together to form a coordination committee, the Eastern Suburbs Unity Centre, and support Dr Samant Today, eight years later, when Di Samant (now an MLA too) was arrested on August 11, only members of his own union defied a prohibitory order and assembled ten days later at Azad maidan opposite the Esplanade police station where Dr Samant was being held in police custody. The dif ference of working class reactions be tween 1972 and 1980 illustrates the change in the trade union culture, from the halcyon days of workers solidarity in the early Seventics to a point today where trade union rivalry accounts for 14 per cent of the cases that end in death or unjury to workers This is a far change from a past in which the first ever bandh in Bombay, courtesy George Fernandes, was in support of a strike organised by R J Mehta in Premier Automobiles

Strangely enough, one of Dr Samant's high profile supporters this time was the former Chief Minister Sharad Pawar, the man who cried for Samant's blood when he was leader of the PDF government in Maharashtra Sharad Pawar kept Dr Samant in police custody without bail for nearly two months in 1979 in connection with a knife assault, allegedly by an ex employee, on the Godrej family But times change for politicians, and when they are in opposition they need the leaders of workers to provide them with the mass support in Bombay city which they themselves cannot com mand According to a high level source in the labour commissioner's office, "Politicians are obviously responsible for abetting violence Though Dr Samant is nobody's stooge, he is being encouraged by politicians to create a law and order situation and unrest in order to destabilise the present Antulay government "

There are many reasons for the violence which is becoming endemic in industrial relations in Bombay Diffe rent people have different explanations. Prahlad Kunte, of the CPI(M)'s CITU (Centre of Indian Trade Unions) sees its origins in the past: "Violence was used as a second line of defence on behalf of the bourgeoisie against a militant and genuine trade union movement. The INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress) was the pampered child of the ruling Congress, but it could not deliver the goods in providing a base for the Congress in Bombay. The Shiv Sena Photographs by Muketh Perpiani



Datta Samant being escorted out of court on 12, August

was then used to counteract the enor mous influence wielded by the AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress) in the Sixties and the Seventies They split the workers on chauvinist lines and indulged in brutal attacks on non Maharashtrian workers In Anil Hardboard the Shiv Sena killed a CITU member from UP, and they let loose violence on the workers of Ceat, Larsen and Toubro and I Maneklal, where they tried to break communist unions The trade union wing of the ShivSena, the Bhartiya Kamgar Sangh. was clearly a weapon used by big business and politicians to attack the communists

The violence, therefore, according to Kunte, was begun by the establish ment Business India in a report which was never contradicted quoted a top former leader of the BKS as saying that "Industrialists allegedly donated (Rs one crore annually) for the BKS' strike breaking activities and promot ing BKS unions the industrialists were eminently successful For by 1970 the CPI was reduced to less than half its size in 1965, and the strength of the AITUC led by the CPI was depleted to a mere fraction of its original strength The CPI is yet to recover from the ravages of the Sena "

Violence has been used by the politicians and businessmen who to day are warning the working class against violence And much of the violence by the working class is a retaliation, a product of history The working class is also searching for leaders who will respond to its militant mood, and no longer is too concerned about Party labels They have shifted their faith to personalities Dr Datta Samant comes from a Congress back ground, and left the Congress(I) only because he could not get a ticket But he still has the support of workers

However, R J Mehta is confident that this culture of violence will also ebb "Violence has reached a climax," admits R. J. Mehta who along with Dr Datta Samant, was once considered a terrorist of the trade union movement by Sharad Pawar But he adds, "Whenever violence has taken place, workers will not resort to violence again They know the physical hardships they have to go through in police lock ups, the ordeal of going to court daily and losing several days' wages thereby, the trouble of going from lawyer to lawyer The mental agony and tension has brought the realisation that violence does not pay. Workers will one day disown violence But that day has yet to come " And why? 'Because there is no machinery that can give speedy justice to the workers All labour courts are proemployers Workers think that at least violence may bring the desired results " R J Mehta heads the Engineering Mazdoor Sabha and the Mumbai Mazdoor Sabha

"Take the recent Indian Hume Pipe case It was remanded by the Supreme Court to the industrial tribunal for further investigation. The latter did not permit the union's lawyer to crossexamine the company's witness, who had brought documents. So again the union went to the Supreme Court, which directed the tribunal to permit the union to crossexamine the witness in respect of documents. The industrial court judge told the company, 'why did you file these documents?' Is this not openly siding with em-ployers?" In the Glaxo laboratories case, a gul came to give evidence about the nature of her work The judge ridiculed her, saying "You can-not act like Hema Malini" It was the case of reclassification of workmen

and she wanted a change-

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP IN MAHARASHTRA (Figures available for 1976)

| 3,46,635 1,14,657 3,62,752 1,78,418 38,549 46,954 3,705 29,682 27,035 30,783* 9,664 |
|---|
| |

• This figure is on the basis of annual segment submitted to the Registrar of Trade Unions under the Trade Union Act and relates to the paid manharable Datta Samant claims a following of four lakhs and R. J. Mehta two lakhs.

Source Labour Commissioners Office

THOUGH important, these are not L the only reasons for the violence Workers aspirations have risen, and one of the reasons for the higher demands is the exorbitant cost of liv ing in Bombay Fven trade union lead ers are beginning to feel helpless when faced with the militancy of some work ers "Whatever you do for them, they are never satisfied Workers flit from one union to another and are taken on long drawnout strikes," says one trade unionist "In Gannon Dunkerley and Company, workers deserted R Mehta's union after he had signed a settlement with the settlement with the company and with in six months they went to Datta Samant, who began a seven month strike which resulted in basically the same agreement, only over an extended period of time Plus, workers had to accept a management's en gineer who would determine productive norms in another case, CITU had a union among 900 workers for 15 years After a four and a half month strike for general demands, workers got to a pay hike of Rs 95 Datta Samant immediately came in and got them Rs 35 more Management con ceded this, but made them sign a productivity increase of 25 per centand retrenched 400 workers"

All trade unions agree that one major factor that has contributed to violence is rising prices "Whatever may be given is never enough Workers simply cannot make both ends meet Take housing, even in distant Borivli it is Rs 200 per square foot, and a pugree of Rs 60 to 70,000 The present economic situation is such that you cannot meet demands until a national wage policy and fair wage for a family of three is determined But nobody bothers

. D Thankappan of the Kamani I m ployees Union feel that 'reprisals' is the general mood of the workers. They have no patience with the legalisms and want quick results. The traditional leaders today go for negotiations and struggles but they know the limitations, they are pair and parcel of the establishment, the system." Datta Samant has broken through the stodgy niceties. In Calico a dispute has been dragging on since 1965, and an award of the Supreme Court is still pending

on appeal Datta Samant has now replaced R J Mehta there, and after a more than 200 day strike, it is about to be settled Dr Samant's expansion be gan after 1977 when the Left adopted a pro-Jana. a stand The only leader who could capture the workers' imaginations in those days was Datta Samant who was in the Congress(I), he left in January after he could not get a ticket for Parliament

According to Sharad Rao of the Bomaby Labour Union workers are getting increasingly convinced that only violence can get them more. He points out that one interesting aspect of the violence is that it is very much there in the big and well paying con cerns Premier Automobiles, Calico Chemicals, Britannia, Crompton, Larsen and Toubro, Siemens, etc "Workers in these companies know that once they reach an agreement with the management they cannot expect anything more for the next five years Management policies also lead to a situation where the patience of workers is taxed beyond endurance For instance, big companies like Hin dustan Lever farm out work on a contractual basis to parties in Ahme dabad because salaries are much less there Workers are on strike against this practice. In the cloth market in Bombay, for instance, we managed to secure gradation, dearness allowance, bonus, gratuity, leave and other be nefits for the workers. The cloth mer chants are now trying to circumvent this by removing old employees and employing new ones on less than the miniumum wage Exploitation is the rule, and government does nothing about it

'The highly paid workers are reaching a saturation point and they

don't realise that they cannot proceed further unless they carry the lower paid workers with them Today the latter are used to neutralise the for mer And the managements do their best to prevent industrywise wage set tlements"

Perhaps Mr Vasudevan, general secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, has the last word on the cult of violence He says "The trade union style today means the survival of the fittest and Dr Samant is the fittest for the time being Violence is at its height, and it has made the workers realise that they must organise themselves This is, however, a transitional period, because militancy by itself will not deliver the goods Nor ideology alone. It will have to be a mixture of both for the future"

The trade unions themselves can hardly be called blameless for the present unbridled militancy of the workers The traditional trade unions have failed to meet the aspirations of the workers As George Fernandes says, "Trade unions have become part of the establishment, to a point where they are unconcerned about the problems of the working class as a class. It's dog eat dog today. The whole concept of the working class unity overarching the entire proletariat is not there. One talks of taximen being rude, railway employees demanding bribes for issuing tickets, workers conniving at blackmarketing, turning a blind eye to the corrupt practices of employees This is all symptomatic of the absence of a working class culture, the inability of the working class to think of itself as a class, and therefore its inability to see that it can play a vital role in creating a society that is free or relatively free from corruption, nepot ism and all evils that have made the rich richer and the poor poorer

Or as Vasudevan puts it Bombay city is the capitalist city of India and with capitalism come all the vices There is no time to think of things that can elevate man from his present sub standard existence. There is no environment in which one can function For instance, half of the workers spend their month's wages in one day in bars and gambling dens A dockwor ker draws more than Rs 1500 per month but he has no family budget system He wouldn't mind paying eight rupees for a peg and forget about his family Trade unions will have to encompass the many dimensional aspects of a worker's life. This is the challenge that the present violence poses to the Left Trade unions

a management of the second

| | POSITION SINCE 1978 | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| | Strikes & Lockauts | Workers involved (in lakha) | Mandays lost (in sakha) | Severity rate | |
| 1978-79 1979-80 1980-81 | 653. 508 165 | 1.78 1.40 0.46 | \$4.68 \$ 08 \$ 28 | 5.33 4.05 2.17 | |
| (April-July), 1980-81 (projected) | 495 | 1.65 | 144 | | |

CITU has become now thandi



FILR the split from the 'class A collaborationist and reformist AITUC in 1970 the Bombay unit of the CPI(M)'s CITU grew rapidly despite fierce opposition from man agements, the open hostility of the Congress government, the systema tic attacks of the Shiv Sena, which was out to finish the communists, and an iron gloved police force in structed to curb CITU at all costs

But long, hard struggles (the strike at Bardoi Engineering Ltd lasted 17 months) forced the hands of the managements CITU became the recognised union in several large units like Ceat, Cable Cor poration, Times of India, Bombay Metals, Devidayals, Asian Cables, Caprihans, Calico Chemicals, Richardson Cruddas, etc. Workers of a large number of smaller units in the engineering sector joined CITU It became the representative union for the 12,000 workers of the woollen mills industry and a strong union of hotel workers was formed Workers gained significantly in several places. The joint platform of the leftist unions formed in Maharashtra in 1972, which was responsible for several Bombay and state level bandhs in 1973 and 1974 had CITU playing a prominent role

But the massive wave of working class unrest since the end of the emergency, has seen a large num ber of workers deserting CIIU and searching for alternative lead ership in fact, CITU suffered its first setback in 1974 itself, when the first wave of the Samant tide hit the Thana belt after his release from prison Today, CFTU has lost its earlier influence in Thana, in the Andheri-Sakinaka area, and other parts of Bombay CITU lead ers admit that their representative status in the woollen mills industry is also under serious challenge by other unions

While in its militant appeal CITU has become a pale shadow of Samant, on the legal front it cannot match up to the skills of R J Mehta. Sandwiched between the two, CITU is in troubled times Given the poor state of union orga nisation, specially in the smaller units, CITU can continue to exist, maybe even grow But within the commanding sectors of the industries CIIU has failed to find a place of pride, in spite of a promis

ing beginning

What are the causes of CITU's decline? CITU leaders point to the initial government patronage extended to Samant because he was a Congressman Samant hotly denies this citing examples of humiliating treatment he and his activists re ceived from the Congress govern ments I ven if CITU's point is con ceded, it fails to explain the mas sive growth of Samant's unions during the Janata regime Secondly, CITU accuses both Samant and R J Mehta of committing workers to increased production demands without scruples-a policy to which CITU is in principle opposed However, CITU is now having to come to terms with the fact that a lot of workers have no opposition in principle to higher production demands, provided some of their own demands are met

Former CITU activists now with Samant have their own explana tions for the disenchantment with CITU "We can't eat ideology A typical agreement signed by Samant gets workers an additional Rs 100 per month and over In comparison a typical CITU agree ment means some Rs 40 extra " "CITU has now become thanda (cold)" "The top leaders are hon est, but there is a lot of corruption at the factory level "I think they collect money from the manage ments for the Party funds " "They are more concerned about the Par tv and less about workers' needs"
"All the anti authoritarianism of

CITU notwithstanding, the fact re mains that in practice CITU did precious little during the Emergen Cy to defend the workers against the employers' offensive," says a labour correspondent "This has registered in the consciousness of the workers. An additional hand icap to CITU has been the fact that it has not succeeded in extending its influence from the Kerala workers to the locally rooted, young Maharashtijan workers who have been in the forefront of recent struggles

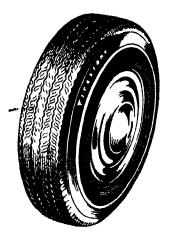
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SAMANT AND MEHTA: FIREANDICE

Two trade unionists, both independent of political Parties, dominate the Bombay industrial scene. Dr Datta Samant is the firebrand, the man who would provoke a confrontation, who believes in violence. R. J. Mehta is the softer man, whose skills are seen in the labour courts. His is the path of dialogue. JAVED ANAND met both of them for this analysis of their roles in Bombay's working class movement.

LHR mearly 125 years of buth of modern industry in Bombay, after a massive increase in the size of workforce and several decades of unionising and organising, the working class of Bombay continues to be fragmented and scat tered. Faced with a vast multiplicity of unions and union leaders, all claiming to represent the true interests of workers, the workers have, over time, developed an atti-tude of 'conscious consumers'! Within the engineering industry in Bombay, for example, they have literally treated labour leaders as 'dhandha walas', and have changed their loyalties as soon as another leader seemed able to arrange a better bargain for them. Indicative of this trend, though not typical, is the case of workers from an engineering unit in Bhandup, who changed their union 8 times in 7 years!

Thus we have witnessed the phenomenon of the 'Sundar am wave' in the late 50's, the 'Mehta wave' and the 'Fernandes wave' in the 60's the 'Shiv Sena wave' of the late 60's and early 70's and the present 'Samant wave' yet to run its full course. Workers tend to shift en masse from one leader to another. He who can match and articulate the workers' sentiments, becomes the hero of the day

The 50's and the early 60's was a period of relative social stability Prices were stable, real wages rose, even if marginally and industrial growth promised new employ ment opportunities. "In addition, the labour machineries of the state did offer some relief to the workers initially," says an experienced unionist "Workers did have a certain faith in the legal machinery and the season was right for many lawyers to become popular union leaders." In short, the social climate was quite favourable for the cise to promin ence of R. I. Mehta, whose Engineering Mazdooi Sabha (EMS) alread, dominated the union field in the engineer ing industry R. J. Mehta is generally acknowledged as one of the best labour lawyers in the country. "In the 50's and the 60's, it was the EMS which represented most of the cases of the engineering industry workers before the various tribunals claims R. J. Mehta. Secondly, as Mehta himself puts it, 'the owners know that our's is one union that sincerely believes in giving higher production and productivity. Because of his favourable attitude to production demands of the management and his consistent refusal to get involved in any general struggle of workers, N. M. Tidke, the then Labour Minister of Miharashtra, used to advise managements to recognise his union in their plants," says an experienced Personnel Manager

The entire social climate began to undergo drastic and rapid changes from the mid 60's onwards, thanks to the deepening economic and political crisis. Even as the hopes of an early generation of workers were being strangled, a new generation of workers took buth within the newer and technologically more sophisticated workplaces, young, bet ter educated, more conscious of their rights and self worth brought up with the promise of 'socialism and democracy'

This generation sealed the fate of the 'Mehta wave" Not that his unions disappeared from the scene but the

'Mehta wave' lost its mass appeal. Within the service sector industries in particular, the fire brand George Fernandes raised hell and took Bombay by the storm. The Fernandes wave vanished only after Fernandes went to Parliament Large sections of Maharashtrian workers in Bombay were attracted to the chauvinistic Shiv Sena in the late 60's because of its militant stance. In the blatant opportunism of the Shiv Sena, which was created to oust the communists from the labour field, the workers burnt their fingers badly, but the lessons were quickly learnt. Through its militant platform, CHU attracted a lot of workers between '70 and However, it soon lost out

The Association of Engineering Workers (ALW) of Datta Samant, which burst on the union scene in 1972 with the explosive conflict between management and labour at the

Gathering of workers loyal to Datta Samant at Azad Maidan on 19



Godrey plant, has now captured the imagination of the workers Today, H M Patil, a former worker of Premier Automobiles Ltd., responsible for registering new unions at the AEW office, looks as dazed as a booking clerk for a film. which, having run to packed houses for months on end, still continues to draw huge crowds "A minimum of three to four new factories want to join our union every day," says, almost unable to believe his own account "Nearly five lakh workers from Bombay, Thana, Nasik, Aurangabad Khopoli, Lonavla, Surat, Vapi and Tarapur are members of our union," claims Samant "We are now being approached by workers from Pune also, but our workload has increased so phenomenally that we are wondering what to do " His various weaknesses (some of them serious) notwithstand ing, in sheer numerical support and in militancy, Samant has no parallel in the history of the Bombay working class movement Public demonstrations organised by his union on three occasions in the last year have attracted crowds that would be the envy of joint demonstrations, estimates of the crowd range from 60,000 to 1,00,000

Mehta is a 'responsible unionist'. Samant is a militant godfather'

gourather

t to protest against his arrest

PANTNAGAR, Bombay I wo minutes away from the Ghatkopar railway station, in the midst of a workers' colony is a ramshackle, asbestos roofed, godown type 1 000 square foot tenement Between 8 pm and midnight every weekday, the place is teeming with workers from Bombav and other parts of Maharashtra and Gujarat, while dozens of workers jam pack the premise, others spill over into a clearing just outside, waiting for their turn't is the office of the Association of Engineering Workers (AEW) of, take your pick, the famous, or the notorious, Di Datta Samant

Advice to different groups of workers is given quickly With the ever mounting pressure of work, Samant has little time to waste A worker enters his cabin, hardly starts narrating his woe, breaks down in tears and stops abruptly "Get out of my office immediately," oiders Samant coolly

STRIKE/LOCKOUT POSITION IN BOMBAY AS ON 4 AUGUST 1980

- Work stoppage in 87 industries of which 67 were strikes and 15 lockouts
- Workers affected 27,322.
- Dr Datta Samant was connected with 28 strikes involving 16,401 workers
- The CITU were connected with 19 strikes involving 5,086 workers
- Of the 82 strikes, 62 were in greater Bombay involving 19,534 workers and seven in Thane involving 5,670 workers

Humko sala apne union mein rone wala mazdoor nahin, ladne wala mazdoor chahiye (We need tighters and not weeping workers in our union) Come back after you have tinished crying" But most workers who come to him are in, a different mood, says Samant "They have had outstanding grievances for 10 to 15 years, either regarding maferial conditions or about the continuous harassment by the management Impatient and desperate, they want quick; result and a settling of all past accounts in one shot. How can we think of pleaching more patience to them?" Samant's public speeches are full of harrowing details of the wretched treatment of workers and their miserable wages Drawing the attention of policemen taping his speeches for official records, he will often wind up his speech by proclaiming that, "Owners who behave so nastly deserve to be hung by the poles and thrashed Governments, both Congress and Janata, have given a damn about workers' problems. At this rate workers will have no choice but to take matters in their own hands" A prominent activist of his union declares from the same platform that "We don't need more labour courts. They are traps for workers. Let them burn down the existing ones also." The response from the workers is immediate and tumultuous. Samant speaks out their trustrations with the government, management, the labour courts and the police

EVEN if unsure of the means the workers are clear about redefining the capital labout equation. Accordingly, the rough and ready measures adopted by Samant win him support. And he gets results too. It is not uncommon to run into groups of workers at the AEW office distributing pedas. "Doctor got our wages increased by Rs. 150 per month. The last two agreements signed by the previous unions got us a wage increments of Rs. 40 only." During 1979, Samant's union is reported to have established a record in the quantum and percentage of bonus payments to workers. But where the management can hold out, the results can be extremely demoralising for the workers. "It is true that the destructive methods of Samant can

sometimes give quick and better results," conceeds R J Mehta, "and that is why workers are attracted to his union But such methods can also have disastrous consequences for workers The case of Gannon Duncerly and Co Ltd is an example The workers being dissatisfied by an agreement signed by our union in May 1978 joined Samant's union in October 1979 A 225-day strike followed, at the end of which Samant was forced to sign an agreement which was a sellout Each worker lost some Rs 7,500 in wages during the strike period. The management can now rest certain that these workers will not raise their heads for another ten years Incidentally, the workers did not receive a single copper in assistance from the union during the entire period Just a few other examples are the crushing defeats suffered by the workers of Jaslok Hospital Baroda Rayon Corporation, Jai Hind Oil Mills, Dynacraft and Siemens, Calico Chemicals and Premier Automobile workers may soon ioin this list

Samant's style resembles that of a general who mever plans for an "ordered retreat," were such a need to arise Once the management is able to gain an edge over the battle at the factory gates, Samant's affairs usually end up in a ditch. He starts off with the premise that the outcome



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of the class struggle is dependent on the balance of forces on the shop floor, at the factory gates and in the streets and not in the courts or in Ministers' cabins. I ven an R. I. Mehta, who's forte is the court readily admits that the labour courts are packed with extremely conservative judges from whom the workers get little justice. But at the same time a certain recourse to legality seems necessary both to mobilise social sympathy during the strike and to safeguard the workers' interests in case of retreats. "While many other unions are soaking in legalism, and therefore unable to do anything for the workers, Samant's blunder lics in his near total blindness to the necessity of keeping the legal side of his case straight," complains an activist of Samant's own union

And yet, more workers keep flocking to the Samant fold 'Why did you all decide to join Samant's union in spite of knowing that in many cases it ends up in long drawn out struggles and a lot of hardship to workers?" We decided to join precisely because we knew this 'was the response of a group of INDALCO workers. The long drawn out struggles were proof to us that Doctor is an honest man and would not sell out in the middle. As for the hardships—if we are de ermined to change the situation we have to be prepared to face the consequences. The other thing we have come to like in Doctor is that he never does anything without consulting us, unlike R | Mehta | The INDALCO workers echo the sentiments of most other workers you meet at the AFW office. Added to this is the crucial fact, that, in a lot of cases, this militancy has been converted into hard cash for

the workers' pockets, even while other workers have paid dearly

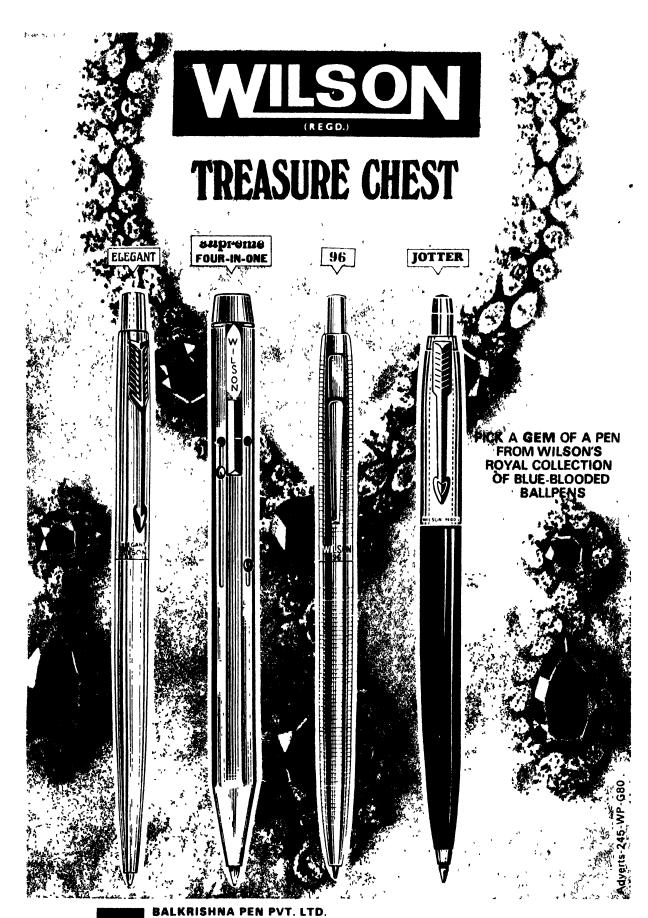
HE dilapidated five storeyed building of the 1 ngincer. I ing Mazdoor Sabha near Opera House is being given a new lease of lite. On entering R. J. Mehta's office, the immediate impression is one of order, organisation and attention to detail. Within minutes of arrival a journalist is sure to be offered a glass of cold water and a warm cup of excellent coffee Is the friendliness part of PR2 (At Samant's office, what with the perpetual crowds of people, you have to make your presence telt. Samant believes that he has always had a raw deal from the media in particular the English language press "So you want to interview me Write some more nasty things. That'll help attract more workers

The aging R J is also a hard working man, but the style of his functioning and the nature of his concerns differ from Samant Within his busy schedule, he even finds time to devote personal attention to the well kept garden on the terrace of the union office "Why should we leave the love of roses to the owners of industry and big shots?

Records are well maintained, copies of agreements neatly bound yearwise for easy reference. I fficient secre taries feed him information at a moment's notice. The organisational structure is well defined and the staff has regular scales of pay, D. A. provident fund gratuity a pension scheme and an insurance policy. No concern in India gives all these benefits to its employees' boasts RJ Many unions are in principle against the policy of having

Slogan shouting crowd surrounding the police van taking away Datta Samant







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union membership fees deducted at the source by the management But not Mehta's "One of the clauses of our agreements is that union dues will be collected at source. In addition 5 per cent of bonus and 10 per cent of arrears of wages payable to workers also go the union fund." On the suggestion that this is considered to be undemocratic practice by many, RJ replies, "Why? If workers accept the other clauses of the agreement, why shouldn't they be asked to pay this way?" "In all cases of strikes and lockouts, we pay every worker Rs 150 per month, which is later recovered from them instalments," says R!

If Samant is in his element at the factory gate and on the

If Samant is in his element at the factory gate and on the streets, RJ is at his best in the courts. A regular panel of 12 lawyers assists him "I agree that courts are not much help to the workers, but it helps cool passions on both sides for a while," explains RJ. "Ultimately the settlement has to be reached between the union and management bilaterally. "The court is, for RJ, also the stage where he constructs and maintains his image amongst the workers, "claims a labour correspondant. "His theatrics and his behaviour with the judges creates quite an impact on the workers."

With Samant, the naked exploitation by the capitalists is the dominant theme, and workers for him are nearly always the aggreeved party R J, on the other hand, feels that many owners today have come to see reason and are "prepared to go a long way to have industrial peace" for him workers are not entirely free of blame in many cases and to that extent he indicates his sympathy for the "poor" capitalists

Accordingly, as against the politics of confrontation (generally, there being many interesting exceptions) adopted by Samant, RJ reflects an attitude of mutual cooperation and collaboration between the workers and the management "Most employees are today reconciled to our union, because they know that this is one union that believes in productivity. Now, in most cases it is not necessary for us to go on strike." Much as such activity would be another for many unions, RJ openly talks about loans given to industry out of the union tunds, and the consultation to industry by union retained engineers, for a fee

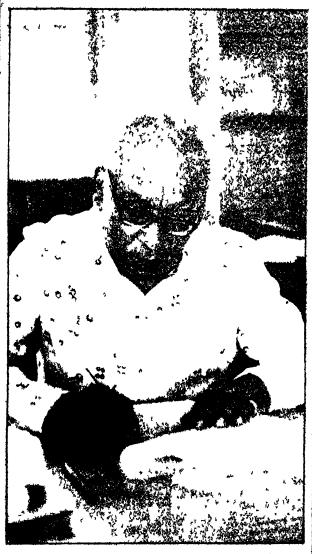
Besides the normal trade union functions, R] is today getting increasingly involved in various relief and other social welfare schemes in several rural areas. Plans are afoot for social education and employment schemes to the wives of workmen. What about setting aside a certain percentage of union resources to aid the organisation of landless labour in the countryside? "No We do not have any such scheme. After all, we have limited funds."

But a lot of workers, formerly associated with R1s unions, do not seem to share his outlook and philosophs. Quite a large number of them have been deserting the I MS and joining up with the AEW "R] Mehta is a good lawser and has won several good cases for workers," many of them admit "But who is going to wait for 20 years for the court decisions?" A common complaint made by many of his tormer union activists is that he pays no heed to workers teelings and never consults them "Well, I want to make it clear that we consider ourselves the leaders of workers and are not going to be led by them"

While losing his appeal amongst many blue collar workers, RJ is reported to be finding new support amongst the white collar workers, technical and officer cadie in many units "Not surprising at all," says the labour correspondant quoted earlier, "his ways and means are bound to find more sympathy within the more 'peaceful minded' white collars"

"Yes, you could say that our philosophy is close to that of the AFL CIO in America," says R. J. Mehta. While the post war boom of the American economy made possible both the massive growth of the AFL CIO and its increasing turn to 'responsible' behaviour, the social turnoil of the past 15 years in India, has made difficult the stabilisation of its Indian version. Those who complain the most against 'labour unrest'—that is, government and the managements—refuse to recognise that it is they who create social circumstances. The workers are only left with the choice of teacting and defending their interests. And they choose whichever weapon will be useful at a particular period. In one era it is Mehta, in another Samant. What the next era will bring remains to be seen.

Menta says it with flowers

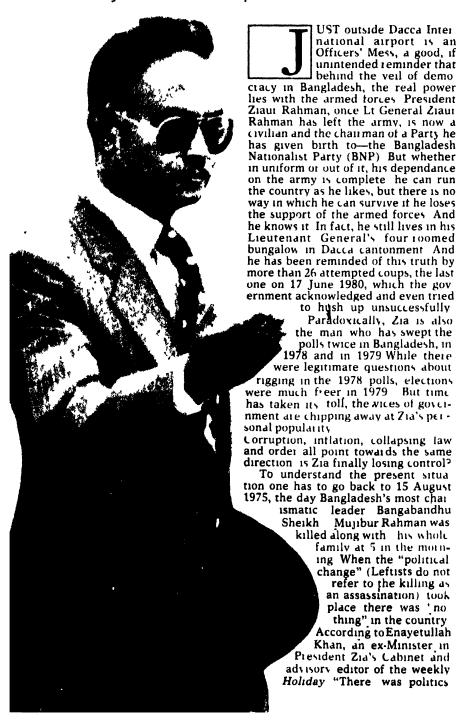


THOUGH Mr R. J. Mehta has been accused of being one of the "terrorists" of the trade union movement he says it with flowers when things go well. When he signs a wage rise agreement with any company, he presents the employer with a rose pot. And it doesn't end there because every week after that his men tender the plant and even provide insecticides when the plant is "sick." Mehta grows 40 varieties of roses on the tetrace garden of his union office near Nana Chowk. In addition he has 150 other plants.

Mehta, who belongs to a family of diamond and precious stones merchants, took to social work and joined the trade union movement in 1945 and worked under Abid Ali Jafferbitai, president of the BEST union. He then worked under Asoka Mehta and got so disgusted with the political games that unions were involved in that he struck out on his own in 1954. Among his first 'clients' were Richardson Ciuddas and Alocoke Ashdown Unions under his leadership like the Engineering Mazdooi Sabha and the Mumbai Mazdooi Sabha also help to rebuild villages as in Miovi viin a mobile hospital van and undertake a lot of social work

Zia, the Army, and Bangladesh

TIRTHANKAR GHOSH, just returned from Dacca, reports on General-turned-civilian Zia's ability to remain in power



in the country, but no political organisation because all political organisations had been demolished beyond recognition (This through Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's hated Fourth Amendment which gave his Bangladesh Krishak Shramik Awa mi League total monopoly of power). There were courts of justice in the country but no justice There were factories but no production There were law enforcing agencies but there was no law whatsover Everything was antithetical There was a country but without independence "

The emergence of Ziaur Rahman in November 1975 cannot be seen merely as a byproduct of a coup By 1975 Sheikh Mujib was facing challenges from two, quite separate sources one was the people, the other the army The struggle of the people, especially of those who had fought the country's war of independence from within the country, created the necessary conditions in which they could have struck for power But in the end, it was the army which moved in and replaced the Sheikh

When the General came to power, he was welcomed with relief His past was exemplary as Major Ziaur Rahman he had first declared the country's independence over Chitta gong radio on 27 March 1971 Law and order improved in the cities and the villages after he took over Martial Law was eventually repealed and fundamental rights were "restored"



and word. At the same time, to befriend the antagonistic Islamic states who were upset over Pakistan's breakup, Zia got rid of the much vaunted secularism of Sheikh Mijib. Today mullahs recite from the Holy Koran before the start of a Parliament session and it is common enough to hear Bismillah-e-Rahman-e-Rahim before any of the President's speeches. The hardline Saudi Arabians even pressurised the President to remove the women constables from the Dacca police force And they were removed

This enforced Islamic zeal has not brought too many local rewards, though. After all, the basic problems of a better life and greater liberty remain. Zia's restoration of fundamental rights has been far less liberal than he would like others to believe. According to an Amnesty International news release dated 26 March 1980 there are more than 1,000 persons convicted under special Martial Law and still languishing in prison. Moreover, the ex-armyman has retrospectively legalised all actions taken during his Martial Law by the Fifth Amendment passed by his BNP-dominated Parliament.

"There is no freedom of the Press and all the anti-government writings that you see are only a facade," said Nur Alam Jiku, the organising secretary of the Jatiyobadi Samajtantrik Dal (JASAD) "The Press is still gagged All it needs is a telephone call from the Information Ministry to stop a news item from being published No permissions are given for new publications." And the Special Powers Act empowers the government to arrest anyone without giving any reason

Every opposition politician feels that the country remains basically unstable There may be truth in this allegation Ziaur Rahaman created a Party but it still does not have a political ideology-it merely has programmes for the people which the President and Ministers repeat time without number at every meeting. The country is run by Zia and Zia only, the Party is not a force with a dynamism or identity of its own. This was aptly summed by a JASAD leader, who wished to remain anonymous plus zero = BNP. No Zia, no BNP" The President and some of his army colleagues cannot afford, given the na ture of the power structure, to allow

which must essentially be a civilian

democratic organisation.

President Zia's style of functioning is unique. He does not discuss important political matters with his Party members. This has given rise to the rumour that he has a secret military council which meets regularly to take important decisions Ministers have their portfolios, but are only executives, not partners in taking the country towards a specific political and economic goal They are treated like executives Dissatisfaction in the Ministerial ranks is promptly assuaged with rewards. Members of the BNP (who again wished to remain anonymous because of possible repercus-sions) admitted that rewards in the form of important portfolios are doled out by the President to consolidate his power. There are an astonishing 43 Cabinet Ministers. In May this year, 20 MPs were nominated as District Development Co-ordinators (they have the same status as Deputy Ministers). These Co-ordinators are virtual governors of the country's 20 districts. Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed, former Bangladesh President and leader of the Bangladesh Democratic League who was only released from prison after five years in April 1980, said that the appointment of the Co-ordinators was a major step in making Zia "a life President of a totalitarian state" In



Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed

addition to these Ministerial posts, the President has created a most unusual 53-man "Doot pool" (a group of his ambassadors) who also have the status of Ministers of State Similarly, to contain internal wranglings, almost all the BNP MPs have been given some power in their own sub-divisions. The Party, thus, is held together by patronage.

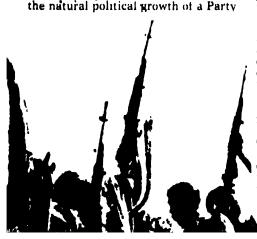
THIS patronage has in turn, given rise to corruption which the President overlooks. A Bangladeshi, on the plane from Dacca to Calcutta, men tioned confidentially that the only industry in the nationalised sector



Awami League poster commemorating Mujib's death

which was not running at a loss in Bangladesh was corruption. Scandals have often rocked the Zia Cabinet The most notable, perhaps, is the Manpower Scandal. On 30 June this year, BNP MPs charged Atauddin Khan, State Minister of Manpower, with re-cruiting 2,700 cleaners for Saudi Arabia in return for money. (The President has permitted every Minister to. refer 50 candidates for jobs in the Gulf region.) The MPs said that the Minister had taken Takas 25,000 from each of the 2,700 candidates When this allegation appeared in the newspapers, President Zia was furious. He virtually shouted at his Cabinet members for not having defended Atauddin Khan The very next day a furious Zia brought a Holy Koran to the Cabinet meeting, and each Minister was made to swear that he would not indulge in corruption

Many officers of the armed torces run large institutions. Almost all state corporations have militarymen at the top, brought on lien from their army posts for example, the Rural Electrification and the Water and Swerage Authority All this is not helping the country's economy In a classic repeti-tion of the Third World syndrome, a handful of people have managed to build personal fortunes "The present balance sheet of the government is just one of failures", said Mr Enayetul-lah Khan Over the last two years the government has failed in carrying out its normal tasks of stabilising prices for farmers (the price of jute has fallen from Tks 110 per maund to Tks 50-60 per maund. Tks 110 was the minimum mandatory price fixed by the government As for the price which the farmer gets for rice it has gone down to Tk 65 a maund from Tk 100 a maund, education is still in a mess, Dacca University had been closed for nearly eight months. On top of all this, inflation continues Dr Abu Mahmud of the Economics department, Dacca University and author of an authorita-



Zia's insurance policy

WHEN Ziaur Rahaman (boin, 19 Jan 1936 commissioned, 18 Sept 1955), deputy chief of the army, replaced Maj Gen k. M. Sha fiulla as the chief of the Bangladesh armed forces nine days after the coup that killed Mujib he swore to build a larger and stronger army. The strength of the army he inherited in 1975 did not justify the four major generals (including Zia) it was having then And Zia, a major in the Pakistan Army only four years before was aspiring to rise even higher, to the rank of a Lt. Gen

So from the very first day he assumed command, Zia started chasing his objective with single minded devotion, not merely to satisfy his vanity but also to be in step with the prevailing mood and temper in the armed forces. Most of the soldiers, as members of the Pakistan army, were associated with power not so long ago. It was because some of them could never reconcile themselves with their near inconsequential role under Sheikh Mujib, that they planned his overthrow. Zia persuaded the then President Khandaker Moshta que Ahmed to issue a decree on 11 September 1975 offering the army "a place of honour in national life pledging to rectify "the neglect and disparagement of the detence services for over three and a half years since independence—and providing for tringe benefits

Since then Zia never looked back Recruitments were stepped up the first four batches going in for training between 12 and 30 November 1975. The first army diled in Dacca on 30 November 1975. The armed forces pained substinitially in pay power and prestige.

When Zia gave himself the unform of all then just before it but quishing the comment t armed forces on 29 $\chi_{13} = 1$ fight the President if the t had more than made good? ise The present strength Bangladesh armed by almost trebled since t assumed command inc than what Yahya Ku in had conta dered adequate for the defence a Fast Pakistan aguit Ind 1971 Pakistan then hid 4 military (three lightly epurped refairly divisions) and \$\infty 0.00 part military personnel including I ist Pakistan Civil Armed Locc Scours Mejahids and Razae irs 14 £ 861 Sabres and tour patrol boats 100SHAR PANDIT

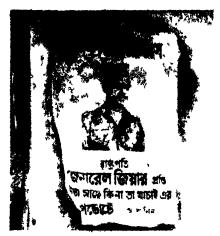
BANGLADESH ARMED FORCES 15 August 15 August 1980 1975 \$52m Defence spending \$115m 27 500 Combined strength 77 500 ARMY Personnel 25 000 70 000 (a) Division HQ 5(b) Brigades 11(1) 17 **Battalions** 33(d) **Armoured Corps** 1 brig + treg(e) 1 req 30(h Tanks 42141 Artillery reg 7(h) 1 reg Engineers 1 bug Anti aircraft brig 1 batt Signals 1 rea PARA MILITARY 20 000 Jativa Rakshı Bahıni disbanded(i) Bangladesh Rifles 15 000 30 000(1) Armed Reserve Police 36 000 Ansars 8 000/k) Village Defence Force 9 60 000 / NAVY 1 000 Personnel 3 500(m) Frigates 2(n)Patrol Craft Patrol Boat Gunboats Training Ship **AIR FORCE** Personnel 4 000 8 MIG 21MF() Fighter 3 MIG 21MF 4 F86 Sabre 24 MIG 19(F6)(q) 6 F86 Sabreipi Fighter Bomber 1 D(6 **Transport** 1 DC 6 Carribou F 27 1 Cambou 2 F 2/ 1 AN 12 3 AÑ 12 AN 26 AN 26 AN 24 Wessex HC 2 WESSEX HC 2 Helicopter Allouette III Allouette III 1 MI 8 8 MI 8 6 Bell 212(1) Trainer 1 T 33A AEE T MIG PIUTI 2 MIG 21UTI 8 Magister

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tive treatise on the economy of Bang ladesh spoke to me on the present economic condition of the country In 1974 75 according to a Task Force White Paper, there were only two billionaires in Bangladesh By 1978, the number had grown to an astound ing 62 This at a time when more that 87 per cent of the population is desper ately poor According to the Bang radesh Bank (an institution akin to our Reserve Bank) the rate of inflation is between 16 per cent and 20 per cent But then said Dr Mahmud, 87 per cent of the people do not have any buying capacity Those who do are the benefi ciaries of inflation in "this aid fi nanced state

This sorry state has been brought about by a 'price determining en clave" comprised of bureaucrats from the civil and the military services. This according to the professor, was an informal 'super power' in determin ing the prices of essential and other commodities Many big businessmen complain that it is impossible to do any private business without paying this enclave a substantial amount Consequently there exists a mutual 'understanding' among members of the bureaucracy. A few examples will suffice A deputy governor of the Bangladesh Bank, and an ex student of Dr Mahmud confessed to him that he made lakas 50 000 a month through various means. The culture of the rich remains as obnoxious as ever. A story doing the social rounds in Dacca men tions disenchanted wives leaving hus bands if they could not buy at least two houses in Europe or America While the story might be apocryphal, it reveals the state of affairs

In such a state who or what political entity will come forward to hold the reins of the country? Opposition lead ers might talk of banding together to overthrow the government through a democratic movement, but when it comes to the crunch the Parties are disunited Further, there is the more important question. Will Zia ever leave? When (because the last elections were held while martial law was still in force) there were demands for a midterm election, the Prime Minister Shah Azızur Rahman dismissed it sum marily and got away with it easily Opposition leaders agree that in the present circumstances, it would be difficult to dislodge either Zia ci the BNP Khandakar Moshtaque Ahmed has said "It is Zia alone and he alone who counts" The President flies around in helicopters trying to imple ment his programmes, all planned with good intentions the khalkata (canal digging) revolution the adult literacy drive and family planning. His dependence on the army may have alienated him from the urban people in general, and the intelligentsia in particular, his government's function ing may not be able to bluff the cities but to many in the rural areas, Zia is a godsend People still flock to hear him In return he promises them rewards like jobs in almost every village, a Gram Pratiraksha Bahini (Village De



Gen Zia's referendum poster

fence Party) has been formed with the direct blessings of the BNP The volun teers of the VDP work for three to four months a year and in a village this is something which does impress people But this too is not without its faults The youth of the BNP have been given the contract of collecting taxes from markets all over the country Accord ing to many leaders who tout the tural areas the local tax collectors have often mentioned that the BNPs young members either shortchange in hand ing over the collected money or do not hand anything over at all And if they are questioned, the common refrain heard all over is "We are Zia's men Do not bother us'

With the armed forces Zia uses the carrot and the stick, though the former far more than the latter Every canton ment has a superior officer who has pledged total loyalty to 71a At the same time the armed forces have learnt that a revolt can mean summary death But Zia's control over the armed forces is still strong and he has at the moment no fears from that quarter Perhaps the person who can gain the most of the present political instability is ex President, Khandakei Moshtaque Ahmed who Zia considers as his main rival for power Khandakei Mostaque has demanded midterm polls on or before 28 February 1981 as have so many Parties, like the Awami League, the Gono Muslim League and the JASAD As Mr Ahmed views it, the present government has not been able to fulfil its promise to the people The

Bangladesh Parliament, for him, is a mere "rubber stamp" for the President As a result Ziaur Rahman and his BNP colleagues have of late made Mr Ahmed the target of their attacks.

The major Party in the opposition is the Awami League (Malek faction) which has a base in nearly 65,000 villages The Party has the highest number of opposition seats in the Sangsad (Parliament)-40 The poten tial of the League was not seriously diminished by the major split in its ranks on 12 August 1978 due to differences between the present League president Abdul Malek Ukil and Mizanur Rahman Choudhury However, factionalism still plagues Ukil's Party. On one side is the late Tajuddin Ahmed's wife and League vice-president Mrs Zohra Tajuddin who is said to be close to the Russians On the other side is Mr Tofael Ahmed, who is friendlier with the USA That factionalism was quite evident on 15 August 1980, the day of mourning in remembrance of Sheikh Mujib's assassination The faction led by the secretary of the Youth League (the youth wing of the Awami League) did not participate in the commemoration programmes held under the leadership of the League's president Zia is worried enough about the Awami League to woo some of its top leaders over to the BNP Party secretary general Dr Badrudozza Choudhury was making the play for the defections

Meanwhile President Zia's own BNP is not without its internal squabbles Many MPs have of late started questioning governmental policies and the President's style of governing They have demanded democratisation There is resentment against corrupt Ministers But then President Zia will surely find a way out of the crisis as he has always done Rumours say that important portfolios will go to some dissidents

Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed is forthright in his assessment of Bangladesh today "The way Zia is going, the country will sink on its own Andbefore the country is totally ruined we would like democracy to return" Many intellectuals and political lead ers feel that if a democratic change is allowed, the country will once again pass into the hands of the Awami League

SUNDAY NEXT WEEK

The Tragedy Of The Stranded Refugees

For three lakh people, the 1971 war is not yet over They are the Biharis who decided after the birth of Bangladesh that they could not live in a Bengali country, and would like to go to Pakistan Today they are living, on meagre doles, in miserable, prison-like refugee camps TIRTHANKAR GHOSH visited these camps to report on a human tragedy

1



RSS: IMMORAL LIARS

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

ANY a political innocent beguiled himself into believing that the RSS was a dedicated, perhaps fanatical organisation but withal a body vittious and pure Half conscious of his own lack of manliness the flabby, effecte rich rownie in particular admired its discipline and its muscle But nich lib. Di Baba Adhav have testified to the RSS member covardice in the jails during the Emergency and their abject letters of ipology to the government Strangely chough none of the Jana Sangh leaders -Vaipavee Advant of Destimukh has uttered a word of explanation about the districtul epistles of Deoras to Indua Gandhi S B Chivan in the controversy on the RSS issue the ilence of the Jana Singhis on the letters is deafening. It is is left in medical practitioner of Nagpur to strip

It was left in medical practitioner of Nagpur to strip the RSS crip! tels and expose it is a moral cunuch. Dr M D K und it with himself a dedicated member of the RSS. He left it the cruse of ideology but on principle not because of RSS politics but its ethics of the lack of it. He was ilready a member of 30 years standing when on 7 February 1972 to that does politication before the charity commission of Nigpit livision under the Bombay Public Trusts Act 1979 ceking to get the gesticed as a public trust. It has cost the 285 of 1 to

He is a donor the Constitution of I kachalak inuvariate in their by the RSS founder. Hedgewar in 1933 and texes of dimbis logiciphy by N. H. Palkar in 1964. The RSS was bounded in 4 february. 1948 immediately after Gandhi jus de uh. The binny is lifted on 11 July. 1949 on a certain set the reinder taking given by Golwalk in including one of a denoceror of stitution which follows broadly the Constitution of stitution of stitution of the follows broadly the Constitution. It finds in National Congress. Such a draft was submitted to the povernment in March and approved by it literation. Die kindar eills that a lie. Under the eight in the office of the democratic 1933 constitution he says, "all then ober were the trustees of RSS, but under the 1949 cert in attorn only the members of the Kendriya Karyakari Marfal, the central executive by a free the trustees."

Min fil the central executive bidy are the trustees the 2 May 1974 V. P. Behere deputy charity commissioner held that the RSS was not liable to registration as its objects are akin to political objects as distinguished from religio s or charitable objects. Di Kamdar appealed again the idea of 17 July 1974 and won On 1 January, 1975 M. Vady i found charity commissioner held "RSS is proceed in the inpublic religious and charitable trust It be region of the inpublic religious and charitable from the stage of arguments before the Deputy

Charity Commissioner that the organisation had all along aimed at patriotic activities that were akin to the political activities." So, the RSS' stand before these authorities was the direct opposite of its stand before the public.

After analysing the constitution and quoting extensively from Golwalkar's A Bunch of Thoughts, Mr Vaidva remarked "It is evident from the aforesaid quotations that Dharma which is thought of by RSS in framing the Constitution is nothing else than traditional Hindu Dharma in principles (excluding the outward manifestations which are more or less ritualistic). This exposition of expression Dharma also thus goes to support my aforesaid conclusion that the objects and purposes of Sangh are religious in their nature. For all of these reasons I held that RSS is proved to be a public religious trust.

An appeal against this order was filed by Rajendia Singh and Deoras on 6 March 1978 before the district judge Nagpur The appeal contained a veiled attack on Gandhiji As is well known he had established his ascen dancy in national politics by the early Twenties The RS3' appeal laments this and says 'In the Twenties, the political situation was fast changing and there was confusion writ large on the political scene The concept of a nation with a glorious past, which indeed was 'Hindu Rashtra', was being wiped out from the people and its interest were being ignored by the then political leaders particularly after the eclipse of Lokmanva Tilak from the political horizon after his death in 1920 The founder of the RSS, Dr Hedgewar then visualised the idea of founding the RSS as a movement with a view to fearlessly propagating that India was a 'Hindu Rashtra' (Nation), as contra distinguished from 'Hindu Raj' It is significant to note that the name was not chosen as 'Hindu' Swayam Sevak Sangh though the Sangh is open to Hindus only This is because of the faith of the Sangh that in India 'Rashtriya' means 'of Hindus', which are the mainstream of the Nation" Small wonder that the RSS has to this day little praise for Gandhiji's role

THE appeal made little secret of the undemocratic character of the RSS' constitution and referred to "the limited democratic form and machinery provided for carrying out the work of the Sangh with KKM and ABPS (Akhil Bharatiya Pratinidhi Sabha) whereunder the ABPS elects the Sarkaryawaha who is bound to act in consultation with the guide and philosopher viz, Sar Sangh Chalak as per Article 13 The Sarkaryawaha forms K.KM as per Article 14 and similar arrangement is provided at the provincial levels It may be noted that there is no election at all levels but selection and nomination except for the

posts of Sukarvawaha and Prant Sanghchalaks

The appeal claimed that the work of the RSS is neither religious noi charitable but its objects are cultural and patriotic as contra distinguished from religious or charit able It is akin to political purposes though RSS is not at present a political Party masmuch as the RSS constitution quoted above bars active political participation by RSS as such as a policy

There was a strange omission in the RSS appeal. It said It may be mentioned that recently the ancome tax Com missioner had held in an appeal that RSS activity is neither religious nor charitable. The applicants rely on the said decision to the extent of the reasoning given by the said authority. But it omitted to mention what the RSS' own

stand was before the income tax authorities

A passage in the appeal memo reveals the RSS' outlook with brutal clarity. The functions or festivals of 'Hindu Sam Rajya Din Mahotsava', 'Dashera' or 'Vijaya Dashimi' and Padava' or Varsha Pratipada' have a political and social connotation for inspiring in the Swayamsevaks the dream of Hindu Rashtra on (sic) the fact that in historical past such a dream was visualised and fulfilled and as such one could do so again by organising the Hindu Society. The festival of 'Guru Poornima' is also a political function in the sense that the flag as mentioned in the Constitution is just before the society a symbol of RSS and symbol of age old culture and as such should be dear to the society as God and everybody should be prepared even to die for the respect and dignity of the said flag. The work pura in the said festival has no religious connotation whatsoever but a connotation that we should work for the flag, which stands as symbol of Hindu Rashtra and be ready to sacrifice not only body and mind but also financially"

Deoras formally verified the appeal memo on 26 Febru ary 1979 It is still being heard before the district judge Nagpur Dr Kamdar tiled an application on 5 July 1980 calling for the RSS' income tax records for the assessment vears 1962 63, 1970 71 1971 72, and 1972 73 To appreciate its significance, one must go back to the income tax

proceedings. They began a decade ago

The tax proceedings have gone on at a leisurely pace. A notice dated 11 December 1970 was issued by an income tax officer to Deoras on behalf of RSS requiring him to submit a return of income Various other notices followed in its train. The RSS retorted that it was not assessable under the Income Tax Act as it was neither an "association of persons" nor a "body of individuals" and wanted this issue to be tried first. It, however, filed under protest tax returns for the assessment year 1970 71 accounting year ended Diwali 1969 showing income as nil

Deoras wrote to the ITO Assessment No 1, Nagpur on 22 April 1971 as "Sarkarvawah" explaining the RSS' case According to him the sources of the receipts were as

follows

(1) Guru Dakshina nil

(2) Gwru Dakshina collected by all Shakhas in the country known as Kendraounch Rs 2,68,370

(3) Interest on fixed deposits Rs 25,943

(4) Miscellaneous receipts from sale of old newspapers Rs 527 00

(5) Surplus receipts on sale of old scooter Rs 1,851

As for the house Hedgewar Bhawan, it was neld by the

institution for its charitable activities

The RSS filed a writ in the High Court in April 1971 to cancel the notices contending that its activities "are solely educative" It argued that each Shakha was an independent unit and the funds of the Shakhas were all voluntary offerings, gifts, donations, etc Every year a sacred day is observed as Guru Dakshina Day when Swayam Sevaks salute the flag Bhagwa Dhwaj and voluntarily make offerings A part of the offerings went to the Kendra (head office)

By consent of both parties the High Court made an order on 15 February 1972 laying down an agreed procedure for tax assessment It would first be decided if the RSS was a taxable entity and, if so, whether the receipts in its hands were taxable income. The inquiry was to be limited to the RSS' Kendra at Nagpur as a test case When the ITO called for the list of the Shakhas all over India, Deoras screamed that he was violating the order. Besides, "There are

thousands of Shakhas all over India Most renerikably ind defailed list of Shakh is is maintained at Niepin and in fact the same is not necessary in view of the fact that each Shakha is an autonomous body. The function of the central body is merely supervisory and advisory It was near though hardly credible for a centralised body like the RSS

The ITO made an assessment order in 29 April 1972 rejecting the RSS' case. The RSS promptly appealed to the appellate assistant commissioner of micome tax. Nagpur One of the grounds of appeal was that the Guru Dakshina and other income "was held under a legal obligation to utilise it for the purposes of the Singh, which are clearly educational and consequently the income is exempt from income tax. Little did it realise that this plea constituted an admission of the existence of a public charitable trust under the Bombay Public Trust Act a fact to which Di Kamdar relentlessly draws attention

To leave no room for doubt other pro inds advanced by the RSS explicitly urged that the objects of the Sangh are charitable and 'purely educitional and cultural and it

held the funds on trust

The ITO assessed the RSS total income at Rs 10 24,710 computed thus

(1) House property Rs 5 442

(2) Lifty per cent of the receipt from Guin Dak-hina from all the branches as estimated Rs 7.56.702

(3) Interest on fixed deposits and bank accounts of the branches Rs 21,551

(4) Interest on fixed deposits and bank accounts at head office Rs 24 643

(5) Income from miscellaneous receipts from head office

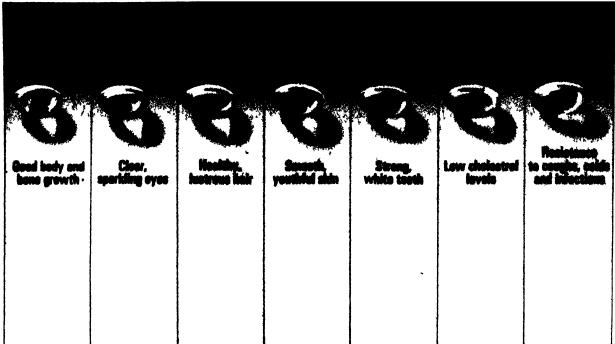
and branches Rs 16 376

The AAC decided the RSS appeal in October 1972 and held it was assessable as one entity inclusive of all the Shakhas but set aside the ITO's order because in his view. the income was not properly computed. The matter went to the Income tax Iribunal which fuled that the first issue to be decided should be not the status of the RSS but whether it received any tixable income. So the AAC scut the entire natter back to the ITO to decide this point

On 9 February 1978, M. D. Karnik, H.O. Nagpur made an assessment order Farlier the 110 passing the original order for 1970 71 had held that the receipts derived from members were exempt from tax ition. He had estimated the receipts from non-member, and attempted to tax the same The RSS swore that no offcrings were received from non-members. Karnik accepted this claim and totally excluded Guru Dakshina in computing the income. But he rejected the RSS claim about the independence of the



Squaring accounts in an RSS office



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units. Its constitution itself belied this claim

'Article 22 (a) All offerings, gifts, donations etc received for Sangh purposed by the branches shall constitute the Sangh funds

Article 22 (e) The KKM and PKM shall issue such directions for disbursement of the funds collected by its subordinate units as it may from time to time think necessary for the general advancement of the Sangh work."

The IIO also rejected the RSS' claim to being a purely educational and cultural body whose income was to be exempted "It the assessee has to work for the rejuvenation of the Hindu Society arising from political differences, the political purpose cannot be avoided. As it is not possible to divorce the political element in toto from the aims and objects of this assessee, it will not be possible to say that the assessee is a charitable organisation. The activities of the assessee, therefore, are not covered under the head 'f ducational' (Charitable' purpose defined in Section 2(15) of the Act.'

But with the enormous Guru Dakshina totally excluded, he assessed the RSS' income at R\$51,786 only

What is not widely known is that while the proceedings were on the RSS amended its constitution to avoid tax liability but was less than candid about it. The facts are not easy to come by

But Mi K. H. Chainani, ITO Central Circle III. Nagpui did get to know some of them judging by his assessment order dated 20 March. 1974 for assessment year 1971-72. He noted that at one particular hearing, on 15 October. 1973 the RSS conceded that all policy decisions were communicated? to the 18 Prant offices but a fortinght later the RSS resiled from this position. and began talking of independent units. He added. On October 31, 1973 an amended Constitution of the Rashtiry i Swavamsewak Sangh was also filed before me. It was stitled that the Constitution of RSS was amended on 1.7.72 and the proposals for amendment come from the Kainatak'i Prantiva Kaiyakair Mandal.

BUT oddly enough, these amendments were not shown to the joint charity commissioner Vaidya who complained in his order of 11 January 1978, "It is, indeed, not known why the respondents Shii M. N. Deoras and others, failed to bring on record, a copy of the Constitution containing up to date amendments. The allegation of the applicant appellant (Dr. M. D. Kamdar) that the respondents want to be secretive in the matter of certain particulars (Amendments) about the Constitution gains ground due to this omission, and also in production of documents I xh. 23 and Exh. 47 which bear no date of final adoption of the Constitution, not even the date of typing or printing and publishing." Exh. 23 was a typed and Exh. 47 a printed copy of the constitution.

What were the amendments? According to Dr Kamdar, on 27 March, 1972 the RSS' Pratinidhi Sabha made the following amendments. The 1949 constitution in Article 5 (the flag) stated "While recognising the duty of every citizen to be loyal to and to respect the State Flag, the Sangh has its Flag, the 'Bhagwa Dhwai' the age old symbol of Hindu Culture" It was amended in Maich 1972 to read "While recognising the duty of every citizen to be loyal to and respect the State Hag the Sangh has as its Flag the 'Bhagwa Dhwaj' the age old symbol of Hindu Culture, which the Sangh regards as its Guru Article 22 originally read "All offerings, gifts, donations etc received for Sangh purposes by the branches shall constitute the Sangh Funds " It was amended in 1972 to read "The 'Guru Dakshina' received for Sangh purposes by a Sangh Shakha, shall constitute the funds of that Shakha" The object, according to Kamdat, is to make the offerings to the flag "Guru Dakshina," and the Shakhas nominally independent He complains that the deputy charity commissioner's order on 5 September 1973 for production of all amendments was not complied with. He claims yet another amendment on 1 July, 1972, this time to Article 8 on the RSS' programme, to add objects which would make it a charitable organisation No wonder Dr Kamdar avers, the amended constitution was produced before the tax authorities but not before the trust authorities

The RSS does emerge in a bad shape from these proceedings Deoras told the ITO in April 1972 "only one



Hoisting the Bhagwa Dhw 11

thing is certain that all units of town or city do maintain their accounts. Two years later, ITO Chainani was compelled to say that though he wrote to all the 18 Prant-offices to furnish statements of income and expenditure, "only a few Prant offices did furnish the information. Some of the Prant offices in their letters stated that they were not maintaining any books of account." In his view "the entire Guru Dakshina reccipts would constitute the taxable part of the assessee's income and not only such part of it as is received from non-members." He estimated receipts from Guru Dakshina at Rs. 20 lakhs and income from interest at Rs. 50,000.

Whatever be the stage at which these proceedings have reached today after nearly a decade, it is time the public is taken into confidence by the authorities. In a Press statement on 30 November 1979 Dr. Kamdar said "On July 10, 1977. Shill H. M. Patel the then Finance Minister, Government of India had informed the Parliament that income tax dues against RSS assessed by India government amounted to Rs one croft and ten lakh Again Morarji displayed his loyalty to Hindu Rashtra by directing H. M. Patel to exempt Guru Dakshina from income tax. This brought down income tax recovery against RSS from Rs one croft and ten lakh, to Rs tive thousand only

The RSS has not covered itself with glory in these proceedings. It claimed before the High Court that it is "a charitable institution under S. 10 (22) Income Tax Act, 1961" and before the charity commissioner that RSS is not a charitable but a political institution under S. 2 (13) of Bombay Public Trusts Act. 1950. Its claims before the public at large are altogether different.

We have noted the sorry mess about the books of account and the amendments to the constitution. If the RSS can go so far for the sake of money to what depths will it not stoop for the sake of power?

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The real India

Authorities do not like the picture



Police scize the van carrying copies of Asli Bharat

N 23 August at around five in the Or 2) August at attended of policemen from the Seemapuri police post teached the R.C. Press in the Julinil industrial area, and seized thousands of copies of Ash Bharat, a weekly brought out by the Lok Dal run Kisan Trust Reason The weekly in its issue dated August 2329 had brought out pictures of the Moradabad riots one of which showed pigs hovering around the dead body of a person killed in the riots two days ago. This picture taken by Vijvendra Iyaki was found espe cially objectionable and an unnamed party had filed a complaint to this effect. The lead story of the weekly was headlined. Atank sa mitain me duba Muridabad Moradabad drowned in terror and mourning) and in the page carrying the photographs was the headline Idgah kabristan ban gava (ldgah becomes a graviyard)"

Around the same time that the police arrived, a Matador van DHX 95 was leaving the premises of the print ing press with copies of Asli Bharat The police, unable to catch up with it sent a wireless message to the Lughlak Road police station to intercept the van The van was intercepted as soon as it entered the Kisan Trust office at 4, Lodi Estate and the copies in the van were seized. According to a secret ary of the Lok Dal, Mr Gautam, the police not only seized copies of Asia Bharat but also the plates of the week ly from the printing press. He said that about 12,000 copies were seized

Though the police registered cases against the weekly for attempting to create enmity between different reli

gious communities nothing objection able was written in the weekly—said Satpal Malik—"As a matter of fact in the front page we carried an appeal for the two communities to have a Shanti Samity and to go on a Shanti march. It was factual reporting and there was nothing to create animosity between the different religious groups. The photograph which the government found objectionable was in fact depicting reality, how the government was callous and did nothing to remove the dead bodies even two days after the incident."

Says Ajay Singh, Managing Editor of Asli Bharat 'This is the first open blatant blow to the freedom of the Press since Mrs Gandhi came to power Our circulation was increasing It is now 30,000 This was obviously re sented by the authorities concerned Besides, we are being harassed tor a long time now. We were given eviction orders by the Directorate of Estates to vacate the premises of the Kisan Trust (4, Lodi Fstate) in July We wrote to the Directorate but did not receive any reply Besides, we did not print any thing objectionable. What we did, we did in the larger national interest Again we were not the only paper to print it The daily Jagaran, published from Kanpur also carried the same picture, much before we did

Both Mr Ajay Singh and O P Malhotta the publisher, have got anticipatory bail".

On Friday 22 August, the principal information officer of the Government of India Mr W Lazarus sent word to the photographer, Vijvendra Ivagi, to

ome and meet him Tvagi was told that taking such pictures was harmful to the national interest. In reply, Tyagi pointed out that he was a photo grapher whose job was to take pictures of what was happening the best protection for India's image was if the authorities did not allow such things to happen. If they didn't happen, photo graphs would not be taken

A CORRESPONDENT, Delhi

Bad times

Says a Bombay astrologer

DR Vasant Kumar Pandit, the Bom bay astrologer, politician and race house owner, sees the next nine months as "very bleak and dark" This is because of the recent change of Saturn in July and that of Jupiter on 24 September These adverse positions of the stars indicate "chaos" for the country There will be turmoil, internal conflict, and unrest There are also indications of border conflicts in the North East and the North West on 24 September, November 11 or early 1981 (between 22 February and 10 April)

The Prime Minister may not be able to handle the situation aptly The leadership will be vulnerable and the forces of disintegration will operate "I also see a change in the leadership, the earliest by the end of 1981 or mid 1982. This change will not come through a mid term poll. There will be no mid term poll. The new leadership will come from within the Party or there will be a national government. The Prime Minister may ultimately be forced to clamp some sort of external emergency before the year end."

The economy will not revive till late 1982 Insurgent activity will heighten, particularly in Assam In the North West too the position is explosive with the groupings of Islamic nations

The Prime Minister will have a spell of bad health around the time of her birthday (19 November)

There will be immediate changes of two Chief Ministers. The present Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan will be out in the next 45 days (counting from 26 August). The Congress (I) will be split in two, but the split will not be formalised. Chaotic conditions in the country will continue for a minimum of nine months and maximum of 18 months. The Kashmir front will be an explosive and sensitive spot. The situation in Assam may take a turn for the worse on 9 September 1980.

However the ultimate destiny of the country according to Dr Pandit is not discouraging in 1984, a new leader will come up and in five years India will assume a position of power and importance in Asia A young leader will be in the forefront in 1983

OLGA TELLIS, Bombay

RSS wins back ground

No place for Congress(I) in Delhi U.

THE RSS swept back to power in the Delhi University Students Union (DUSU) when its panel of four won all the posts defeating the Congress(1) and the Leftist Students Democratic Front (SDF) panels by convincing margins of 3,000 to 10,000 votes in the elections held on 21 August Thus the RSS-backed Janata Vidhyarti Morcha (JVM) regained the lost glory held till two years ago by the Akhil Bhartiya Vidhyarti Parishad, a sister organisation

The JVM victory hardly came as a surprise to anyone Not only was it well organised but the Leftist Students Democratic Front Which had shared the four DUSU posts equally with the JVM last year did not contest collec tively with all its four constituents. CPI, CPI(M), Congress(U) and the Lok Dal. Another factor responsible for the JVM victory was the fact out of 50,000 members of the DUSU (which has the affiliation of about 46 colleges) only 22,000 students cast their votes; and most of these went in favour of the JVM Consequently JVM which came back to power not only helped the Bhartiya Janata Party to refurbish its local imasge but in the first round of confrontation put the Congress (I) to shade The DUSU president-elect, Vijay Jolly, after his victory, told newsmen that the IVM victory was the voictory of those who believed in the RSS ideology and the defeat of the government and its machinaary

The salient feature of this year's DUSU elections was the unprecedented campaign violence which left one student leader dead and a non-student supporter of one group in hospital with multiple stab wounds. The Congress(i) which was charged with violence was believed to have requisitioned the services of some Karnataka based toughs. F. M. Khan, MP and the election incharge of the Congress(I) had allegedly brought them to Delhi and for the first time few days no one could identify them. Rival groups complained that they were un-

able to recognise the men who assaulted them for they had not seen them before The JVM also did not lag behind. It was believed to have brought in toughs from Punjab. JVM workers are reported to have carried bags of chilli powder in their pocket to counter the Congress(1) toughs.

The SDF which wasinitially in the race lost ground very fast. Its leaders could not take advantage of the violence which the JVM later successfully made into an issue. A peace committee was formed by the university authorities that lent credibility to the claims of the JVM. Moreover, the Congress(U) was split into groups and the murder of their activist Gajendia Mohan completely deralised them. All of which contributed to slowing down of the SDF campaign.

For the JVM it was the most pretigious battle ever fought in Delhi University. Never before did local BJP leaders come out so openly in their campaign. Their only Press conference, three days before the elections was attended by most of their local leaders. Interestingly, this year a new group calling itself the JVM(JP) was also in the fray with former blue-eyed boy Subramanium Swamy, MP acting as its main organiser. That it failed to get

one-tenth of the votes secured by the

JVM candidates is another story

Currently, the DUSU executive elections are scheduled for 6 September With a large chunk of college presidents either independent or supported by the Congress(1), it remains to be seen how the DUSU functions. Before the elections, a murder and stabbing took place and observers see all this as a sign of what is likely to take place in future. Not surprisingly, talks of indirect elections are gaining momentum in many quarters. In that case, however, violence would be restricted to the political elements only, and the rest of the city would be safe

A CORRESPONDENT, Delhi

Dr Purandare's secrets

A triple murder accused confesses

BEFORE me is a crusading population controller: he has "performed", he tells me, five thousand successful vasectomies at Shahadra, at the peak of the Emergency in his own words, "under the guidance of Rukhsanaji Sultanaji". He is also an accused in a triple murder case.

cused in a triple murder case.

I talked to "Dr" Ashok Purandare, alias "Dr" P. K. Sharma, alias "Dr" Pramode, alias "Dr" N. D. Sharma ("Dr" between quotes most inevitably, because, in truth, he is simple

"Shyam".) By his own admission he is an orphan, a school dropout, an impersonator, imposter and a forger presently held in the judicial lock up in Goa, for the "New Year's eve triple murder case"—J. Rengen, Vasanti Jadhaw (17), and Regina D'Souza (16)—done to death on 31 December 1979 in a rowdy Panaji neighbourhood, a floor above Goa's PTI office.

The police dossier on Di Purandare could not possibly be grimmer—a rape on a 16-year-old girl when he was 18,



Shvam being brought out of court

three murders in Goa, a scooter theft in Delhi, a widower twice over (both wives dying a little over a year apart in mysterious circumstances). He was "negotiating" his third marriage with three girls at the same time out of an estimated 300 who had avidly responded to his advertisement in the matrimonial columns of The Hindustan Times, in Delhi. For ten years, Shyam had been the medical officer of the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) on a fake medical of certificate (MBBS from Lucknow). He also has a pending case under the Arms Act in Delhi.

Till a few days ago, the Goa policemen thought they had all they wanted, from the triple murder case. The Docton had made a clean breast of it—he had told them that he suspected Sudha Devi (his second wife, she died mysteriously on 5 December 1979) of having an affair with J. Renjen. So he had words with Renjen, a few weeks after Sudha's death, hammered (literally with a heavy hammer) Renjen to death, then hammered the girls in order to destroy evidence. He had in a mad trance, kept on swinging the hammer like a wild animal, so reads his 'confession' to the police.

Shyam now has gone back on that He narrates to me cooly and calmly in elaborate details "all the circumstances" saying that confessing to the police was one way of escaping third degree torture. He talks compulsively during the two-hour long interview, especially authorised for Sunday by Goa's Inspector-General of Prisons Mrs Suman Swarup and held in the chamber and in the presence of Judge M. D. Kamat, the Superintendent of judicial lockups in Goa Shyam, like wise, denied guilt in the committal proceedings before Judge S. B. Natk The Police had hoped Shuam would "cooperate" and make a contessional statement.

Broke and jobless, almost unedu cated ("Matric pass", says Shyam, Standard eight says tall and tough inspector Alex Rasquinha, the investigating officer), he was sheltered by a Delhi doctor for whom Shyam did some compounding He, however, refused to disclose the doctor's name In two years Shyam became a "buria expert" Then came takdir (luck) tallor-made On a lonely night ride in a DTC bus, he found a canvas bag and a

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Shyam's second wife Sudha

MBBS certificate in it. Shyam saw in it god's own hand and he promptly erased the original name inserted his own and instantly became Di. P. K. Shaima. Luck took him to S. N. Renjen found him a job as a medical officer of DIC.

Honesty, seemingly is not always the best policy. A certain Mr. Jagdish R Gupta, an assistant cashier of DIC, allegedly offered Di P K Sharma a bribe of Rs 100 to pass some candi dates for a DTC job. Sharma honestly called in the CBI and Gupta was trapped and prosecuted. Gupta howev. er told the police in his evidence that Sharma was an imposter and his MBBS certificate was a fake one. From then on Dr Sharma was on the run. Having been recommended by S. N. Renjen, Sharma turned up in Goa and sought the help of J. Renjen. The Goa Renjen. informed him that Goans were gener ally wary about Punjabi names. So was born Dr Ashok Purandare a name which Shyam tells me at once estab lished his links with the famous gynaecologist and obstetrician Dr Purandare of Bombay J Renjen had his own "chine so finding a job for Dr Sharma was no problem. At the 'ch nic" a call girl Rita ran her business for a select clientele

Asha, Shvam's first wife died on 25 June 1978 of a strange ailment a "very, resistant sensitivity to penicil him" as the doctor diagnosed in hind sight. In the same year on 22 November he married again. This time it was Sudha Devi. Police believe that Shvam liquidated. Asha to make way to Sudha with whom he was having an attair. "Never", says Shyam. Instead he gives reasons for his marriage. When Asha died he was left with two small children aged two and a half years and five years.

On 31 December, 1979, the doctor tells me he went at 5 am to J Renjen's house. He needed money

which Renjen owed him (the Police story is that Renjen loaned money to the doctor and was demanding it back) Nonsense, says the "Dr" was fed up and he was on his way out of Goa. He had already sent his children to Asha's parents. He rang the bell of 1 Renjen's house and no one answered. In fact, no one could, Ren. jen was dead, so was Vasanti, Regina was comatose. Lernandes, a neighbour challenged the doctor when the latter was moving out of the building saying he had heard strange shrieks from the house only a while ago Fernandes then began to threaten him he would report to the police "Kuch bhi kaina", (do anything), said Shyam and keeping his cool, he rode off on his scooter By the time the police broke open Ren jen's house, Shyam was safely away in Madhya Pradesh The hunt, however, had begun

He practised in Itarsi, Jabalpur, Burhai and Katni But it was Burhai most of the time, He had been in and out of several other MP towns, like Gwalior, Raipur etc "Izzat" (prestige) being essential in the medical profession, particularly for an expert gynaecologist Shvam decided to mairy again, as married doctors are more respected "So phir bi advertise lagadia (Ladvertised again). He received "300 applications" Kiran Pandey, "MA Ph D, khoob surat barri achi", (beautiful) was finally selected

Magar ek to burr chiz came up' (but something went wrong) Shyam tells me in his English Hindustani blend Sathva Katha a local magazine published in June 1980 an article on "Dr Ashok Purandare" he had by now settled his identity as "Dr P K Sharma' with his photograph and the details on the murders. Inspector Tripathi of Burhai was failing him and the SP had asked him to come over for talks. He left Burhar without inform ing anyone landlord dispensary compounders, patients and servants. At a teat jerking session with Kiran Pandex a lecturer in a local college he narrated his new pareshani (difficultics) and she gave him Rs 2 000. He went to Delhi and met his brother in law Uma Shankar Sharma Public Prosecutor at the Patiala House Court and (police confirm the story) U.S. Sharma firmly asked the doctor to surrender himself immediately to the police. And that is how he landed in the Roshanara Thana and thence via Fihar fail (for about a week permanently in fetters) to Goa

The doctor says he has given the police positive clues about the murders exculpating himself in the main and shifting the suspicion to Renjen's son "The police sunta bhi nahin" (the police do not listen), bewildered Shyam sulks

Deputy Superintendent Atmaram Jog, a weather beaten policeman who is supervising the investigation of Renjen's murder says, "You give him (Shyam) five minutes and he will eat up any one—Such a smooth talker

MARIO CABRAL E SA, Goa

Next stage?



Shabana Azmı in Chalk Cucle

MAJOR rumbles recently quaked through the avant garde world of Bombay, when the legendary Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) suddenly split asunder IPTA hardliners dissatisfied with the way it was selling out on former Marxist glory, accused it of having become a stepping stone for young people into the Hindifilm industry Led by R. M. Singh, veteran stage director, this group formed its own banner (Awami Rang manch), named its own Piesident (Kamleshwar) and promised to show the IPTA what true Marxist theatre was all about

The IPTA war has now finally hit the stage Awami Rangmanch had ear her announced something like a major coup -71a Sarhadi, onetime tilmaker in Bombay (Footpath and other films), but now native of Pakistan, was flown into the city, and asked to stage a famous Urdu play he had written Shama Har Rang Me Jalti Hai And about the same time, the IPTA announced their own project, Bertolt Brecht's Caucasian Chalk Circle, to be directed by M S Sathyu and to feature, in a cast of 50, Shabana Azmi'in the role of Grusha

While Zia Sarhadi has been spending his weeks finalising the cast, the Awami Rangmanch in the meanwhile announced the creation of a People's Progressive Cinema Society which would sponsor the making of serious tilms in 16 mm. The society featured flames like K. A. Abbas, Salil Chaudhury, Kanti Mehta and Kamleshwar, stating that all serious new projects would be financed by this group, and it would also establish a parallel circuit to the established one monopolised by the commercial film makers.

ASHISH RAJADHYAKSHA, **Bombay**

Delhi's Seva Kutir: A miserable life

Unwanted children remain unwanted

SEVA KUTIR, Kingsway Camp, Delhi, 9 is a government home for unwanted male children Most of the hoys in the Home have either run away from their families, or have been picked up by the police while begging on the streets. If the parents can be traced, the children are "given' back, if the families are incapable of looking after the chil dren, the police bring them back to Seva Kutir The total number of children is, officially, 300 Several of them have run away, bringing the figure down to 244. Their ages range from six to 16 years

How do the police assess the age of these runaways? They either "guess", or send them for a "medical checkup", where the hospital in forms them how old the boys should be When they reach 16 years of age, a list of boys' names is sent to the Seva Kutir administration after which they are officially sent to the Government after care homes in De Ihi There are two other Government

Children's Homes in Delhi-one in Natela and the other in Bawana "But you understand", says an offi cial, 'We cannot always make sure they go to the after care homes Some of them run away and the rest are taken away by the police"

Outside the building, a group of boys in khaki shorts, faded blue shirts and bare feet are playing cricket with a piece of driftwood for a bat The tree is the wicket Young trees planted along a straggly bor der, line the entrance to the Home An old Punjabi lady, head covered in white dupatta, sums you up with a sharp eye Two registers lie un opened on her desk. The office has three Godrey steel cupboards, prom inently numbered Four desks, two chairs, and a number of political maps of India in English and Hindi, adorn the small room Dusty grey curtains enhance the peeling paint and cobwebs above

Curious children mill around you. and move away when you look at

them They look unwashed, buttons falling off their clothes, feet caked with dirt You are told that they are all healthy children "Only a few of them are retarded or delinquent", explains a friendly official "How do you treat them when they get vio lent?" "We never use force, we never hit them", is the reply Andout of the corner of your eye, you see a staff member twisting a boy's ear Six boys ran away together recently "Why?" I ask "A lot of them run away " Are they given any money? "No But sometimes they get tips for taking messages to the other buildings", smiles the official

There are no literate children They are given the option of literacy or vocational training Most childen opt for the latter The painted board outside the office lists the vocational classes welding, tailoring, cane-work, barber, electrician, home science, music The children are allowed to choose their classes If they do not like them, they can always change over to another class

The welding class has three students There is no sign of any welding equipment A table fitted with four vices has an assortment of files neatly laid down on one side Two sullen students file away at a small piece of iron that has already been welded three times Two staff mom-

RANBAXY'S GARUG PEARLS

A few facts you should know.

Why not raw Garlic?



cloves have to be chew ed before the extract acts inside

But when chewed body they leave an unpleasant When swallowed they are difficult to digest. And the



On cooking, the effective medicinal properties of garlic are lost

Garlic has been well known from earliest times for its medicinal properties Medical authorities have accepted the value of garlic in correcting various health problems Garlic can be taken raw or cooked or in capsule form But to derive the maximum medicinal benefits from garlic, it should be taken in the most effective way

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The natural way to all-round health.



bers, male and female, sit chatting with each other, oblivious of our presence. There is supposed to be a third. The teachers do not know where he is. The canework class has 48 students. Eight boys sit on the floor, some chewing languidly on a piece of cane, surrounded by cane chairs piled over one another into a space not larger than 20ft by 15ft. We pass by another class, the door is locked.

In the canteen, it is one o'clock You step gingerly over the stream of slime that leads you through a door into an empty room with a sink full of cobwebs. No lightbulbs, no taps. This leads to the kitchen, through which a bass voice is cursing, threatening. A large man appears, stick in hand, red in the face. Two eight-year-olds run towards the flour to make chapatis. Two older men stand watching. This is the homescience class.

Officially the inmates are fed three meals a day, with tea in the afternoon. Breakfast at 7.30 am consists of puris and 250 ml of milk Lunch is at 12.30 pm and is four chapatis, vegetables and dal. Tea is at 5.30 pm. The last meal is dinner at 7 pm and is made up of four chapatis, vegetables and dal. At 1 pm. I noticed them eating only dry chapatis.

Officially, the boys are allotted three shirts, two shorts, a vest and an underwear, annually, "But you understand," explains an official, "the babus take away some clothes for themselves" None of the 100 odd boys I saw had any vest or underwear on. Their shorts had no buttons

and their shirts were tattered and filthy "They wash their own clothes," says one of the officials. The bathrooms are a sight. You can get the stink 100 yards down the corridor. The water supply is irregular. There is dirt all over the floor. Here the children "wash" their clothes, with a bar of soft soap.

The clothes are dried under the fans in dormitories. Each dormitory has an average of 20 mattresses, set three feet apart, covered with dirty bedcovers Children lie half on the floor, half on the bed, looking at pictures in newpapers or comics. Some play with rubber bands, others sleep A naked boy sits in the far corner, bones sticking out of his body, gazing vacuously into space. Others gape or laugh at him. He is a retarded child At the other end of the dormitory, in a small loft, sits another boy, throwing pots and pans down on the floor. Chapatis are being thrown at someone behind you. There is no supervisor to be seen. All along the corridor outside the dormitories, children sleep at odd angles on the filthy floor, flies buzzing around

There is no full time matron to take care of the boys. A caretaker sits in a room, surrounded bu young boys who talk, sleep or lie around. The caretakers work in three shifts; officially, there are 18 of them "But only about eight of them work here", says our guide "The rest have been sent to other offices." When the children fall ill, they are sent to the hospital nearby. The hospital has approximately 50 beds. At both ends of the hospital corridor, are the

toilets—one of them padlocked, the other too dirty to be used by patients. The bedsheets are cleaner than one would expect them to be. The bedside tables are empty, stained with dirt. Food lies on the floor. The doctor-in-charge is out to lunch, and so are her helpers.

Beside the hosital is the beggars' home, called the Poor House A half naked beggar slides behind a tree, watching us approach. Another calls two of his friends, who advance towards us threateningly. They are dressed in clean clothes and are barefoot. One tries to grab a handbag—he is told off sharply by our escort, and slinks away. A man stands behind a bush, desperately smoking a bidi Beside the Poor House is the vocational training centre for the beggars. Two watchman refuse us entiv, even though we are escorted by an official. The board outside says: tailoring, bakery, clay modelling, sculpture, dhobi,

The Superintendent is out. He has not been seen for several days. We ask for some written information on the home, and receive the curt reply. "The only written matter we have, is on the board outside" The board tells us the time-table of the inmates. An officer takes us aside and whispers: "Don't ask these people for anything. They are bad people They will talk a lot, but won't help you at all Fven if you go to the main office, they will not give you any information"

KUMKUM JAIN, Delhi

The helicopter with the crate

Sea the trick?

NDIAN magician P C Sorcai Junior, has done it once again Although this was his thirteenth attempt in escaping from a crate under the sea he was not unlucky It happened in Port Dickson, Singa-pore on 27 July, 1980. Prodip Sor-car, who holds a Master's Degree in Psychology was first sealed in a bag The bag was then lowered into a crate which was locked, strapped with iron hoops and nailed by the police authorities. The crate was then picked up by a helicopter and dropped into the sea from a height of 100 feet and it disappeared into the waters Within 45 seconds the magician appeared According to him "The undercurrent of the sea carried the crate quite far away from the actual spot where I was supposed to come up. As I bobbed up, I found no rescue boat around me I was so exhausted fighting against the current that swimming back to the boat became almost impossible Luckily a fishing boat



P.C Sorcer comes out of the see

spotted me and threw me a piece of wood. Finally I was spotted by one of the rescuers who threw me a rubber tube. I had no strength to climb into the boat so the rescuers had to drag me to the shore. That was water-skiing Sorcar style!"

"A deadly business

Work continues in unsafe mines

O^N 17 August around 11 a.m four men-Hansa, Prabhati, Kanni and Sonu were buried alive at the Bhati Bajrı Badarpur mines, in Delhi when an overhanging rock shelf collapsed and covered the victims, 15 feet under debris in one of the mining pits. The incident was not the first of its kind. Over the last decade over 30 people have been killed in similar incidents.

Work began in the Bhati mines about 25 years ago. At that time quart zite sand and stone chips that are used for construction were mined and the mines were mainly worked by Messis Kiran Pal and Company, a private company. However as work went on, the number of accidents increased. In 1970 the Director General of Mine Safety (DGMS) declared the mines were unsafe and issued prohibitory orders on mining. But mining continued in violation of the orders. Final ly, the DGMS took up the matter with the Delhi administration, through the Central Labour Ministry. In November 1975 the mines were handed over to the Delhi State Industrial Development Corporation (DSIDC), a public sector undertaking under the Delhi administration. An order was issued by the DGMS directing the DSIDC not to employ people for mining in the area (one km by three kms) till the mines were made safe and till the DGMS withdrew the prohibitory

But mining continued unabated. New pits came up in what came to be known as the New Bhati area But these were no more safe than the mines in the old area. In 1978 the DGMS issued another prohibitory order banning mining in the New Bhati area. But to no avail. The mines continued to be given on contract to new and old contractors. Trucks were piled with minerals which were sold directly to purchasers. And for every truck that left the mining area, the DSIDC got its fair share of levy. Not surprisingly, the DSIDC took no initiative in trying to change the system of working in the mines. In fact, apart from the inadequate number of supervisory staff, children were also employed in these unsafe quarries and accidents involving them were not uncommon. O. P Vohra, manager of the Bhati mines resigned three months after his appointment. He felt he could not stop the contractors from working in the mines where the basic safety amenities, like helmets and footwear were often lacking.
"The DSIDC has knowingly con-

travened the orders prohibiting mining in the area. One reason for this is the fact that for the DSIDC this meant money without having to do any work, and they made a fair amount of money from the Bhati mines. If the DSIDC really wanted the safety of the work-



Chameli whose husband and son died

ers they would have made sure that work was stopped or at least made unprofitable for the contractors", said an officer of the DGMS. Yet another officer of the Labour Ministry said. "The DSIDC cannot pass on the blame to the contractors or anyone else Under the Mines Act, in case of an accident the DSIDC should take the blame. It is their responsibility, even though contractors were working the mines. Besides, one should see to it that the families of the workers are paid the compensation (in case of death) according to the law".

But, Navin Khanna, the officiating

manager of the Bhati Bajri Badarpur mines says: "What can we do? We do not have any force to remove the contractors from the mines. We have filed several FIRs against the contractors, but the police have not taken any action. I have just got a seat without any powers. We go to inspect the mines and find that mining is carried on under dangerous conditions. We tell the contractors to stop work but they do not listen. We cannot throw them out physically So we complain to the police.

Some questions, however, remain unanswered. Why are the contractors

allowed to work even after the mines were declared unsafe? Why were permits issued to the contractors even after the DSIDC took over the mines? Why are trucks carrying material allowed to leave the premises of the mines when mining is prohibited? Does not the fact that the DSIDC levies a duty on all trucks leaving the premises imply that it has consented to illegal mining and is profiting from it? "We cannot stop the trucks from leaving the premises. Some of our security personnel at the checkpost say that the trucks would run them over if they tried to stop them. Actually the system is defective The DSIDC should take over the selling opera-tions", said Khanna.

Meanwhile the miners continue to suffer. "The mines are so unsafe that when we go in we do not even know if we will come out of it alive", says a worker. Shri Ram, another worker in the Bhati mines says: "There is no water, electricity or kerosene here" Chameli, whose husband and son died in the 17 August accident wept, "My husband and my two sons and I used to work in the mines. Together we col-lected Rs 35 to Rs 40 a day. What do we do now? After the accident, no mining is taking place in the mine we were working in. We are not getting any wages. We knew that the mines were not very safe, but we have to earn a living, so we work and get what we are paid" Incidentally, the DSIDC has been levying a sum of Re one per truck for the welfare of the workers. It was also granted a project loan of Rs 80 lakhs in 1976 for scientific and safe mining. But as the workers say, "Nothing has been done to better our lot"

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

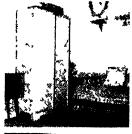
Help

FTER the recent violent dis-Aturbances in the North-Restern state of Tripura (Sunday 15 June 1980) the people of the small state need help. For hundreds of innocent people were brutally killed and lakhs of men, women and children had to leave their homes. As a result more that four lakh men, women and children sought refuge in temporary refugee camps. They need food, clothing medicine and financial help. A Tripura Relief Committee under the presidentship of Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali has been formed recently. Prominent leaders from different political Parties along with some well-known citizens have also joined the committee. This is not a political organisation and it has been formed to relieve the distressed sufferers of Tripura. All donations may be sent to the Tripura Relief Committee, C/O Dr A. V. Baliga Foundation, Link House, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi 110002.

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Handicapped

Can work, but denied a chance

THE tragedy occurred at Mana railway station. Madhay Mandal, a 22-year-sold commerce graduate, accidentally fell from a running train and lost his right hand and four fingers of his last hand. But Madhay was undetered by the calamity and continued his efforts to rehabilitate humself. He taught himself to hold the pen between his left stump and right hand and today he can write with considerable speed and clarity.

The Employment Exchange recommended him for a job with the State Bank of India Madhav successfully appeared in the oral as well as the written examination conducted by the bank for the post of clerk-cum-cashier and was selected from among 1,500 candidates under the "handicapped" quota Then came the medical ex amination. The Civil Surgeon, Raipur, declared Madhav medically unfit On Madhav's appeal the Medical Board opined that Madhav was fit for a clerical job but not for the work of a cashier If the State Bank specified that Madhav needed a fitness certifi cate for the job of a clerk, one could be issued immediately

Complications set in at this juncture. The State Bank felt that the Medical Board was trying to dictate terms and conditions. The job of the Board, they felt, was confined to the medical examination of Madhav alone and not to the question whether the applicant be given the post of a cashier or a clerk. Consequently, the Bank refused to make any specifications about the kind of work Madhav would have to do. The Board, on the other hand, refused to issue a certificate until the Bank makes itself clear on the issue. The appointment letter is yet to be sent to Madhav Meanwhile,



Madhav is meeting public leaders and high officials presenting his case and is getting little more than lip-service from them

M. V. KHER, Raipur

An IAS officer's slave

Locked up for weeks, starving

Comushe kisi prakar raksha keejiye Nahin to, main bhook sev mai jaoon ga "(please save me Otherwise I shall die of hunger) The words rang out from an upper floor window of the house of S. Satyanarayan Das IAS, deputy secretary in the Housing department of the government of Kerala Who was the captive and why was he there? The voice belonged to 15-year-old Harihar Mahanth, the Oriva servant working in Mr Das's Women's College Lane residence in Thycaud, Trivandrum, On 13 July, Mr Das had left for Kajargode in north Kerala where his wife was to have her baby He went only after he had locked up Harinath with "15 kg of rice, some

wheat and four or five potatoes" in a room in the attic. The meagre tation was consumed in no time and Hair was forced to starve till 7 August when Das returned

Neighbours and passers by, who had no previous knowledge of Harr's plight were shocked to see him call out desperately for tood from the barred window But there was little they could do Most of them teared that the IAS officer might lodge a complaint, on his return, that would incriminate them and thus refrained from either giving the poor boy food, or trying to rescue him The local police was equally passive They did not want to "take the risk" Besides, technically, they could

not act, for the boy had not lodged a written complaint

Finally, the local Press stepped in Malayala Manorama, a daily newspaper scooped the rare story of human unkindness and circulated it throughout the state. Meanwhile the agitated neighbours took their complaints to the Chief Secretary and higher police authoritities. News reached Das and he returned to Trivandrum. The poor boy was released before the eyes of an angry crowd that had gathered in front of the house. After a nervous namaste, Hari rushed to the police van that was waiting outside to escape further brutality at the hands of his master.

Hari, the eldest son of his parents was brought to Trivandrum by Das two years ago to work as his servant But his existence was a miserable one Apart from meagre rations, nonexistent wages and frequent beatings, he was also locked up on several occasions—specially when he wanted to go home Today he is a free man, no more a slave of his master, thanks to the local Press But one question still remains in a country where cruelty even to animals is punishable by law, can such inhuman treatment to a fellow human go unpunished? Or has the fact that the offender is an IAS officer put the upholders of law in a dilemma about the nature of punishment to be doled out?

G S. KARTHA, Trivandrum

Tall talker

COMEONE in Delhi is intending Dto break the world record for talking non-stop K. K. Toofan, chairman of the Congress for Democracy (Secular), has decided that he will talk continuously for 101 hous. The present record for talkingnonstop is 80 And what will Toofan (the meaning of the name being hurricane) talk on? He says he will talk about Pandit Nehru and Mrsa Indıra Gandhı. In case he run's short of matter, he will talk about the late Sanjay Gandhi. Toofan proposes to start his marathon speech on 10 September at 5 p.m. He has yet to fix the venue but feels that the best place would be either Connaught Place or the lawns of Delhi's Boat Club His ambitions plan is to go on speaking for four days, four nights and five hours—all through without food or drink. It may be recalled that Toofan came into the limelight once during the Janata rule by going on a fast against prohibition. He had finally broken his fast not with the traditional glass of orange juice but with a sip of whisky It is a pity that Toofan will not sip from the cup that cheers while he jabbers this time. Otherwise his speech would have been more fun

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

"Are these flannel sheets from New Great?"

"No, they're from Bye-Bye. Hey, your toes are cold!"



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Rumour capital of the world?

E know how rumours can affect the common people, for example during war or periods of communal tension But to get an idea of how the people at the top can be affected by them, one should come to the Indian capital right now The ruling elite is obviously more vulnerable to them

than anyone else

Delhi has always been a fertile playground for rumours Some peo ple say rumour was really king during the last Moghul days, however, even during the British ial rumour mongers did not have to starve They did brisk business dur ing Nehru's last days, Shastri's brief period of Prime Ministership and Mrs Gandhi's first spell in pow er The Janata 1aj could not change the character of Delhi, and even "straight talker" Morarji Desai could not squash a fraction of the rumours that used to tloat about But now, I am afraid, the sutput of this rumour industry has reached an all time high Though it has not affected public morale to any con siderable extent yet, it has certainly managed to depress a large part of the ruling elite. To shake the confidence of a senior Minister or a departmental secretary today, a rumour of this kind is more than enough 'Madam is not happy with him' or 'so and so (his arch rival) was seen pleading with RK Dha wan or Dhirendra Brahmachari de sperately' Within 24 hours of their birth, rumours reach all the important places in the capital-Central Hall of Parliament, different de partmental and state bhavans, the Indian and Fastern Newspapers Society building on Rafi Marg which houses Delhi offices of non Delhi newspapers and magazines, and all the big newspaper offices And, within 48 hours the target can be seen sweating even in his cool airconditioned office

The last time I was in Delhi (late August) I found a large number of Ministers and senior officers completely shaken Everyone was asking the same questions Would he be dropped? Would he be shifted to some other unimportant department? When would the Cabinet be reshuffled? Such fears tormented them I was told that even after Parliament had adjourned, most of the Ministers did not dare leave Delhi as they were apprehending a major Cabinet reshuffle towards the end of August. I found a senior Minister desperately fighting the rumour that,



By BARUN SENGUPTA

as the first step towards taking away the entire department from him, the Prime Minister had in structed him to transfer the charge of an important department of his Ministry to his Minister of State Delhi was agog with all types of stories about him how he was snub bed by the Prime Minister, how she told others that the particular Minister was worthless, how she had asked others to look after his job, and, even, how he would soon be shifted to a very minor berth

Another senior Minister's special assistant was seen explaining to "important people" that in spite of all the rumours his boss would continue in the same department because "only the other Day the PM has cleared his foreign tour 'A junior Minister was pestering an industrialist triend of his to ensure that he was not transferred from his important department, as was being rumoured

Now, why are all these rumours circulating? Why have they shaken even the top people? Why do even men who are at the helm of affairs feel so insecure? First, the style of functioning of the present govern ment is giving rise to such rumours Even after seven months the Cabinet has not been completed. So long as ad hocism continues in Ministry making and in the post ings of senior officers, rumours and rumour mongers will continue to thrive and men in position will continue to feel shaky

Second, politics has become a conspiratorial affair It would be very wrong to hold only Mrs Gandhi responsible for this That the non-Congress(I) leaders and even the Communists are also active patrons of conspiratorial politics was made abundantly clear in the 1977-79 period. So long as conspiratorial politics continues to hold sway, no

one can stop rumours

Third, middlemen are more ac tive than ever now The more we go for spot purchase of commodities in the international market, the more we opt for import of heavy machinery and arms, the more active these operators become Money is there to be picked up Both foreign and indigenous middlemen are very ac tive in Delhi today. The amount of commission involved in some of these deals is massive, sometimes running into crores of rupees. If a middleman earns Rs 5 crores on a deal then the sanctioning author ities can very easily get Rs 10 croies And mind you, this is quick money virtually without any in vestment When different parties bid for a job or contract, and when a large number of operators are in the field, conspiracy, intrigue and rumour are bound to take over completely Operators float rumours to outwit their opponents

Fourth, most of us are rumour mongers by nature-politicians, officials, journalists, all of us With out caring to verify anything, we pass on a rumour to the next available ear Rumours, specially the harmful ones, travel in this country even faster than supersonic jets. To give an example, the other day as soon as I entered the IENS building in Delhi a fellow journalist in formed me that according to some sources a young Congress(I) MP's house had been searched by the CBI recently I wanted to know who his source was He gave me the name of a senior special representative of a daily When I met that special representative I asked him for his source. He did not name anyone, but asserted that the source was not unreliable. On the same day two other persons—a spe cial representative of a major pap er in Delhi and a stockbroker from Bombay-asked me the same ques tion Have you heard that so and so's house was raided by the CBI? Both of them said their sources were reliable, but no one named any source By this time I almost started believing the story But luckily for me I met an old friend, a senior CBI official He told me he would let me know the truth The next day he informed me that it was a completely baseless story, which is supposed to have been first circu lated by a big tycoon who was once "very friendly" with this young leader-till Sanjay's death

How to combat this? I do not know But this much I know, that if a country's capital becomes a haven for rumours, if the Ministers and top offficials become shaky there cannot be any stable and effective government in that country howev er powerful its Prime Minister may

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Shilpi SG 2A/78

No refuge here?

VERY democratic and civilised state ought to give asylum to a victim of political persecution by a dictatorship. This is a good test of the sincerity of its own commitment to democratic values. The recent travails of the Somalian student, Hussein Moham med Isse, and the fate of some Iranian students in the past show how precarious is the state of the well recognised right of political asylum in the Indian legal system Isse had criticised his own govern ment just as the Iranian students had attacked the Shah But the government of India was so eager to placate these regimes that it threatened to deport the students to their respective countries

Article 14 of the Universal Dec laration of Human Rights says, "I veryone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." It goes on to add the following exception in precise terms "This right may not be in voked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from nonpolitical crimes or from acts con trary to the purposes and principles

of the United Nations'

Asylum, however, is of two kinds—territorial and diplomatic The former is universally accepted but there is no agreement in the international community on diplomatic asylum, that is, the right of a state to give asylum in its diplomatic mission to a politically persecuted citizen of the state in which the mission is situated. There is virtual unanimity, though, on the right of a state to give asylum on its own territory

Forgetting the asylum which the Indian mission in Kathmandu once gave to King Tribhuvan of Nepal, the government of India refused to recognise the right of diplomatic asylum a little over a decade ago On New Year's Day 1968, the Minis try of External Affairs circulated a note to all the diplomatic missions in New Delhi which stated quite categorically that India "does not recognise the right of such missions (those in India) to give asylum to any person or persons within their premises" The note declared that "the affording of asylum is not within the purposes of diplomatic assignment. The note peremptori ly laid down that it missions in India received requests for asylum "such requests should not be granted"

Unfortunately, international law on the point is in an uncertain state



By A. G. NOORANI

The World Court has frowned on diplomatic asylum but has ruled that there is no obligation on a mission to surrender the fugitive, either. It is a matter to be resolved by agreement between the two states, the host and the guest represented through its diplomatic mis

In regard to territorial asylum, there is a statute the Extradition Act, 1962, which was first invoked by the Soviet Union in the famous case of the Russian sailor Tarasov who was arrested in Calcutta on 28 November 1962 on a charge of theft. He alleged that the charge was false and was made only to secure his extradition to the Soviet Union against his will

The act envisages extradition in three distinct situations. One is on the basis of a treaty of extradition such as the ones India has concluded with Nepal and the USA Secondly, it can be invoked by a non treaty state provided that the government of India has by a notification ordered that the act (Chap ter III) will apply to it lastly a Commonwealth country with which

The recent travails of the Somalıan student. Hussein Mohammed Isse, and the fate of some Iranian students in the past show how precarious is the state of the well recognised right of political asylum in the Indian legal systém.

India has concluded extradition arrangements may seek extradition Except in regard to the last category, proof of the existence of a prima facie case is necessary

Section 31(a) of the act contains this overriding exception "A fugitive criminal shall not be surren dered or returned to a foreign State or Commonwealth country-(a) if the offence in respect of which hissurrender is sought is of a political character or if he proves to the satisfaction of the Magistrate or Court before whom he may be produced or of the Central Govern ment that the requisition or war cant for his surrender has, in fact, been made with a view to try or punish him for an offence of a political character "

Tarasov's case provides a good illustration of how the act works He was arrested on a charge of theft at the instance of the Russian authorities. India had no treaty of extradition with the Soviet Union So, talks began between repre sentatives of India and the Soviet Union On 5 January 1963 a noti fication under the act was made extending it to the USSR. Two days later, the USSR made a formal request for Tarasov's extradition larasov was tried before Mr N L Kakkai first class magistrate, New Delhi and acquitted on 29 March

There is always a heavy burden of proof on the fugitive. It is for him to prove that his extradition is being sought for an ulterior pur pose- a political purpose. The state seeking extradition is required to make out only a prima facie case of a commission of an offence

There is, however, an important requirement which helps the fugitive Section 31(c) of the act lays down that he shall not be surren dered 'unless provision is made by the law of the foreign State or Commonwealth country or in the extiadition treaty with the foreign State or extradition arrangement with the Commonwealth country, that the fugitive criminal shall not, until he has been restored or has had an opportunity of returning to India, be detained or tried in that State or country for any offence committed prior to his surrender or return, other than the extradition offence proved by the facts on which his surrender or return is based " Tarasov secured his free dom because there was no proof of such protection in Soviet law It is unlikely that laws of other totalitaman countries are different

JYOTIRMOY BOSU

Super sleuth of Indian politics

TARUN GANGULY meets a very different kind of MP

N the mid litties when Bombay had not yet replaced Calcutta as the commercial hub of the country, four young men used to work for a British firm on Clive Street in the centre of Calcutta's business district. One of the four was a burly young Bengali, who had spent the formative part of his youth in England where, thanks to the Indian Majlis, he had come into contact with the British Communist leader, Mr Harry Politt. The young Bengali, who was then a tea taster in a firm of tea.

producers and exporters had some moral qualms! He was not happy with the way export invoices were over or undervalued. So one day while his British friends were away for lunch he took our some tiles from an almirah in the office and had them photographed in a shabby studio off Clive Street with a box camera. That day, Jyotiimoy Bosu, the super sleuth in Indian politics was born

The photographs taken by the box camera created quite a sensation in Parliament Mr Bhupesh Gupta of the undivided CPI and Pandit Hridaynath



Kunziu (Congress) created a storm in the House, and the Indian public came to know for the first time how they were still being fleeced by the British, though the country had become free

Mi Bosu has come a long way since then. His very name now strikes terror in the hearts of the public sector moghuls. The ruling Party Ministers or MPs try desperately not to get on the wrong side of him. The raucous voluble unpretentious CPI(M) MP works round the clock to expose anyone he considers a wrongdoer. All this has in tact often gotten him into trouble even with the bosses of his own Party not to talk of the ruling Party. But then Mi Bosu does not seem to care very much for the sensibilities of either his own comrades in arms or others. Some call him an unavoidable nuisance, still others hint at his possible connections with foreign agencies' but a major ity of his countrymen know the MP from Diamond Harbour (West Bengal) as the man who keeps the government in Delhi always on its toes

There is nothing quiet or benien about him. Heavily built and of medium height with a nervous tick on his left upper cheek. Mr Bosu reminds one more of an arrogant boss in a private firm than an MP of the 'revolutionary' CPI(M). He never wears the traditional dhoti kurta of the average Left politician from Bengal Clad in functional trousers and bush shirt he gives the impression of a go getter (At home his favourite apparel is the lungi) Those who know him from the Sixties still talk of the stir he had created in 1967 by coming on his first day to Parliament quite unapologeti cally dressed in a well cut Saville Row suit. He says remembering that day "I still had those suits. But in these years as MP, Mr Bosu has become a legend. As far as Parliamentary politics is concerned he has many firsts to his credit he was the first to put 27 supplementaries to a question, first to expose Ministers and high ups in the government as a matter of routine. and the first person in Parliament to raise so many procedural objections

He can put up a case in the best of the Queen's English, fight with the Speaker and the entire Treasury ben ches on a legalistic matter, and at the same time take on voluble Congress(I) MPs. In him, both the orator and the street brawler coexist side by side Asked why he so often spoils the effect of excellent arguments by taking recourse to shouting, he dismissed the point with a wave of his hand, "Who cares for oratory?" That sums up the one man detective agency which still functions with absolute intellectual clarity at the not inconsiderable age of 60.

DOSU did not start life as a fiery Marxist A product of the Bengali bourgeoisie, he joined the Officers' Training Corps (OTC) in Bangalore during the Second World War in 1943, and became a lieutenant at the age of 22. His special interest was sabotage and counter-espionage. Reclining on a

sofa in his drawing room, in a reminiscent mood, he told this correspondent about a day in his earlier life. About how he had volunteered to join the 44th Indian Airborne Division, the commando regiment which had an average casualty of 40 per cent. About the training that took him to Chindwara in Madhya Pradesh (which is now, incidentally, Kamal Nath's constituency), and then Anand Parbat in Delhi, where during the Second World War days, the British had a territorial anti-aircraft brigade.

By 1951 he had become a captain in the Indian army and the next year he was seconded to a British sabotage training unit near London. Then came the big divide in his life. The swashbuckling commando met the general secretary of the British Communist Party, Harry Politt. The saboteur, by that time, was fed up with his job, he resigned Then he started his shortlived affair with the koi hai class He joined the British commercial establishment of Jardine Matheson and became one of their prized tea tasters Subsequently, he was transferred to a subsidiary of the company in Calcutta He continued to receive his salary in pounds sterling as well as the comforts guaranteed to a British officer Of course, there was also the annual fur-

Here is a man, who despite his hurly burly exterior, had quite early in his life come close to disillusionment He intercepted a letter, in which in the inimitable phraseology of the British 'old boy' network he was described as 'a pup' who had been sold to serve British interests By the end of the fifties he was no longer with the firm, and soon after, the Bosu we know started taking shape. In his own words, 'I wanted to stand on my own legs before joining politics wholeheartedly My grandfather had a piece of land near Ballygunge station (in Calcutta) where I built a boarding house Now my wife runs it and the income is sufficient for the family "His son is a doctorate from Jawaharlal Nehru University A younger brother has settled in Europe

With a beaming smile, he admits that his sartorial elegance created quite a stir in the Lok Sabha when he first appeared in his famed Saville Row suit He says, "Even Mrs Gandhi inquired who the man in the Englishcut suit was "He frankly asserts that there is no sense in presenting oneself in shabby dresses "Even the Chinese wear neatly-cut suits" The sartorial revolution he personified in Parliament was merely the surface Under the expert guidance of the late A K Gopalan, he was to cause severe seismic shocks in the House. In the Estimates Committee, he became a godfly. He did not approve of the support his Party gave to Mrs Gandhi in the late Sixties in the fight with the Congression, during V.V. Giri's presidential elections, the CPI(M) leader Mr Anandan Nambiar even runctioned as Mr Giri's election agent. But throughout his first tenure in the Lok Sabha, he

was shaping himself under the expert guidance of his guru, A.K. Gopalan Remembering A K Gopalan he said "I am yet to see a leader like him." The fifth Lok Sabha, in 1971 has been termed by some as the Lok Sabha which saw the flowering of Jyotirmoy Bosu All the four no-confidence motions against the government were brought by him At one time, the executive of the then Jana Sangh criticised its MPs for being overshadowed by him To start with, there was the famous Nagarwala Case Mr Bosu says, "I was offered an ambassadorship if I dropped the inquisition Not only that, I was even offered aberth in the Central Cabinet" He casually named two important Coneress leaders of those days who had brought him the offer After that was the Maruti Case and the Tulmohan Ram Case The Maharani of Jaipur named Mr Bosu "Tiger of Bengal" for his famous revelations in Parliament Despite opposition from the ruling Party, he became the chairman of the Public Accounts Committee in 1963 A secret circular followed from the Cabinet secretary to all departmental secretaries asking them to take all precautions so that they were not caught on the wrong foot by the new chairman They were also asked never to face the PAC unprepared

Asked to mention some of his best, successes, Mr Bosu lists the Rs 232 crore customs exemption to a Bombaybased multinational firm, the Rs 150 crore rag scandal; the Maruti case, the Rs 500 crore rural unemployment programme, and many others At 60, Mr Bosu has still some flamboyance left in him. He proudly says he detected a telex message from a foreign country to a high-up in Delhi about some payments in a foreign bank. His dramatic narrative style makes his exploits sound even more interesting But best of all, his conversation is remarkably free of Lettist jargon, particularly of the pompous variety

Another striking thing about him is the way he refers to some of his old antagonists. The late L.N. Misra of Tulmohan Ram Case fame is just "LN". In fact, he gives the impression of a knight lighting his adversaries according to the age-old rules of chivalry. If the shining armour is missing, then Mr. Bosu can easily create the atmosphere by nuances.

Has his life ever been in danger? "Oh, sure, I was advised to take pro tection I was asked to move with two bodyguards," says Mr Bosu His house has been burgled once, and he suspects that this was not simply an ordinary robbery. Yes, there could still be bugs in his office, and our entire conversation taped, he says. Then follows a derisive laugh which ends in guffaws.

But there are so many MPs, and how does he alone manage to reveal the most awful scandals? Jyotirmoy Bosu pauses for a moment Then the words come out in a torrent "Those who come to me know that I am fit to understand the subject and that I will

be able to deliver the goods on the floor of the House They know I will not sell them out They also know that they will be protected "Another pause follows He sits up straight on the sofa' and continues, "The Government of India has not been able to bust any of my sources." But then, he could be misled, I tell him. How does he confirm the truth of the information? "I will tell you an incident. It was winter Two people came to my office with their faces covered up in mufflers. They produced two photostat copies. Somehow their demeanour and style of talking did not tally with the language of the photostats I have a magnifying glass I checked the documents and found some overlappings I did not quartel with them. I simply told them to go elsewhere They went to Atal Behari Vajpayee and he believed them And do you know what happened? It was the famous Friends' Colony scandal Atal had to face a privilege issue in the House

"Take another case One night there was a trunk call The man identified himself over the phone as 'Pedro', it was a code word I used another code and the reply was correct. And that produced information for one of the

greatest scandals "

What are the fruits of your toils? "I have exposed the Nehru family more than anybody else I was responsible for the ouster from the Cabinet of men like DP Dhar and Raj Bahadur L.N. Mishra was saved since he died before the ouster D.P Dhar once told me, 'Why are you after my blood?' But I have to do my job " Where else does he get his material from? Mr Bosu smiles and says, "I get my material even from Congress Chief Ministers Nowadays the people come straight to me I have my own office to check out and verify things. I have a staff of four, most of whom have almost become my family members. I can pay them verylittle Neither the Parliament office nor my Party pays me anything for them "Mr Bosu has an excellent filing and indexing system in his offfice. In various filing cabinets, information is kept Ministrywise In the Commerce Ministry cabinet, for example, there are separate sections for jute and textiles. Any material on those subjects would automatically be filed in that sections. So he always has the required material at his fingertips

How does he reply to the charge from some quarters that he is a CIA agent? His bulky frame convulses with uncontrollable laughter. Recovering, he says, "I was the man to reveal the CIA plan behind the US project of genetic control of mosquitoes I revealed how the CIA in the garb of the project was collecting sensitive material from this country. It was I who attacked some of the multinationals so vehemently Why should they have me as an agent?" I ask him the final question, "What keeps you going?"
"You know, one psychiatrist examined me He says, I have a choleric brain. That is, I have a brain which cannot sit idle-it has to do something.

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LIVING

Playing cops and actors

About 150 amateur stage artistes of Chandigarh coverged on the local secretariat regently While half a dozen of them were called in by chief commissioner B S Sarao to submit their petition, the others could not resist the temptation of enacting a quick hauwa (fear) sequence before a crowd of sympathetic onlookers and a few police

men who were on duty The spectators seemed to be en joying the improvised show and no one really objected to the roadside perform ance But then came the climax a scene in which a few actors, impersonating policemen, swooped down on the players The cops on duty were swift to react, they arrested all the artistes for unlawful assembly

Importance of being a poacher

Goa's Chief Minister Pratap Singh Rane is a passionate conservationist. He has pledged himself to the res toration of forest wealth, for the express purpose of which "The Tree Authority" has been set up But politics has its problems, says Mario Cabral e Sa Not very long ago a forest guard tried to book a VIP for poaching in the Mollem game sanctuary But the VIP, a ruling Con gress (I) councillor, MLA and former mayor of Panaji, seems to have got the better of him The guard was allegedly assaulted, the case is being compounded

The art of politricking



Ashok Gehlot

Among the 500 plus members of the Lok Sabha, Ashok Gehlot (28) is perhaps the only magician Elected from the Jodhpur constituency in Rajasthan on a Congress(I) ticket, Ashok is the son of the late Babu Laxman Singh Gehlot who was also an illust rious magician cum politician in his days Magic of course is not Ashok's profession (he is actually an advocate), but it definitely is a passion with him Having learnt the art

from his father and having performed with the latter in India, Hong Kong and on the Tokyo TV circuits, Ashok is now an accomplished magi cian He is still as much in love with the art as he was even when chairman of the Jodhpur Municipality How far has manic contributed to his success in politics Pra kash Bhandari asked Ashok Gehlot 'Magic can't help anybody become a millionaire or win an election," he re plied "But it did help me in collecting people during the elections A large number of people turned out to hear me because of my magical back ground " And how did the people react to his presence on a political platform? "Peo ple thought that I had come to show some magic But instead of showing them magic I tried to educate them with the poli cies of Mrs Indira Gandhi Sometimes people insisted that I show them a few tricks And I did oblige them with a few handpicked items and they returned home quite happy Even now whenever I tour my constituency, particu larly the rural areas of Jodh pur, people insist on seeing a few rope tricks I go on amus ing them That helps me to maintain a friendly rapport with the people

Terrorfic magician



Madho Singh, the man who only a decade ago spread ter ror and misery in the Cham bal valley, is now a magician by profession. He no longer carries a reward of Rs 15 lakhs on his head, having sur rendered before the late Lok nayak Jayaprakash Narayan in 1972 Professionally he is not even Madho Singh any more, "Chambal Sorcar" (after the late jadusamrat P C Sorcar) is the name by which he is now known. The story of Madho 5 new life

is a fitting tribute to Jayapra kash Narayan, from an anti social dacoit to a public performer. Madho Singh has gone a long way in realising the Loknayak's dream of reinstating dacoits in our society. In fact Madho has gone a step fuither he has, in the last eight years, written several books in Hindi and a few stories and scripts for Hindi films as well He has also acted in three films, including Chambal Ka Daku which is slated for an early release

Rocky on the rocks



Nargis Dutt, MP, was lying in hospital recently after having accomplished the incredible feat of charging Satyajit Ray with "wrong depiction of In dia' (by virtue of the emph asis on poverty in his films) She was nursing an injury reports Ashish Rajadhyaksha, and was unavailable for com ment on the Bombay police's decision to remove all those giant posters of Rocky-a film produced by Naigis Dutt directed by her husband, Sunil Dutt, and stairing her son, Sunjay Dutt According

to police sources the posters were obscene Most of them (40) ft by 15 ft a piece) showed Tina Munim wearing a short diess and lying horizontally on a motorcycle while a scantily clad Sunjay Dutt was poised right above her sug gesting more than the cops were willing to accept So, in less than two weeks almost all the posters had been pul led down including the three extra large hoardings at Wor li. Mahalaxmi and Parel which had to be removed with the help of special equipment



HIRTY thousand feet above, a two-engined Airbus flies at ten miles a minute In the plane's altitude conditioned cabin, a trim young girl in elegant Indian Airlines outfit performs her duties. There is an air of calm efficiency about her as she moves up and down the luxuriously carpeted aisle Meanwhile two hundred and seventyeight passengers chat, read, doze or watch the snowy Himalayan peaks

It was in the USA, in the late Twenties, that passenger air transportation had just begun, though the main source of revenue was still air mail Flying was considered a hazardous way of travelling, and pilots and passengers both relied a lot on intuition There were, however, enough people eager to take the risk

Ford and Boeing made their debut in passenger air transport with trimotored ships, both all-metal cabin planes They flew according to specific schedules and could carry a dozen passengers. Though these aircraft marked a wonderful improvement in passenger service, the cabins were without insulation, causing temporary deafness among passengers. This necessitated the use of sign language on board the aircraft, and generous supplies of chewing gum.

Departure times those days were just something to give the passengers an idea of when they might leave. If the pilots arrived late or wanted to have a meal before the trip, the departure time was altered to suit their needs. As for the passengers, they just waited. However, the care of passengers on a flight became as important as knowledge of the wind-direction and weather With hours between each landing, dining services were a major problem and only the crudest of facilities were available at the improvised airports The luxury of a dining car on a train was missing here. The problem was temporarily solved by having the

co-pilot on the flight double as the head waiter! In addition to his duties in the cockpit, he was also responsible for serving box-lunches prepared at a restaurant before the flight took off. The menu was dull: sandwiches, apples—as they did not easily get spoilt—cookies and coffee poured into paper cups from a thermos. Among these and other things, the co-pilot had to attend to the airsick, and answer their anxious queries

Early in 1930, Ellen Church, a registered nurse and instructor at San Francisco Hospital first thought of the idea of having someone fly along with the passengers with the sole responsibility of caring for them. When she took her idea to the Boeing Air Transport Company, which later became part of the United Airlines, it was turned down. The authorities could not see the possibility of a woman being one of the flight crew. But Miss Church was determined as ever. She managed to convince an executive of

the Boeing company, Steve Stimpson, and with his help, other airline officials that her idea was worth trying She pointed out that women passengers numbered a few, and having women as air hostesses would encourage more women who were afraid of flying, to take to the air.

Eventually, Miss Church and seven others, all of them registered nurses, began flying for Boeing Air Transport on the route between Oakland, Califorma and Cheyenne, Wyoming on May 15, 1930 nearly 50 years ago Although attractive and fashionable in those days, compared with presentday outfits, their uniforms were ridiculously garish, they were green, consisting of a straight skirt and jacket, buttoned and striped A tiny airplane was pin-ned to each lapel The oversized tom o'shanters were pulled firmly down to cover most of the hair, and draped to one side A knee-length cape was worn, made of the same material as the suit but lined with contrasting material, as the collar. For shoes they wore oxfords tied with black laces. The stewardesses also carried gray smocks which were to be worn while serving meals on a flight

The decision in Ellen Church's favour stunned the other airlines at first. They considered the idea a sheer folly, and warned of the consequentes of a rough flight. But the girls proved to be efficient, able and rugged They became so popular that passengers even chose flights with the best hostes ses. In another year's time, 20 more nurses were employed. What had been started as an experiment soon became a global institution, with most of the world's airlines employing air hostes ses Today Air India alone has over 1.000 girls Indian Airlines, the largest domestic airline in Asia, has over 450 while American Airlines has over 5,000, Air France 3,500, Delta 4,500. Eastern 4,600, JAL 4,000, Lufthansa 3,000, Pan American 3,400, TWA 5,200, and United Airlines, the largest in the USA, 7,300 The 108 IATA airlines all over the world employed a total of 93,000 cabin attendants in 1978 Now, there is roughly one air hostess for every 15 passengers who fly.

Over the last ten years, women have earned a place of pride in the aviation industry Indian Airlines today boasts of its first woman pilot, Capt Durba Banerjee, an F21 commander, on her way to becoming a Boeing 737 pilot. The post of an airlines stewardess, however, continues to be the most popular as far as an aviation career is concerned.

In contrast to the exacting requirements a girl must meet to become an air hostess today, stewardesses in the early Thirties needed only an "R N" (Registered Nurse) after their names, enthusiasm for flying and good looks to get recruited. With the job proving more popular, specific requirements of age, height, weight and the like began to make appearances on application forms.



And not without reason An air hostess today is a thoroughly trained professional, an expert in public relations with a knowledge of aviation. Even after ministering to numerous passengers for five, six or even seven hours at a stretch, serving meals, talking, answering questions, and checking time, when the last passenger is on his way out, the air hostesses remain on board to complete last-minute reports.

For Anjana Sundaresan, who works on the Airbus, the fatigue is almost pleasant It is the feeling of a job well done Anjana remembers the recent Indian Airlines advertisement inviting applications for the post "If you are unmarried and between the age of 19 and 25 years, matriculate or equivalent, having normal vision without glasses and between 152 cms and 170 cms tall, with proportionate weight, you may be the girl to go places with Indian Airlines You should be an Indian citizen, be fluent in English and one or more Indian languages Total starting pay Rs 1,000/- per month (approx) after successful completion of training Post carries free transportation for duties, free concessional air passages, PF, gratuity and free medical facilities

Before her final selection, she was tested for personality rating, appearance, grooming, resourcefulness, competence, poise, enthusiasm She was measured, weighed, given a thorough physical examination by an airlines doctor, and finished these gruelling preliminaries with a lengthy intelligence test. She was then enrolled in the Delhi Cabin Crew flight school where she laboured for ten weeks at 15 different subjects She started with geography, learning by rote most of the world's air routes, was introduced to all types of airplanes and equipment, absorbed basic facts about meteorology, aerodynamics, communications, aviation medicine and a hundred other details At the end of her course, she sat for an examination that took hours to complete After passing this, she was called into conference with the instructors, and given the final check Ground training school followed, after which Miss Sundaresan was taken on a series of flights to acquaint her with on-the-job procedures and problems She was asked to take notes and inquire about anything that puzzled her. Finally, graduation day found her completely at ease, assured about her knowledge, eagerly awaiting her first flight.

No wonder Air India and Indian Airlines, along with JAL and Thai International Airways, set the highest standards for recruitment of air hostesses. Nowadays, they are even trained in human relations. That is why IA's air hostesses and stewards now take part in an ambitious study programme based on the teachings of Dr. Thomas Harris in I'm OK. You're OK. For an airline there is only one thing more satisfying than passengers, and that is satisfied passengers.

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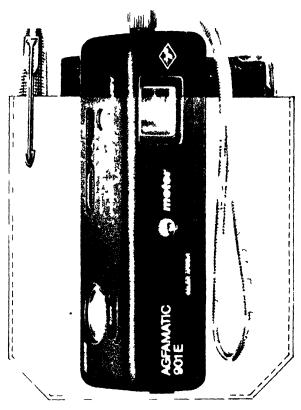
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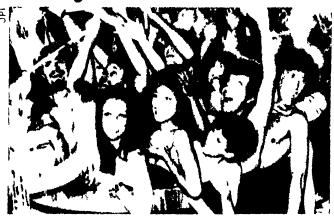


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THE WORLD

Crazy stuff

They packed and packed to find out how many could go into a lot tub. A call went out to the slimmest males and females, wishing to take part in being stuffed. This was also to promote the movie, Middle Age. Crazy. starring Bruce. Dern and Ann Margaret. So one by one they went into the tub. Together they made a formidable number of 49 beating the previous record of 42. But wait that was not all. The 49 had company and they found they had two ducks waiting. So they put in the ducks and what a crazy group they were!



Male-land China

Socialist countries promise equality to the sexes. But not so in China where women are paid less than their brothers. On the communes where points are given for work female workers receive tewer points than the male workers. And the officers give a reason for this women, they say are not as strong as men.

If the was not enough the People's Daily of Peking lashed out against women. An article in the daily said that the female influence almost always harmed the Party Madame Jians, Quig the widow of the Late Chai man Mao, the article mentioned was responsible for destroying the status of women.

Madame Jiang Qing (right) with in interpreter



Life in the EEC

There is after all, some truth in national stereotypes The EEC has just brought out a book about the living and dying habits of its members (Social Indicators for the European Community 1960 1978) and it provides some very interesting bits of in formation Like the French really do drink very heavily 10 times as many Lienchmen die of cirrhosis than Britons And Denmark lives up to its well known image now, a quarter of all children are born to parents who have not married The maximum num ber of strikes take place in

licland Britain and Italy The West Germans are the worst drivers in Europe more young people are killed in automobile accidents than anywhere else

There are some genuine surprises too For instance, till 1960, the legal age for marriage in Ireland was 14 for boys and 12 for girls today it is 16 for both And despite their reputations (rain dren ched Birtain and sunny Italy), in actual fact there is hardly any difference between the annual rainfall of Britain and Italy Of course, Italy is waimer

Foul!

'Kick Somoking and Score" said the 19ft hoarding tacing the Trinity Road stand for Aston Villa's home league soccer match of the season in Ingland The tirst antismoling advertisement in any British sportsground, its objective was obvious But the short and snappy slogan, had a double meaning 'I sup pose it can be seen as ambiguous, but we will not be abashed if anyone reads it as having the other message It does happen to be our view that the stench of cigarette smoking, the way it impregnates clothing and stains it leaves on hands and teeth is not calculated to appeal erotically to the opposite sex "

Disarming

The Pugwash Conference recently met in Breukelen Holland for its 39th confer ence There were about 125 scientists from 43 countries and they discussed, in camera, crises like the 'Euro missile crisis" and the weak nesse's of the Non Proliferation Treaty The Pug wash organisation has in the past laid the base for major East West agreements on the lest Ban treaties Meanwhile in Europe, NATO countries are trying to deploy Pershing Il intermediate range missiles and cruise missiles in direct retaliation to the Warsaw powers' deployment of \$\$20 missiles and Backtire bom bers. This is seen by the Pug. wash conference as a "most serious impediment for any future viable prospect of nuc lear arms control " Prospects of war will increase

That's beautiful

The broad smile—albeit an all too broad one—is that of Miss Ayesha Dutt The young lady is the most beautiful and officially the prettiest one in India Consequently she had been chosen to represent the country at the Young Miss International Contest 1980 recently held in Manila But the sweet smile and the beautiful face could get her nowhere Alas' beauty contest judges are so heartless Our very own Miss Dutt lost to Miss Hawai



Never bullied

His name was Manuel Be nitez But they called him El most Cordobes, the courageous matador of Spain He loved the bulls But more than them he loved the peo ple who came to see him fight Six years ago he had retired and settled down to a quiet life with his wife and four children, utilising the money he had so judiciously saved from the huge fees he com manded Named the Beatle of the Bullring, El Cordobes found out that he missed the applause of the people. So in he went again And this time he was mauled by a bull just as he was about to plunge his sword into the animal Now he is on the verge of death. But El Cordobes, philosophically, told his admirers "If the bull gets you, it is the will of God "

"IRISH KARNAD'S # polished performances 1d quier manner have cre ed a certain image of him nong his fans and well ishers. And he has not dis pointed them with his voice of a life partner Yes is to wed But whom? The ade people have long been quating him with people ke Hema or Leena But **nowing him**, one is suce that me of these dumb gals can atch either his interests or is IQ level. No not Protima **#di e**ither who did a mad bit around him once, re ember? The girl, Girish imits, is a doctor practising the United States whom he 45 k town for some years w He would have really sappointed his many fans if a had got hitched up to a

JOW that Reena Rov is back to Bombay after a ry indiscreet trip abroad, e hounds are after her! An 'dinary thing like Shatiu's arriage has been blown out proportions with the re urn of his former flame who now being painted in very agic colours. By the way, if ne wanted to stay away from ie heart breaking event, hy did she have to go broad? The heart breaks owever near or far one may e from the scene To add to 1e drama, it seems Shatru nade a quick dash to Reena 1-hiding "somewhere broad" and returned on the ight before his marriage to 'oonam To rub some salt or alm into Reena's wounded eart, is the question to reck n with Anyway, she is back nd now that the couple has aft on their honeymoon, teena is getting her share of he left over limelight

pical filmwali

WHEN Tom Alter, In glish born actor whose findi diction is perfect (hav ng been brought up here) nd whose acting talent is roven (did't Ray take him or his Shatrany?) has hardly een able to make any lasting mpression on our hard core ndustrywallas, can there be nuch hope for another Gora o make the scene here? The yoy in question in Kunal capoor, Shashi's handsome lder son who has just com leted his acting course in ondon and is looking for a areer in Bombay Being hashi's son might give him he opening one sometimes equires to get into the race lut ultimately, it is what you re, that matters Look what



happened to Ashok Kumai s son! I olks have even torgot ten that Aroop Kumar once tiaed to become a hero, way back in the Sixties and was last seen in a Rajneesh robe, assisting Basu Chatterji in some film

TINA MUNIM is being ac L cused of her 'ghastly voice ' and her boring mono tone, which bugs most co stars especially those who bank on her to make a hit film or two Tike I said, it is the first impression that counts Such 'co stars" (you know whom I mean) get shot into fame by the talent/luck aura of their leading lady (also making a new entry) and live their entire careers hopping between heroines who can or can't make their films click! One persistent fa ilure he can conveniently marry and thus get her out of his career's path. But what about the others? Foday it is fina baby whose awful voice and accent are being criti cised I ailier there was a Ranjeeta who was supposed to be "on drugs" and couldn't act. If only the aspiring stars" would learn to stand on then own teet and not try to blame others for their failures

THE latest import from the south, Rathi Agnihotii, is going to earn a big name in the years to come. And this time, I am not saying that she will replace. Hema, like I did





Pası may star Smita Patil Director Durai wanted Shoba to do the Hindi role too but the latter wasn't destined to do a Hindi film. Three years ago Balu Mahendra wanted Shoba to do the title role in the Hindi version of his Kokila but that didn't materialise either

Smita will be playing the other woman in director

Sridhar's untitled Hindi venture which has Shatrughan and Rajesh Khanna too.

ayapradha is the heroine

PASARI NARAYANA RAO, the successful director from the south, was very confident that Shabana *Azmi* would make his film Yeh Kaisa Insaaf a roaring hit But it has had only a mild run And its producer L. V Prasad is now hoping that his next film Ek Doojey Ke Liye starring Kamalahasan and Rathi Agnihotri will be a hit

SRIDEVI prefers Telegu films to Tamil ones. The reason is very simple. She gets more lolly in Hyderabad than in Madras and this

otherartistes Hydei abad producers aren't really all that generous but the movie business in Andhra seems tobe more lucrative than in Tamil Nadu So the remunerations there for the stars are naturally higher

WHATEVER happened to Padma Priya's sole Hindı assıgnment Tan se man door? It was launched four years ago with Amol Palekai as her hero Padma has ac quired a few spare tyres around her waist in recent times but that hasn't pre vented her from getting assignments in Karnataka She' acting with Anant Nag in a cople of films there

ILIP KUMAR has Dappeared in quite a few Hindi remakes of Tamil hits starring Sivaji Ganesan Among them are Aadmi, Gopi and the up-coming Shakti But Sivaji has one complaint. "Yusuf bhai is a very good friend I have offered so many of my roles to him: he liked some and

Deepa: Eager and bursting

used them in Hindi films but he let many good ones go... But Dilip has been working on only three to four films a year and not all of them could have been remakes of Tamil

SRIDEVI not only looked smart but came out with a convincing performance and Rainikant too was quite impressive but Johny, the eagerly awaited crime thriller, isn't creating much excitement at the box office. Its tame opening has given a minor jolt to Rajnikant.

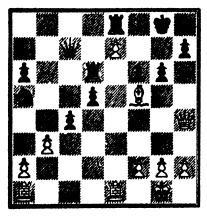
On the one hand the local gossip mill is predicting Rainikant's marriage to a collegian from Bangalore On the other hand a divorce is predicted for Kamalahasan. Says he: "It's not always amusing to read those fanciful stories specially when you have to go through 18 different versions of a non-existent incident...'

Bombay'sPremnath who seems to have an everlasting interest in godmen and gods should come down south and meet veteran character actress Pandari Bai She has a temple in her house and refuses to carry on any conversation without resorting to Mantiams like Hare Krishna or Hare Pandura; nga every so often Though she has starred in 300 films she savs she wanted togive up everything and take up Sanvasa but fate willed that she get married late in her life PIOUSJI



chess

Karpov (Black)



Kavalek (White) to move

Better the devil you know

Continuing on last week a theme of opening theory it is maybe worth noting that the top players tend for their opening repertoires to draw, not so much upon the vast amount of published material, but more upon their own personal experience in other words they tend to play something they have played before rather than something they have read about and it is not only interesting but maybe also enlightening to ask why Firstly, of course, one always feels much more secure playing something one has played, before Even if your game seems to be falling apart at the seams you can always reassure yourself with Well" this position was perfectly OK the last time I reached it which is not always the sentiment expressed if the roof falls in while following somebody elses analysis Which brings me to the second point Published analysis is not universally trusted it has not been unknown for grand master X to claim that position Y is perfectly playable for Black and to spend the next few years picking up points playing the white side apart from which it is easy to make genuine mistakes. In tournaments following the World Championship match in Baguio it was therefore amusing to see Karpov adopting some of the openings which Korchnoihad used against him. There is no love lost between the two and it is presumably for this very reason that Karpov trusts his opponent to have played the best moves against him.

I give an example taken from Karpov's first major tournament after Baguio in which he adopts for the first time in his life Korchnol's favourite Open Defence to the Ruy Lopez. The World Champlon's pragmatism reminds me of that of a Roman general who after coming face to face with Hannibal decides it is time he learnt how to ride an elephant.

White L Kavalek Black A Karpov

White L Kavalek Black A Karpov Montreal 1979 Ruy Lopez Open Defence 1, P.—Kd, P.—Kd, 2, M.—KB3, N.—QB3, 3 B.—N5, P.—QR3, 4, B.—R4, N.—B3, 5, O.—O, N.x.P; 6, P.—QA4, P.—QN4, 7, B.—N3, P.—Q4, P.—XP, B.—K2, 10, R.—Q1, O.—O; 11 P.—B4, NPxP, 12 B.x.P, B.—QB4, Korchnol a speciality More normal is 12

Q-Q2
13 B-K3, BxB, 14. QxB, Q-N1, The point of the idea Black gains a tempo to break the pin on the Q file for if 15 B x QP B x B 16 R x B then 16 QxP 15. B-N3, N-R4 16 QN-Q2, Q-R2; 17 N-Q4, N x N, 18. Qx N, Q-N3, 19. B-B2, P-B4; 20. N-B5, BxN, 21. BxB, QR-Q1; 22.

P—ONS, KR—K1; 23. R—K1, P—8517 24. Q—NS1 Q—S2; 25. P—K6, P—831 36. Q—R4, P—N3, 27. P—K71 An ingenious thrust H27 R×P then 28 Q×KBPR×R+29 R×R P×B 30 R—K7 and wins 27 R—Q31 The only defence

27 R-Q3! The only defence DIAGRAM
28, Q-N3?! Here 28 R-K6! was very strong for if 28 P x B? 29 Q-N3+ or 28 R x P

for if 28 PxB? 29 Q-N3+ or 28 RxP 29 Qx KBP winning 28... RxP; 29. 8xP; The best chance to keep the attack going else the KP would be lost for nothing 29... PxB; 30. QxP+K-B1; 31 Q-R6+ R-N2; 32. R-K3, P-B4; 33. Q-R8+ R-N1; 34. Q-K5, Q-Q2; 35. R-K83, G-K3! 36. RxP+K-K2, 37. Q-84, N-83; 39. PxP, PxP; 39. R-QN1, R-QN1; 40. R-QB1, N-QS141 R-K5 and White resigned because of 41 N-K7+ 42 RxN QxR and White soon runs out of checks 43 Q-N5+ K-Q2 44

MICHAEL STEAN

Q-N7+ K-B3

bridge

THIS deal from a match between India and Australia in the Far East Championship acquired the title of the Great Indian Cross-ruff One side played in Five Spades the other in Six Spades

The Australians played from the North side in Five Spades The declarer started to draw trumps tried to recover with a club finesse and somehow finished three

The Indian South played in Six Spades and West led ♦ 7 through dummy s suit Even if diamonds are 4.3 and the club finesse is right to draw trumps is unlikely to bring in twelve tricks. Since in any case he would need a diamond break. South embarked on a crossruff. He began with a club to the Ace and a club ruff, then cashed King and Queen of diamonds discarding two hearts. After two heart ruffs and one more club ruff, the position was

Now the Queen of clubs left West impotently clutching his four trumps. He ruffed low and was overruffed. The crossfire continued with a diamond ruffed by the Ace and a club promoting a trick for a Q. The writer in Australian Bridge noted that

The writer in Australian Bridge noted that a trump lead would have served the defence no better—South can execute the same crossruff But the King of spades? I am not so sure that the contract can be made after that lead if he ruffs two clubs in dummy and two hearts in hand declarer will lose two tricks to Wests & 10.54

TERENCE REESE

stamps



THE FIRST British postage stamps with a face value as high as 10s (50p) were issued in 1878. The Post Office intended them mainly for internal accounting purposes when postmasters were returning the dockets representing the charges they had collected on unpaid latters. The stamps were also useful for heavy letters going to the colonies at 8d per half oz. At first the stamps were printed on paper with a Maltese Cross watermark but after 1883 the paper was watermarked with an anchor in mint condition these 10s stamps are now extremely rare and this anchorwatermarked example realised £27,000 at a recent Sotheby's auction in the same sale one of the seriier 10e stamps with the Maltese Cross watermark realised only £1,300 but this low figure was due to its having been partially re-perforated at some stage to improve its appearance.

C. W. HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- 1 What was the ship Bounty which sailed from England in 1787 supposed to do?
- 2 What is logorrhea?
- 3 What is pistology?
- 4 In film technology, what is an answer print?
- In golf, what is a hazard?
- 6 In literary criticism, what is puffery?
- 7 What is Twi-Fante?
- 8 is A History of the American Film a book of history?

Africe Ano, it is a play by Christopher Dureng

Works

A principal language of Western

6 The kind of criticism which is the product of literary cliques Authors belonging to such cliques laud each other s

for subsequent prints
5 Any bunker or water hazard

beliefs

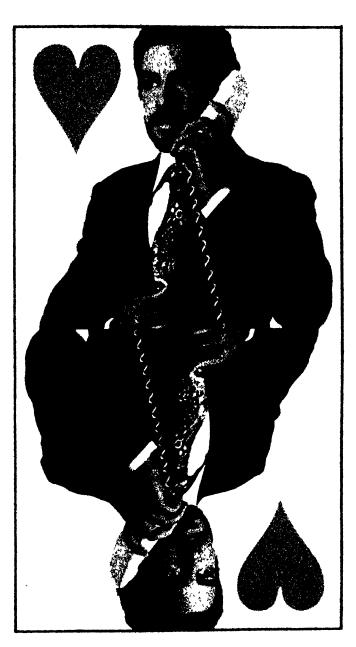
4 It is the first combined print of a colour film produced by a laboratory for the acceptance of the producer, which when approved becomes the standard

Indees It is an incoherent rush of words and a symptom of mental disorder The science of faith or religious

. The Bounty was to transfer live breadfult trees from Tahiti to the west

VHSMEHS

K





AMERICANG SUPERIORS



Shri Ambica Mills this india



SHAHABAD A rare case of a dead wom in disowned in the other world has come to light here. The woman who belongs to Chittaguppa in Humnabad taluk's as declared dead by a doctor Preparations were made immediately for the lar journey and final respects were put to the deputed soul When her eldest son approached the body for making traditional salutation, the women started tirring In a few seconds she got up as it from slumber looked around in lasked what is all this the first, priestly ho was nearby explicitly all the old soman admit to that he he he he had a But she was had diskipene being there was no room either in hear nor in hell for ha the other weell too is over cronded it on 10 by the old woman's tale The Indian L press (M. R. Suresh ban, alone)

ROHIAK Two constables of Haryana police fell unconscious during the Independence Day celebrations here on August 15 when the Minister who unturied the national flag spoke for too long With the scorching sun above and rain water under the feet the policemen could not bear the statistical and development analysis given out by the Minister The public hooted the Minister thrice and the officers yawned An irritated tive year old boy asked his father a senior officer "Why don't you ask that man to end his lecture" But the Minister continued with his speech for over an hour—The Indian Express (Raju Ranjan Sahay Jorhat)

I ARIDABAD Assad Tauqin, who passed himself off as a DIG (CBI) was affected on August 15 by a police party headed by Mr Alok Joshi, assistant inspector of police, Faridabad Assad Tauqin has been living here for the last 10 months under the assumed name of F. Robinson Tauqin has allegedly che at 1d a number of people and had collected more than a lakh of rupees. He used to gain the confidence of retired army officers and security personnel

and promise them revolvers and pistols from the government stock of confiscated aims. He took advance money from them for making the purchases But the "DIG' vanished one day causing worry to all those who had advanced money. During police investigations it was revealed that F. Robinson was in fact Assad Tauqin, a dismissed police constable of the MP police, and had cheated many persons in MP, UP and Delhi. In Gwalior, his native town, he is known as 'Naqli SP"—The Tribune (Rajiv Khosla, Chandigarh)

SHAHABAD Bites of death and not boon for a baby-the namesake couple could get from Nagendra on the auspi cious day of the king cobra in Sedam On the fateful Nagapanchami day, the barren housewife took her turn to worship at the hallowed snakepit- all for a baby Instead of touching grace for new life", all that Nagamma got was a grave sting to end her life. As if biting the luckless lady was not enough, Nagendra hissed out at the husband who rushed to rescue his better, but now, blue half. Not seemingly brooking the unceremonious interference by Nagamma, the deadly cobra buried his fangs in the left hand of his human namesake thus (ii) religiously uniting the couple even in death on the (in) auspicious day The Indian Express (R Gopal Krishna Chintamani)

BOMBAY Believe it or not God Vitho ba of Pandharpur and his consort Rakhumai have a ration card on which rations are drawn regularly. Mrs Shalim Patil, Minister for Revenue, disclosed this during her reply to the debate on her department's demands for grants in the Assembly She said this in the context of raising the revenue depart ment's annual grant to the Pandharpur temple, from Rs 3,000 to Rs 10,000 She said she was aware that even Rs 10,000 was not sufficient for the Pujas "but then I would like to tell the honourable members that gods have a ration card"-The Times of India (Hans Kumai Bhatia, New Delhi)

NEW DLLHI For more than eight hours a cow disrupted traffic at a busy round about near the Shakti Nagar railway crossing after a bus knocked down her calf, killing it She would not let anyone go near the carcass and made some wild charges, keeping the large crowd that collected a safe distance away It was only after dark that the Municipal Corporation's men were able to remove the carcass But even then the cow continued to maintain her vigil at the site of the accident A day later her owner came and persuaded her to accompany him home—The Statesman (Rajinder Singh, New Delhi)

THE people of the country trusted only the Nehru family and none else Only Mr Rajiv Gandhi could fill the vacuum created by the death of Mr Sanjay Gandhi—Bha jan Lal, Haryana Chief Minister

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU was one of history's greats, a builder of institutions, not founder of a royal line—Nayantara Sahgal in The Indian Express

I FHINK my mother is quite stion g And I honestly feel that she will do a better job on her own—Rajzy Gandhi quoted in New Delhi

HF (Rajiv Gandhi) looks like a gentleman—Atal Behari Vajpayee interviewed in Debonau

NOT being a Minister does not mean that there is an eclipse, especially in a democracy—Jagjivan Ram interviewed in Weekend Review

THE opposition Parties are trying to create a 1975 type situation—C M Stephen

SHFIKH ABDULLAH was more than right when he said that India did not need Muslim fundamental ism—Balasaheb Deoras, RSS chief

ON OCCASIONS like Independence Day, the President's mouth cannot be shut, not even by the Prime Minister— Ranajit Roy in Business Standard

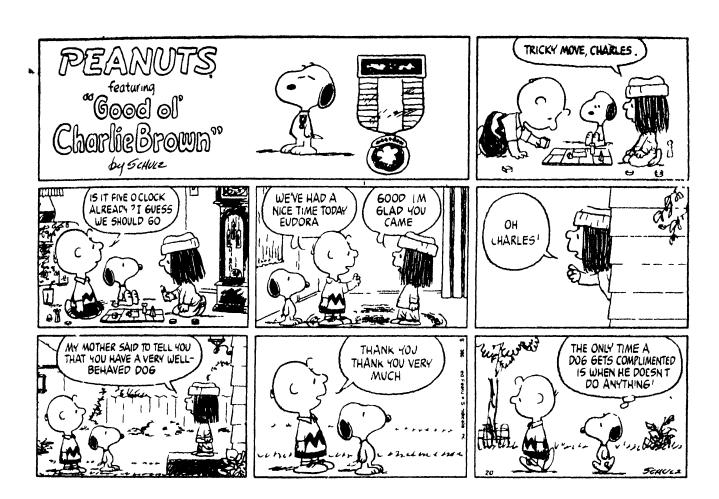
IN A new resettlement area (in India) the usual pattern is that the Hindu quarter will get running water, electricity, sanitation The adjoining Muslim sector will often go without—Peter Niesewand in The Guardian

MARX'S irresistable force, the working class, has collided with Lenin's immovable object, the Communist Party (in Poland)—The Economist

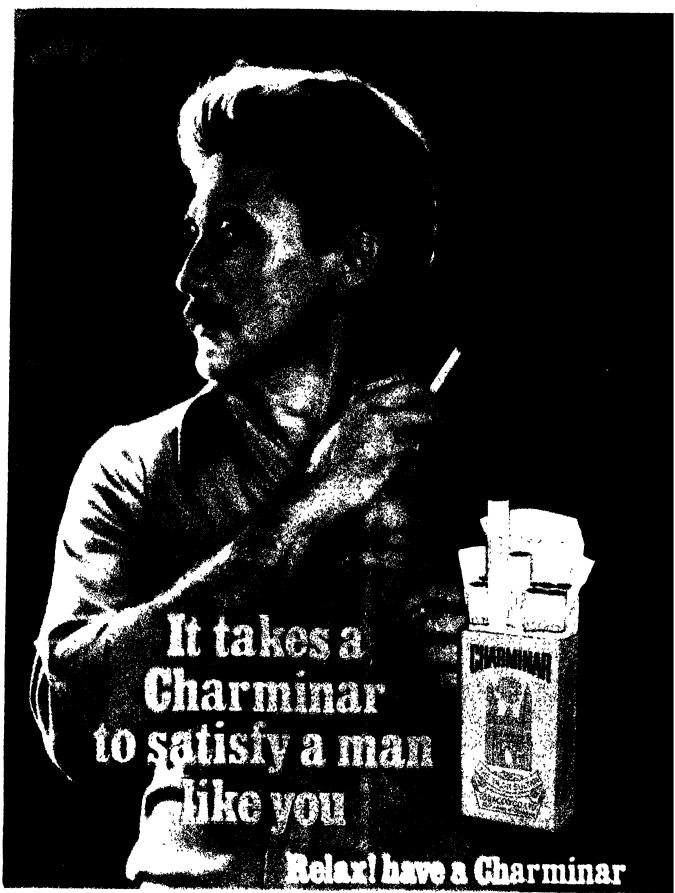
I AM tried of screwing around— Senator Edward Kennedy

THERE is only one inconvenience—it (the operation) means a permanent erection, but none of the patients treated considered this a disadvantage—An Israeli doctor who claims to have found a cure for impotent men

I KNOW I've got sexy eyes and easily attract men Till three years ago I was doing it all the time—Moushum; Chatterji quoted in Filmfare







STATUTORY WARNING CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH

Re.1* for 10
• Max Price Subject to Local Taxes

Beginaling September 14
This week the Sun and Jupiter are in Leo, Mercury and Saturn are in Virgo, Mars and Uranus are in Libra, Neptune alone is in Scorpio, Kethu alone is in Capricorn, Venus and Rahu are in Cancer. The Moon will be moving through Scorpio and Sagittanus from Libra.



ARIES (March 21—April 20)
Your business will make steady progress and a relative will prove most helpful to you But, at the same

time, you are advised to conserve your energies and resources and to guard against deception. Love and domestic affairs should bring you happiness. There will be much social activity this week and, as a result, you may make a new friend Elders will contribute to your progress. You are advised to make any changes in plans if necessary. Good dates: 14, 15, 17 and 19 Lucky numbers: 3, 5 and 6 Favourable direction. North



TAURUS (April 21—May 22) You will gain this week through your elders Womenfolk, in particular, will be of great help to you

Take care of your health and that of your family members. Let your intuition be your guide and follow your hunches which will prove reliable especially in romance. You are advised to maintain good terms with your employers and those in authority. Apart from your health or that of your family members, this week is blessed with favouring influences. Good dates: 16, 19 and 20 Lucky numbers.

4, 7 and 9 Favourable direction: North



GEMINI (May 23—June 21)
Be careful of displeasing
your employers or those in
authority You are further
advised to pay special

attention to business or service details Take the advice of elders. An elder person might cause you some trouble unless you take care and exercise tact in your dealings. Prepare yourself for reversals, thats and difficulties in your personal affairs. Defer changes, new ventures and travel Geed dates: 16, 17 and 19 Lucky members: 2, 4 and 8 Favourable direction: North-west



CANCER (June 22—July 22) A new friendship may result in a happy romance this week An old friendship will also be strengthened

You will make steady progress in your work. There may be a happy event this week. You are threatened by ill-health but the week, on the whole, is good for you. Try and expedite business, legal, property and domestic matters. Be careful of sudden disreputation. You might have to undertake a short journey Good dates: 14, 15, 16 and 19. Lucky numbers: 3, 8 and 9. Favourable direction: West.



LEO (July 23—August 22)
Your stellar portents advise
you to conserve your resources and check extravagant tendencies Keep

on good terms with your employers and superiors. Exercise extra care in dealing with elders and property matters. Prospects are excellent this week. Promotion and improved conditions will follow. You will achieve success as a result of clever hunches and daring enterprise. You might incur some medical expenses. Good dates. 15, 17, 19 and 20 Lucky numbers: 1, 2 and 3. Favourable directions. South and West.



VIRGO (August 23—September 22) Apart from the possibility of one sharp reversal, your affairs will generally forge ahead A new

friendship will provide you with great encouragement but the prospect for romance is not favourable just yet. You are advised to guard against any misunderstanding with your business partner. You will have to postpone plans for travel. Take care of your health Push all your affairs to the utmost without hesitation. Good dates. 17, 19 and 20. Lucky numbers. 6, 8 and 9. Favourable direction: East



LiBRA (September 23—October 22) Your stellar portents are somewhat conflicting But you will overcome your difficulties and unexpected

reversals with the help of friends. Keep a close eye on your finances, avoid property dealings, foreign investments and speculation. Do not shift your residence this week. A splendid opportunity will come your way towards the end of this week. Take every possible advantage of it. Guard against ill-health. Good dates: 17, 18 and 20. Lucty numbers: 2, 4 and 7. Favourable direction. North-west.



SCORPIO (October 23— November 21) This is a very auspicious week for you, particularly with reference to your business plans. Pay

heed to advice and friendship. A happy romance will develop by the end of this week. You might have to undertake a journey quite unexpectedly. You are advised not to strain yourself physically. Secret matters are expected to progress well and young people and intellectuals should contribute to your happiness. You are advised against making changes. Geed dates: 19 and 20. Listly numbers: 4 and 9 Favourable direction: South



SAGITTARIUS (November 22—December 22) Your prospects this week are reasonably good But progress will hardly be spec-

tacular You are advised to check extra vagant tendencies A sudden change of residence or job will be in your interests Your health will improve considerably Be careful in your dealings with partners and members of the opposite sex Good dates 15, 17, 19 and 20 Lucky numbers 1, 3 and 6 Favourable direction: West



CAPRICORN (December 23— January 20) You will benefit this week by expected as well as unexpected means Elders and womenfolk will

contribute to your good fortune and pleasure. An unexpected journey will be followed by financial benefits and happier conditions. Avoid taking hasty decisions and do not make drastic changes in your plans to accommodate unexpected events. Look after your health which might pose problems this week. It is not a favourable time for courtship and marriage. Good dates. 14. 15, 16 and 18. Lucky numbers. 1, 10 and 11. Favourable direction.



AQUARIUS (January 21— February 19) This week would not have proceeded too far before you manage to score success in your

business or financial affairs. But you are advised to exercise care and fact in property matters. Be content, in some cases, to mark time and do not antago nise your employers or those in authority. Beware of over impulsiveness. Care is advised also in correspondence and in dealings with members of the opposite sex **Good dates** 17 and 19 **Lucky numbers** 3, 6 and 9 **Favourable direction** South



PISCES (February 20—March 20) You will make steady progress in all your undertakings this week. A female relative may cause you

some anxiety but you will overcome this by some secret help. Be careful of elders as they will tend to retard any progress made by you. Keep an eye on your expenses. If you face any difficulties on your professional or domestic front do not be deterred **Good dates**. 14 and 20 Lucky numbers: 4, 7 and 11 Favourable direction: North.

M. B. RAMAN

COMICS

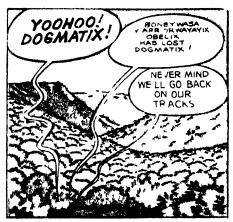




by GOSCINNY and UDERZO



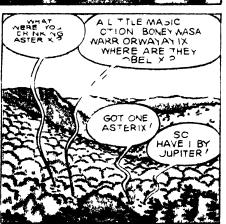








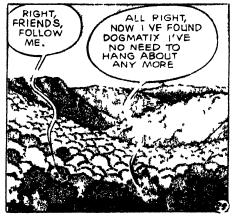




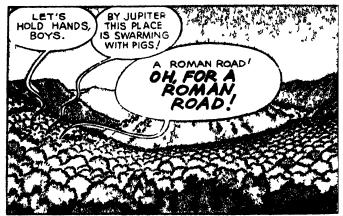
























RAJIV'S FRIEND, ABBAS

The nation's biggest man hunt is producing results people close to Mr Rajiv Gandhi are being located Heading the batting order is the dapper Abbas Ah Baig of the fero clous square drive fame. The Ox tord educated Baig has also the distinction of twin maidens a century in maiden appearance and an after century kiss from an unknown maiden smack on the cheeks and in full view of the gallery.

Predictably, the first to sense Baig's importance was the redoubt able Siddhartha Shankar Ray, the former Chief Minister of West Ben gal and once Mrs Gandhi's close confidant Ray, whose political for tunes slumped since he treaded on the toes of Rajiv's younger brother, is wiser after the event. He now seeks a belated second innings and, therefore, a re-entry to Mrs Gandhi's Congress through his enemy's brother academically, a possibility that escaped even the attention of both Chanakya and Machiavelli Other guests who often come to dinner include names that would send shivers down the LICCE spine Sample Birla, Gociika and Modi. Vivek Bharatram. him self a close friend of Rany is also a frequent caller. Baig whose innings in cricket did not live up to the early promise is New Delhi region. al manager for Hindustan Lerodo

HIGH FLIER

DETAILS are now available about the aerobatics of the Union Hous ing Minister, Prakash Chand Sethi, whose love for government aircraft is well known (Sunday 18 May) The Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha was informed about Mr Sethi's trips by state government aircraft recently and it appears that during the re cent spell of President's rule in the state, Mr Sethi used the planes and helicopters almost every other day Besides Delhi, he flew to far off places like Bombay, Srinagar, Pune, Chandigarh and Jaipur, which are all served by convenient Indian Airlines flights On 19 April alone, Mr Sethi flew from Nagpur to Delhi, Delhi to Bhopal, back to Delhi and again on to Bhopal Two days later, on 21 April, he flew from Bhopal to Delhi, Delhi to Jaipur, Jaipur to Bhopal, Bhopal to Delhi and was back in Bhopal for the night In contrast V C Shukla made only five trips by state an craft in the same period



BOTH MISS THE BUS

ON 11 March Apt Panja was made the president of the West Bengal PCC(1) But the ad hoc executive committee list was not released. It was released five months later on 20 August. The reason for this delay a dispute between Union Ener gy Minister A B A Ghani Khan Choudhury and Commerce Minis ter Pranab Mukherjee. It was de cided that there would be four general secretaries. But when Sanjay Gandhi was alive, Ghani Khan Choudhury wanted Subrata Mukherjee as a general secretary, but Pranab Mukherjee was opposed to this. He wanted Somen Mitta as a general secretary and not Subrata Sanjay Gandhi howev er did not want either of them to be general secretaries Both Subrata and Somen made frequent trips to Delhi to plead their respective cases. The scene, however, changed once Sanjay died Mrs Gandhi then took charge of compiling the list Ghani Khan Choudhury new de cided to back Somen Mitra as a general secretary and Pranab Mukherjee decided to back Subrata Mikherjee. When the list was announced, however, neither of the two were made general secretary. It was clear from the list that the people Sanjay Gandhi wanted were made members. For example, a lot of notable names were missing trom the list D P Chattopadhyaya, Ashok Sen, Lakshmi Kanta Bose, Barid Baran Das and Suniti Chat toraj. While a number of people who had not expected to become executive members became so Of course, the people who lost the most (including money) were Subrata Mukherjee and Somen Mitra both had spent a lot of money flying in frequently to Delhi

RANI'S SUICIDE

THE suicide of a 20-year-old girl in a south Delhi government colony, Sarojini Nagar, has possibly jeopardised the political careers of some top young members of the Congress(1), including some MPs. The girl, Rani, had been seen in the com pany of these young politicians for the past few months, and docu ments allegedly left behind by her had a few things to say about these men But as such a scandal could have shaken the ruling Party, the police, according to an allegation made by Mr B B Gupta, moved in and destroyed all the incriminating evidence Mr Gupta is the secretary of the local residents' association. and claims that he has seen the police remove a red diary and a scratch pad besides a suicide note, from the house where the suicide took place

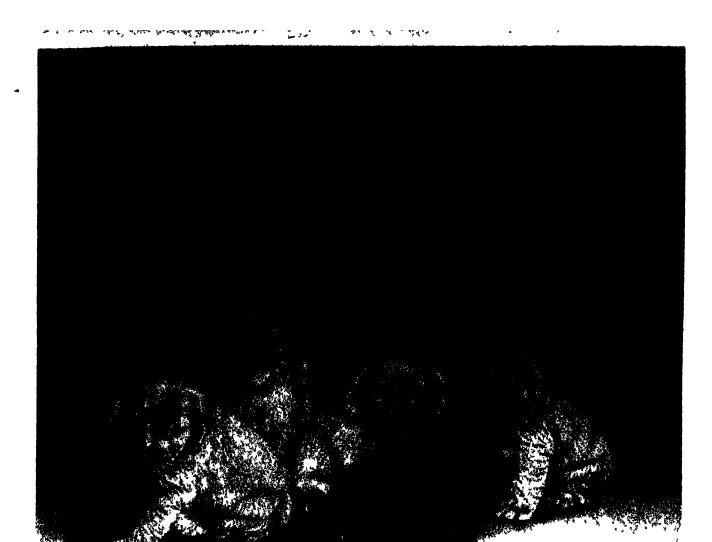
Additional commissioner M B Kaushal, who heads the south Delhi police has told the Press that the suicide was "a routine one (sic) in which no foul play was suspected" But the version of B B Gupta, who claims to have been present at Rani's house throughout, right at ter the suicide till the body was removed, has left some doubts about the veracity of the police state ment. Rani lived in Delhi with her sister, who too was acquainted with

HONEST MINISTER

the young politicians

IANAKI Ballabh Patnaik, the pre sent Chief Minister of Orissa, has created a very good impression among the staff of the Indian Tour ism Development Corporation's hotels division. It is a practice in the Union Tourism and Civil Avia tion Ministry to provide the Cabinet Minister in charge and his junior Ministers with furniture, car pets, etc., from Ashok Hotel Nor mally these are never returned and are ultimately written off But in the case of J B Patnaik, all the belongings of Ashok Hotel were not only returned, but came back in good condition too But the Ashok Hotel staff had a different experience with Mr Patnaik's deputy, Mr Kartik Oraon, who too was recently shifted from the Tourism Ministry When they went to remove their goods from Mr Oraon's residence, they were shooed away and reminded that even though Mr Oraon was not in the Tourism Ministry any longer, he was still a Minister,

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN



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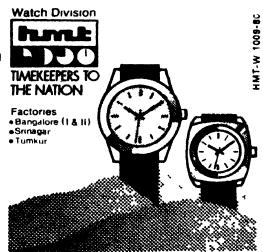
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And the world is asking for more!

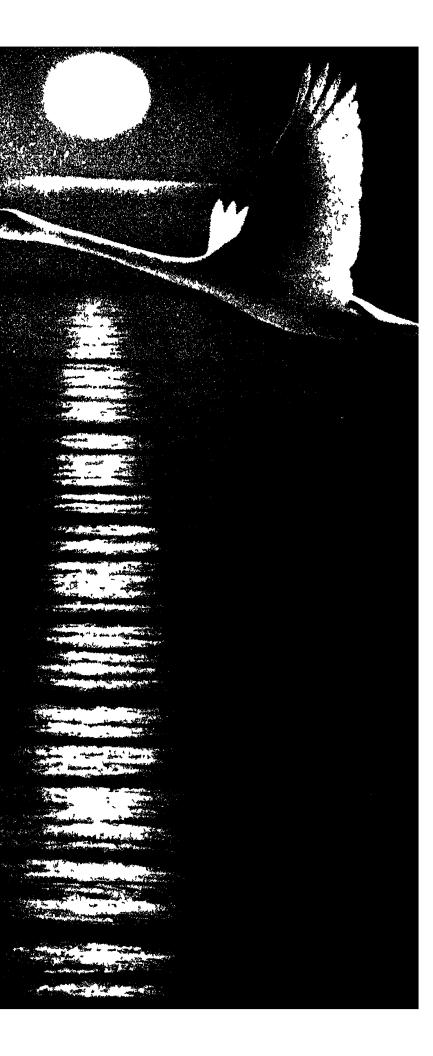
So, if HMT watches work herd, it's because HMT worked hard for them For 20 long years



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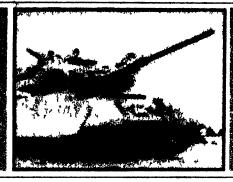
20 Swan Mills Ltd



14 SEPTEMBER 1996 AM ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION Ro 1

SUN DAY

Tanks, spare parts



Where do they go?

Freedom of the Press



does not mean the dictator-ship of the editor

K. K. Birla, business magnate and owner of Hindustan Times, talks to M.J. Akbar on how he runs his paper and what he feels about the economy and the government.

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SUNDAY VOLUME 8 ISSUE 10 RUPEE ONE AN ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION

September 14, 1980



What does it mean to be one of India's leading newspaperowners and industrialists? How does one decide one's relations with workers' unions, editors and the government? Where do priorities clash? Why does one make, and what does one hope to recover from political investments---donations to Parties? K K BIRLA answers a battery of questions from M J AKBAR Page 12

Are -Centurion tanks and spares being sold to "undesirable' parties and that too at ridiculously low prices? Ninety tanks sold during the Janata regime eventually landed. up in South Africa, tank spares have recently been sold again to the same armsdealer Sunday investigates the current controversy, and the history of the Public Accounts Committee's strictures on the Defence Ministry



There are three lakh Pakistanis living a miserable life in Bangladesh refugee camps. Their only ambition since 1972 is to go back to Pakistan but their efforts to date have failed. They are neglected by Bangladesh and the Pakistani government refuses to recognise them as their citizens.

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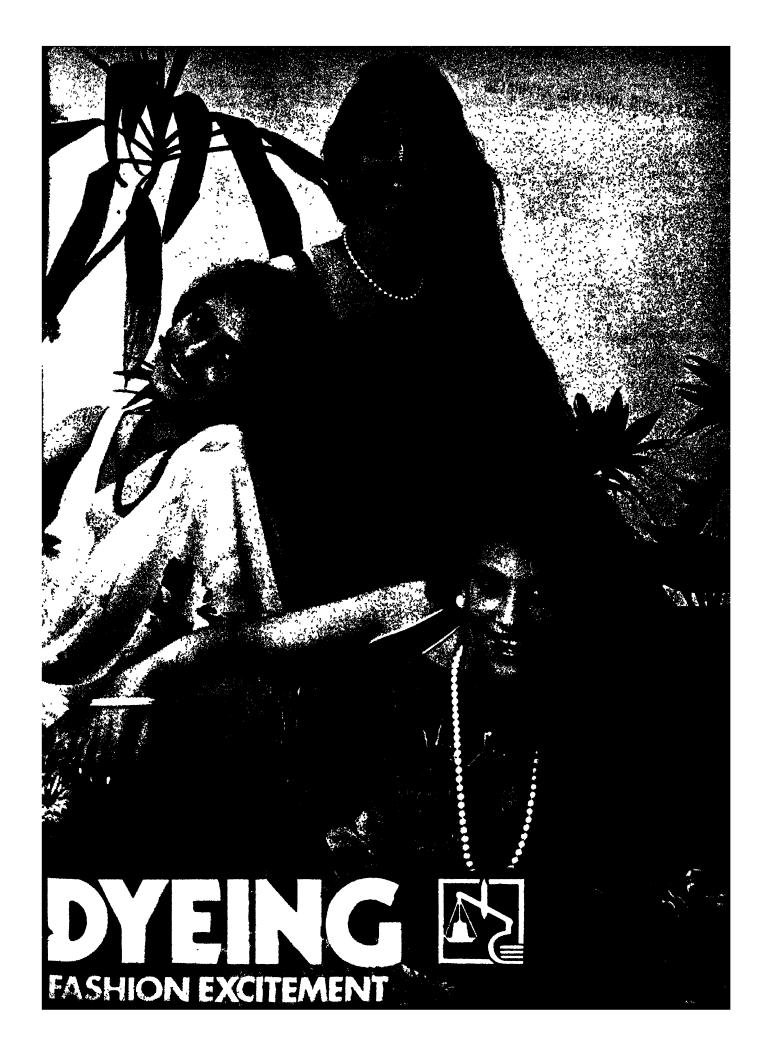
Cover transparency of K K Birla by Biswaranjan Rakshit.

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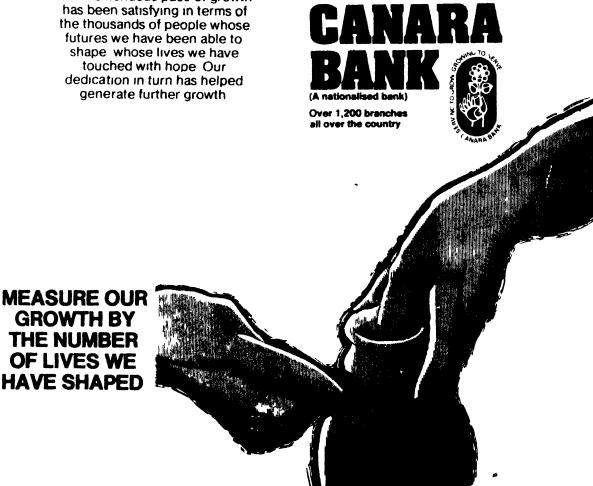
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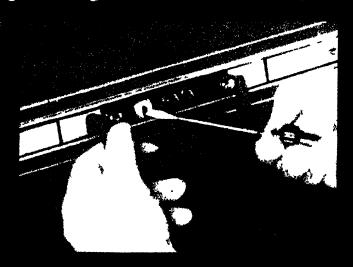
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Shravanabelagola A small town in Karnataka with a population of under 5000 But once in every 12 14 years Shravanabelagola suddenly becomes a major pilgrimage centre drawing lakhs of Jain devotees and tourists from all over India and abroad

The Maha Mastakabhisheka

They come to celebrate the spectacular Maha Mastakabhisheka ceremony—the sacred head anointing of the 57 foot high statue of Jairi sage Lord Bahubali (also known as Gomateshvara). Shravana belagola is one of the oldest and holiest of Jairi pilgrimage centres and streams of devotees flock here all year round. But at the time of the Maha Mastakabhisheka—the celebrations assume truly awe inspiring proportions.

1000th Year Celebrations

The Maha Mastakabhisheka of February March 1981 is of special significance For it coincides with the 1000th anniversary of the installation of the statue

Special Arrangements

Karnataka expects over 10 lakh pilgrims at Shravanabelagola for the occasion Special satellite towns are being set up and transportation and other facilities are being organised.

Karkala Dharmastala Venur and Mooda bidn—also important places of pilgrimage—are at a convenient travelling distance from Shravanabelagola. Belur and Halebid with their world famous temples are just a few miles away. So is Bangalore the Garden City and gateway to South India.

We extend to you a warm invitation to attend the Maha Mastakabhisheka and the 1000th Year Celebrations Welcome to Shravanabelagola And to Karnataka the many splendoured State

For further information contact The Commissioner for Information & Tourism Government of Karnataka 9 St Mark's Road Bangalore 560 001





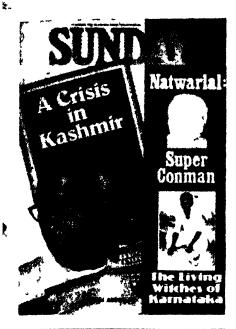


And the 1000th Year Celebrations at Shravanabelagola.



World's Biggest Monolithic Statue

The 57 foot high statue of Lord Bahubali (also known as Gornaleshvera) has been carved out of a single rock. Completed around 981 AD it shows the Jain sage so absorbed in penance that whis have begun to grow along his limbs and antitils form around his feet. while he stands in absolute tranquility. 20/12/45



In good faith

AT A time of crisis (A crisis in Kashmir," 17 August), Sheikh Abdul lah has done well to restore faith in the hearts of millions like Gandhiji, he reminded us all that Hindu Muslim Sikh and Christian could live with dignity Deepavan Ghosh 24 Parganas

MR AKBAR is not correct in calling Kashmir "the only state where a minority is a majority" He has forgotten Megha laya, Mizoram and Nagaland where Christians are in a majority Rajat Chowdhury, Hooghly

Blame the British

IN HIS "controversial speech (10 August) on 13 July this year, Sheikh Abdullah said, "Kashmiris were sold as a salable commodity. He did not mention that the "sale" took place when India was under British rule. In free India, Kashmir has been given special attention and it enjoys a special status. Yet, the Sheikh is dissatisfied Prasanta Bhattacharjee, Murshidabad

Censors' language?

THE central government has banned Lok Parlok ("Cut!" 10 August), pending the court's decision on the film on the ground that it mocks Hindu mythology But the Tamil and Telugu versions of the film were not banned This is ridiculous K P Andavan, Salem

WHILE it is true that the Telugu original of Lok Parlok was a commercial success, the film did not have a record silver jubilee run in 14 centres Adavi Ramudu had already had a silver jubilee run at 16 centres The statement that the film drew full houses for 100 days is an exaggeration, it could barely complete 100 days

Lakshmi Kamalakar, Dehradun

Whose mistake?

IT IS surprising that in "Kashmir is in East India" (10 August) the name of the National Council of Educational Re search and Training (NCERT) (not 'Teaching' as reported) should have been dragged The opening sentence of the item mentioned that a class III textbook "Elementary Social Studies" by J. Luste was an NCFRT publication whereas from the penultimate sentence of the same item one learns that the book was pub lished by M/s Pitamber Depot of Delhi One book cannot obviously be published by two publishers. The textbook was not published by NCFR1 and as such we are not responsible for inaccuracies if any

S Sarma Public Relations Officer NCFRT New Delhi

THI textbook in question is not published by the NCFRT and the author of the book is not an educational bigwig, whatever that may mean. The mistake Swarup Jena pointed out may easily have been the work of a printer's devil. The children of class IV in this school (not class III as was stated) were asked to correct the error in their textbooks and hence cannot be said to have been taught what is plainly erroncous

Mr Jena's zeal ought to have led him to the school to find out what is actually being taught, and this would have been of much greater educational value to everyone rather than the course he chook However for the further information of your readers. I wish to inform you that I have written to the author to draw his attention to the error in the book and ask the publishers to rectify it in the next cdition

Lastly, while on the subject of errors may I point out that three maccuracies in reporting such a simple matter within about 200 words is food enough for reflection on the integrity of the publica tion '

Headmistress St Joseph's High School Bhubaneswar

The book was prescribed', not 'pub-lished" by the National Council of Edu cational Research and Training We made a mistake but that does not detract from the strength of the story -Editor

A voice for ever

66 ABHI na jao chhorh kar ' (17 August) was an excellent tribute to our late "Aasman se aaya Farishta" It portrays the man and artist in Rafi-a person with emotion sensation, and im agination

Sisir Ranjan Bhattacharya Calcutta

MOHAMMFD RAFI was not for an age, he was for all time. It was aptly said "Jab tak suraj aur chand rahega tab tak Rafi Saheb ka madhur awaaz rahegi " S A Reheman, Patna

ANIL GROVER forgot to mention the song "Babul ke duayen leti jaa" from Neelkamal which won Mohammed Rafi the Padmashree in 1967 Also the immor tal Rafi Lata duet in "Zindagi bhar na heen bhoolegi" from Barsaat Ki Raat was the "Record of all time" in Binaca Geet Mala in 1960 The unforgettable hit of 1978, "Kya hua tera wada" not only fetched Rafi a Filmfare award but also won him the award for the best male playback singer that year Mr Grover could have also mentioned Rafi's latest song in Aas Paas H M Attaullah, Khurda Road

THL difference between Rafi and Kishore was that Rafi made stars of actors (like the singing star, Shammi Kapoor) and stars (like Rajesh Khanna) made Kishore famous Rafi's songs be came popular even on the lips of un known actors, while Kishore's popularity grew simultaneously with that of Rajesh Khanna and later Amitabh Bachhan In cidentally, Rafi was also to record a Bengali song for Mukul Dutta, as a tribute to Uttam Kumar, who died re cently

Rais Ahmed, Calcutta

IN THE picture on page 22, the man weeping over Rafi's dead body is Zahir, his brother in law and secretary, not his brother, as the caption says Geery Donsena, Sundargarh

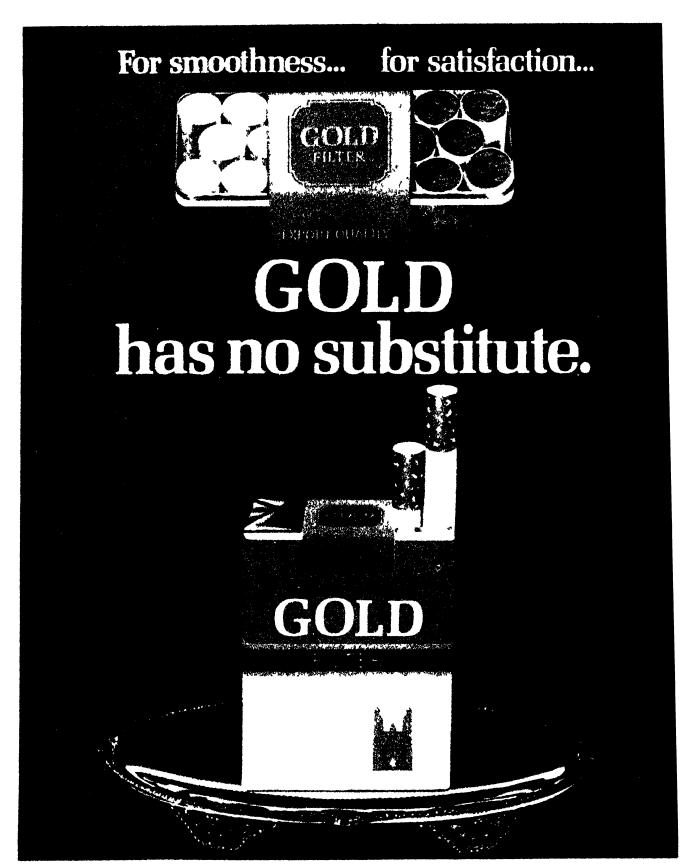
Clean the machine

RASHEED TALIB's analysis "Can Mrs Gandhi provide a national consen sus?" (27 July) was thought provoking Mr Talih put the problems and achieve ments of Mrs Gandhi before and after the Emergency as well as at present and in the future in the proper perspective. To the four goals that he says we must try to achieve in order to get the country moving again I would, however, add a fifth a complete overhaul of public administration both at the centre and states Good intentions and worthwhile policies will get us nowhere unless there is the machinery to implement them. The existing government machinery is not even sufficient to maintain law and order

for which it was originally created by the British, let alone controlling the economy and pushing it along the path of develop ment

S Kar, Calcutta

IT SEEMS Rasheed Talib is of the opin ion that India's problems can be solved in the present political system in his assessment of the Janata Party and Mrs Gandhi he has departed from the tun damental truth that the social forces behind both are socially detrimental The political system is dominated by vested interests. This rules out the establishment of an egalitarian society Subroto Lahırı, Howrah



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Proved innocent

THE CIA's Indian history" (13 May, 1979) by Chand Joshi stated. "Simultaneously, the CIA had spread its network to the Indian mass media. As early as in 1958, Mr P. N Mohanty, home secretary of Orissa, asked a major English daily to replace its Orissa correspondent in the state capital as he was alleged to be in the pay of 'a major western power' the government had accused him of tendentious reporting with a view to overthrowing the Congress government in Orissa and replacing it with the Ganatantra Parishad, a Right Wing combine of deposed native princes. Universities were also blanketed with American propaganda from now on."

American propaganda from now on."

This is highly irresponsible, tendentious, motivated and libellous I am sorry I could not reply to the charge im mediately as I was suffering from sun stroke when it was brought to my notice At the time of receipt of the government letter I was manager of Press I rust of India, and coirespondent of The States man and The Hindu simultaneously. The letters to the two dailies were virtually identical, wanting me to be replaced immediately, preferably before August 1958. The letter to PTI was dated 76 1958, and those to the newspapers 16 6 1958.

The following is the text of the letter to The Hindu "Government are of the view that Sri N R Swami, present regresentative of the Press Trust of India in Orissa, has been deliberately misrepresenting facts about the Government of Orissa and individual Ministers in his Press reports with a view to discrediting the present Party in power Information has also been received that he has been siding with the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa and is in the payroll of a foreign embassy interested in the ousting of the Congress government from power in Orissa.

Orissa
In the interest of administration Government desire that Sir N R Swami should quickly be replaced, preferably before August 1958 I am desired to bring these facts to your notice for necessary action?

These letters were received when the Congress Ministry in Orissa led by Dr Harekrishna Mahatab was desperately clinging to power with divisions in its own ranks and the doubtful support of four or five Jharkhand members The

Weird, dangerous

THE incidents mentioned in "The living witches of Karnataka" (17 August) were astonishing in this scientific age. How the sorcerers can inflict pain and injury on their victims without physical contact is amazing. The government should try its best to identify the sorcerers and punish them. Senapati Behera, Berhampur, Orissa

A SIMILAR shocking incident occurred in northern Orissa. A few days back, in a village in the Keonjhar district, a 13-year-old girl was murdered Her left hand was severed. The left humerus of spinsters is said to have great use in sorcerers' rituals.

Chinmoy Hota, Karanjia, Orissa

government was anxious that I should be replaced before the end of August 1958 as my reports were objective and not to their liking The then general manager of the PTI, Mr D P. Wagle, was also anxious to comply with the state government directive in spite of being dissuaded by Justice Patanjali Shastri, a former Chief Justice of India, and A D. Mani, editor, Hitavada, who were then members of the PTI board of directors

The PTI general manager directed me to get ready for a transfer from Orissa without naming the place of transfer and, possibly on account of this, found himself in a "jam" and did not rescind the order The stalemate continued till October 1958 and meanwhile Mr Wagle retired His successor, finding himself in an awk ward situation, asked me to give up my arrangement with Ihe Statesman and The Hindu without any compensation Incidentally, I first established the PTI office in Cuttack and worked on a salary of Rs 60 per month, using my two bicy cles and sharing the house rent with other tenants, in 1938

Under these circumstances, I retired from PfI in October 1958 and subsequently filed a detamation suit against the Government of Orissa with Mr P N Mohanty as defendant number two and, after a 12 year struggle, won the case in the lower court and the Orissa High Court which dismissed all the charges levelled against me in the Orissa Government's letters to the PfI, The Statesman and The Hindu

As regards the allegation in Sunday that I was paid by the CIA this did not at all figure in the letter of the home secretary or in the arguments in the courts. The letter also did not mention the name of the foreign country involved The High Court judgment was published in full in the Indian Law Reports Cut tack Series, beginning from page 1264 (1970) The judgment said that in reply to a pointed question during the hearing, the government advocate "candidly stated that there is no evidence to sup port the allegation" that Mr Swami was in the payroll of a foreign embassy. The author of the letter, Mr P. N. Mohanty, who gave evidence both for himself and the State of Orissa, stated in the course of his deposition that "the only object of Orissa Government to write a letter to PTI was replacement of the Plaintift"

Which watch?

THE time of Uttam Kumar's death has been variously noted as 9 15 pm in "Calcutta's tarewell" (3 August), '9 15' in "Scenes' and 9 30 pm in the nursing home report Which is correct?

J. C. Dev. Shillong

A widow's hopes

AMARRIAGE of consequence" (10 August) was the tale of a determined father, unorthodox bridegroom and a receptive community free from religious superstition. It is heartening that society can in fact absorb widows like Manju Jain who have remarried and hope to build a happy home.

Shyamal Gupta, Burdwan

Mr Mohanty also stated that "the State Government had two objects in view, namely serving the broader interest of journalism, secondly, protecting their own interest. By the order of transfer the State Government came to the conclusion that their own interest had been served and that no further action should be taken."

The matter came up for debate in Parliament and the Prime Minister, dealing with the allegation that I was in the payroll of a foreign embassy, said. "We did take notice as soon as we learnt of it and enquired into the matter. Thereupon, the Orissa Government told us that they themselves enquired further into the matter and felt that the previous statement made by them was not adequately justified."

I agree that it is a serious matter and the Home Secretary did not function as he should have done Of course, the serious matter is not only the Home Secretary writing, but the possible basis for his writing. We enquired into the basis and we tound that he did not have sufficient justification for doing so Even if he had justification he had no business to write."

The High Court had also observed that "the conduct of the State Government clearly shows that they were not actuated by any sense of duty-broader interest of journalism-and the sole consideration was their own interest. If interest of journalism was the consideration their conduct would have been very different and the State Government would have come forward to support the allegations when called upon by the employers of the Plaintiff "It added that the materials placed above clearly show that broader interest of journalism was never the consideration of the State Covernment in writing the defamatory letter "Besides figuring in Parliament's debates, the allegation against me was also debated in the Orissa Assembly for a much longer time-over three days. The High Court awarded me total damages with costs of over Rs 30,000 and the government had to pay the amount to

N R Swami, Bhubaneswar

We regret and apologise for any errors made in Chand Joshi's article—Editor

Everybody's game

CHARGES of corruption against Channa Reddy ("Our most corrupt CM?" 3 August) are being bandied about by the dissidents. Which CM did not make enough money? Some have financial interests in industries and a few have started hotels. Many Andhra politicians who came to Hyderabed in 1956 had none of the wealth they now have Nascem Pasha, Hyderabed

EVERYONE in Andhra Pradesh knows that the present CM is the best the state has had by any standards. His good work and dedication are exemplary. The move to oust him was timed with Sanjay's death. The dissidents hoped to achieve their object by confusing the sad PM G.A. Rao, Calcutta

Freedom of the Press does not mean the dictatorship of the editor

K. K. Birla talks to M. J. Akbar



MR BIRLA, you are not merely an industrialist, you are, as the term goes, a captain of industry You are also reputed to be very close to the government Is that true?

A. (Laughs) That is really for the government to say well, I certainly admire Mrs Gandhi I think, among all the leaders she is the only one who can give stability to the country

Q Yes, you have been an old supporter, you even led a procession in support of Mrs Gandhi and the Emergency, if I remember correctly

A That is a wrong impression that many people have that I led a delegation in support of the Emergency That is not so When Mrs Gandhi got a stay order from the Allahabad High Court (after the judgment unseating her), at that time there was a move by various people that she should be asked to resign And I led a delegation in support of her so that she was not pressurised to resign and urged that she should stay, that was not in support of the Emergency at all This procession was led even before the Emergency was imposed

Q Do you support the decisions on the economy taken during the Emergency, and would you like another Emergency to be imposed on the country so that a similar industrial climate may come back?

A No, I would not support another imposition of Emergency My feeling is that in 1975 the Emergency was forced on Mrs Gandhi I remember the kind of opposition she faced then My feeling is that in case there is any dispute against the government, the matter should be taken up in Parliament in a democratic manner, not by processions, haitals, etc. I have no doubt that Mrs Gandhi herself did not want the Emergency Reimposition of the Emergency, in my opinion, should be avoided

Q But do you support the decisions taken on industrial relations during the Emergency, for instance, the banning of strikes?

A I would hesitate to support such a decision even if it was made in an Emergency, but I would certainly suggest that, considering the condition through which the country is passing—I mean, this really takes us to the larger question of labour—there should be a moratorium on strikes and lockouts, both After all, in 1979 we lost 43 million mandays in these lockouts and strikes, and it is nothing but criminal waste of resources

Q Are you implying that strikes result from the faults of workers and not industrialists?

A No, no It could be either way, it could be workers, it could be unners also Except that my belief is, to be honest k i lat workers are more responsible But the point is that a country like India, which economically is so poor, so backward cannot really afford to have these strikes and lockouts and something should be done

O Even to the extent of banning strikes?

A That probably may be an extreme step, and in a democracy that sort of thing shouldn't happen But I think that in case certain steps are taken, and in case we can have an agreement with labour also, we can come to a sort of gentlemen's agreement on a moratorium on strikes and lockouts Emergency or no Emergency we must appreciate that India is passing through an economic crisis. We do not have to be reminded that something can be only done in an Lmergency I think we, i e government labour and industry should take the initiative and try and come to some sort of understanding

O Are you happy with the industrial policy which the

government has recently outlined?

A It is a beginning, but much is still to be done

Yes, but what is this beginning like? So many things have been left untouched For example, in my opinion piomoters' contribution The present minimum which is stipulated as the promoters' contribution is far too high, particularly in view of the inflation and the high cost of machines and equipment Promoters are finding it more difficult to find their share The debt equity ratio I think we should have a far more tlexible policy in this After all in Japan industries were built up by a very liberal debt equity ratio. In our country we have a ratio of 2.1 sometimes it is 3.1 very raiely, as in the shipping industry it is higher

What kind of ratio would you like?

A Without any hesitation 41, and in some cases 61 also Provided the financial institut ons are convinced that it is a good project, that the people behind it are I would not say top businessmen, but good, honest people I think the institutions should relax the ratio

But who is a good honest person?

A Well, even now the public institutions have to make their own enquiries. So my suggestion is that wherever they are convinced that such and such is a good case, they should relax

Q Don't you think that industrialists by and large, have

built up a bad reputation in our country?

A If you are talking about the unpopularity of business men as a whole I am inclined to agree with you Whether they are responsible for that or not is another matter Businessmen as a class do not enjoy the confidence of the public There are many reasons When there is a shortage of so many things, when there is a blackmarket, when there are controls, then for any grievance that the public may have the blame goes on the businessman

I find myselt becoming cynical when the word controls' is coupled so easily with blackmarketing. Do you think blackmarketing is only a result of controls, or is it also

a result of the greed of businessmen?

A Basically it is a result of controls, because controls really mean that some sort of artificial element is intro duced in the whole system, and when there is a shortage, just as the law of gravity is there, the law of supply and demand is equally powerful, which many people do not

Q But where is the law of supply and demand working vis a vis the prices of sugar? It seems to me that the law of exploitation is working there

A How do you say that?

Q Prices have risen by 300 per cent in the last year The

shortage is simply not that much

A There was a real shortage, and the law of supply and demand does not work like arithmetic, there are always distortions in it. And it is quite possible that once an item is in shortage, blackmarketeers and hoarders corner stocks, creating a further shortage and further raising prices Q Why don't you lead a procession demanding stricter

punishment for blackmarketeers and hoarders?

A (Laughs) As far as possible we should try and avoid these processions That (referring to 1975) was a special O More seriously how do you account for this govern

ment's inability to control prices?

A There are a number of factors one is that inflation is partly imported—the price of oil, for instance But all the same I personally believe that there are many other countries in the world, for example, West Germany Japan, Austria who too have to import oil, and they have been able to keep their inflation under check. There is no reason why we cannot do the same thing In West Germany inflation is about 512 per cent, in Austria it is five per cent Inflation around that figure is not worrisome, but any inflation above ten per cent is bad, if we could keep it at ten per cent it is tolerable, and if we can keep it at five to six per cent it is good. But a lot of problems are adding to inflation Oil Then the labour situation As I mentioned, we lost 43 million mandays in 1979. In 1975 the mandays lost were only 22 million so 1979's record was almost double that Then take the case of power The power position is in a mess. Our supply is short of the requirement by almost 16 per cent. In the public sector, only 44 per cent. output (has been available) in the private sector, the output is over 90 per cent both in Tata companies and in our company at Renukoot In the past we had attained a power output ratio of 55 per cent—25 per cent more than the present performance We, in the organised sector, produce Rs 40,000 crores of goods a year an increase of 25 per cent in power generation would lead to an additional Rs 10,000 crores worth of additional production, which would immediately bring down inflation

Now in our economy productivity has to play a very important role I have always been in favour of higher

Q: WHY DON'T YOU LEAD PROCESSION DEMANDING STRICTER PUNISHMEN FOR BLACKMARKETEER AND HOARDERS? A:(LAUGHS) AS FAR A POSSIBLE WE SHOULD TR AND AVOID THESE PROCES SIONS. THAT (REFERRING TO 1975) WAS A SPECIA CASE.

wages for workers, unless there are increased wages, how can we generate more purchasing power in the public? But side by side there should be greater productivity also Monsoons, of course, also play an important role, and this year fortunately we have had very good monsoons

Q Would you like power generation to be given to the

private sector?

A Well, in case the government wants our assistance we are always ready to give it, certainly

Q But this goes against the spirit of the industrial policy

formulated by Pandit Nehru in 1956

A Our policy should be pragmatic. There are so many ways in which the government can (bring to book) anyone who wanted to cheat, that there is no reason for additional or unnecessary controls Secondly, policies should be made on the basis of what, at a given moment, is in the interest of

Q Do you feel then that laissez faire economy is in the

best interests of the nation at the moment?

A. No, I am afraid that concept will not be acceptable in 4 the twentieth century, but there should not be con rols for the sake of controls

Q' Why do you think the government puts controls for the sake of controls, as you put it? What does a government

gain by doing that?

Q: ARE YOU COMMUNIST, MR BIRLA? A: IT IS A VERY DIFFICULT QUESTION TO ANSWER. **Would not say that I am** ANTI-RUSSIA... BUT CERTAINLY IN FAVOUR THE PRIVATE SECTOR. (THE CPM GOVERNMENT IN WEST BENGAL) IS A COM-GOVERNMENT. MUNIST CERTAINLY, ALTHOUGH ONE DOES NOT FEEL THIS WHEN ONE COMES INTO TOUCH WITH IT.

A I think they inherited it from the British of the war days, and have not been able to get rid of it

Q Do you think Sanjay's death has affected the quality

of government?

A I think he was certainly very helpful to Mrs Gandhi Many of her problems, many of her worries he would take on himself, and, where necessary give advice

Q. Will his views on what should be done to the economy

now be forgotten?

A His views were certainly very pragmatic, and I hope that Mrs Gandhi will be able to follow that philosophy

Q Wasn't it a pro-industrialist's philosophy?
A I would say a pro-country philosophy He was

certainly in favour of the private sector, to be frank with you, and that was because he thought that the private sector's performance was better than the public sector's performance. It doesn't mean that he was against the public sector; it just means that he didn't want to curb the private sector. The public sector is part of the nation's life, the public sector has to stay, but Sanjay certainly wanted to encourage the private sector, no doubt about that

Q. In the early Seventies, Mrs Gandhi was listening to a group of people who went under the generic term 'leftists' Sanjay's rise saw them fade away. Do you think they will

come back to prominence now?

A I think that Mrs Gandhi is a pragmatic lady, and she knows the crisis through which the country is passing, and I think she will follow a pragmatic policy

Q: Are you anti-communist, Mr Birla?

A It is a very difficult question to answer. I would not say that I am anti Russia. But as far as economics is concerned I am certainly in favour of the private sector

Q How would you rate the CPI(M) government in West Bengal? After all Calcutta is where your headquarters are, and you have to deal constantly with a communist government

A. It is a communist government, certainly, although one does not feel this when one comes into touch with it Jyoti Babu (Jyoti Basu) is personally a nice person, a thorough gentleman, but on many fronts much better results should and could have been achieved by this government.

Q. And why don't you feel that this is a communist government when you come into touch with it?

A. You see, a state government has to follow a certain policy, and it has to fall in line with the national policy and national objectives. After all, the Union Government lays down certain norms, certain guidelines by which state governments have to function Jyoti Babu has to work

within the norms laid down by the centre

Q I see And there is no effort by this government at restructuring the class relation, the economic situation,

which might lead to greater egalitarianism?

A I don't think so On the contrary, Jyoti Babu has followed a pragmatic policy. He had said that Fera houses and monopoly houses should be encouraged looking to the peculiar circumstances in West Bengal. And, if West Bengal has not been able to prosper it is owing to the failure of the state government on other fronts.

Q Now, Mr Birla, a frank question, which I hope you do

not take amiss

A Feel free, feel free

Q This question only accepts the reality of the Indian situation. As a major industrialist, you obviously give donations to political Parties. Why do you do that? What do you hope to recover from an investment of that soit?

A I don't think we (i.e. our companies) are allowed to give donations to political Parties. Anybody who did that

would go behind bars, Mr Akhar

Q In truth, donations are given Political Parties do not

get their funds out of thin air

A Most political Parties try and collect their funds from the masses. So they say And towards that, if any businessman anywhere could be of any assistance, of trying to organise it from his labour, or his friends, or his staff, certainly they would try to do so.

Q Would you give money to the CPI(M)?

A I do not think I would give money to the CPI(M), or I would organise the money for them But, as I said Jyoti Babu is a friend of mine (laughs), and in case he asks me to organise some assistance at a personal level I would try to do so

Q The businessman, to paraphrase a famous saying, has no permanent friends, or permanent enemies, just perma-

nent interests

A That differs from businessman to businessman I stood by Mrs Gandhi, I stood by her even during the Janata regime. I was very sorry that the Janata regime, of whom many people had such a high opinion, tried to harass Mrs Gandhi and many people who were with Mrs Gandhi.

Q Did they try and harass you?

Yes, to some extent

- Q Would you care to say how?
- A Harassment of a businessman starts when you turn down his applications for expansion, or for a licence, or by asking the income-tax people to harass the businessman

Q And did that happen to you?

A That did happen to me

- Q Who was your main enemy within the Janata?
- A I would not like to name anyone Morarjibhai always says and always claims, and perhaps tries to follow a certain philosophy in life

Q But you are said to have been good friends with

Mocarjibhac

A That way, Morarjibhai has been a family friend for a long time. But side by side he has been aware of my association with Mrs Gandhi

Q Do you have any strong political beliefs?

A Beliefs well, one is regarding the philosophy of government, the other is regarding Party. As far as the Party is concerned, I have been a supporter of Mrs Gandhi, and will continue to support her. As far as the philosophy is concerned I believe in policies which might be centrist, or slightly to the right of centre.

Q And in your Party you would be willing to accept Mr Rajiv Gandhi just as you accepted Sanjay Gandhi?

A With Sanjay Gandhi, I came in touch with him, and in course of time there developed a friendship. I met Mr Rajiv Gandhi, three or four times, and I must say I have been highly impressed by him.

Q What impressions do you have of him:

A He is a very sober person, and I think he has a certain philosophy, ideals and principles

Q Would you like to compare the two brothers?
A I would not like to compare for the simple reason that according to our Indian philosophy, when a man dies we only say good things about him. As far as Sanjay Gandhi is concerned, sometimes I differed with him. But now that he is no more, I can only remember his good points.

Editors and Press freedom

O. Mr Birla, in addition to being one of the major industrialists of the country, you have another role which gives you a very high profile in our country: You are the owner of the Hindustan Times. You have been accused of using your newspaper to support every government in power. After Mi George Verghese was asked to go, a succession of editors came who supported government policies.

A. I will try to explain the position to you After Mr Verghese left, for a short period Mr Ajit Bhattacharya was in charge. But if I may take the matter to an earlier period, I became involved in the Hindustan Times in the late Fifties, after the death of Mr Devdas Gandhi. After that, the first editor was Mr Durga Das. I had nothing but the most cordial

relations with him, he left of his own accord

That is recorded in the nimutes of board meetings of the Hindustan Times. After that came Mr S. Mulgaokar and he stayed for a number of years. He left of his own accord. When he left, he sent a letter to my father and to me paying rich compliments to us. Then came Mr. Verghese and with him also, except in the last few months, our relations continued to be cordial.

Q What would you say was the reason for the worsening

of relations between you and Mr Verghese?

A: This is a very controversial matter and I do not know whether you will like going into it

Q: We are discussing a very important point. The freedom of the Press and what it means, because this is one of the buttlesses on which a democracy is built. I would,

therefore, like to press the question

A I thought that Mr Verghese had become stale I mentioned this to him once or twice, but he was a man of very strong likes and dislikes. For example, take the instance of the article on Sikkim, "Kanchanjanga, here we come" where he criticised the government of India, though this article was written subsequent to our decision to part company, this illustrates that he was a man with deep prejudices. I thought the time had come when I should change the editor. Then

Q What do you mean by 'stale' Mr Birla? Does an editor get stale when he writes badly or when he starts criticising

the government?

A: No By 'stale' I mean when an editor stops taking an objective view and when he thinks that whatever one party does is always bad

Q Do you appoint and dismiss editors arbitrarily?

A How many cases have there been? Apart from Mr Verghese there has been no other case (in the Hindustan Times) of an editor being dismissed After Verghese came Mr Karlekar. He had an agreement for a fixed period which ran till October or November 1980. It is true that we asked him to leave a few months earlier, but that was by mutual consent. We were able to find someone who, in my opinion, was suitable to take the place of Mr Karlekar and that was Mr Khushwant Singh. The matter was, therefore, discussed

The Sundar Rajan controversy

K Sundar Rajan was sacked from The Times of India during the Emergency, and went to jail during that period because of his views on Mrs Gandhi and her Emergency Soon after the Janata came to power he was given the job of a political columnist in The Hundustan Times by Mr K K Birla Recently, after Mr Khushwant Singh took over as editor of The Hindustan Times, Mr Rajan was asked to quit the paper In an article written for the Bombay monthly Debonair Mi Rajan alleged that Mr Birla was the kind of Press lord who did not believe in Press freedom and wanted to make his paper a toql for whichever government came to power In the interview M J Akbar raised many of the questions asked by Mr Rajan To help readers get an idea of what Mr Rajan said, we publish a few quotes from Debona.

WHEN the Birlas offered me the job on Political Columnist, I was very happy But before moving to Delhi from Bombay I asked for and received clarifications from Mr K K Birla on a number of points.

First of all, I wanted an assurance from Mr Birla that I would not suffer Mr Nanporia's fate. He told me that Mr Nanporia was being sacked as he could not write good English and did not know anything of Indian politics. I pointed out that he had been the editor of The Times of India and The Statesman "Mr Birla," I asked, "what is the guarantee that you will not say the same thing about me?"

He said he had carefully studied the chippings I had sent him and also consulted several senior journalists." He added: "I find you readable. Nanporia's English is very complicated." I said to myself that so long as Sethji understood what I wrote, there was nothing to worry about.

ANOTHER assurance—verbal, no doubt—I received from Mr Birla was that my tenure would not be dependent on Mrs Gandhi's political fortunes. His response was interesting. "The Hindustan Times has great traditions. It was associated with Mahattia Gandhi...I want you to write without fear or favour. Criticise Mrs Gandhi by all means. As for Morarithai, I have great regard for him. I do not think he is shielding his son

Kantibhai But you can criticise him also We in *The Hindustan Times* have no heroes "Since I was keen to get the job, I was careful not to remind him of the fate of Mr George Verghese whom he sacked at the then government's instance

ACCORDING to Mr Birla, Mr Karlekar had said that I was a trouble-maker "Are you really a trouble-maker?" Mr Birla asked me I said that if working against Mrs Gandhi's Emergency amounted to making trouble, I pleaded guilty "We should all be proud of you," he replied "I-have also heard you went to prison in the freedom struggle Anyone who followed Mahatmaji is our man"

ON TWO occasions, Mr Billa rang me up at around 11 p m congratulating me on my columns On both the occasions, I had ridiculed Mrs Gandhi's attacks on the Janata Party and her description of it as "RSS-dominated" Said Mr Billa "You have really explained the whole position The Janata Party is not dominated by Hindu communalists" On another occasion, he confessed that he had great admiration for Balasaheb Deoras, the RSS chief He also said that having been very close to Gandhiji, the Birlas could categorically say that the RSS had no hand in the assassination of the Mahatma as alleged by her

AS SOON as Mis Gandhi won the election, Mr K. K. Birla sent for me. I found that he was very formal. The old friendliness had gone. Instead, he asked me what I would be writing about for the coming Friday "Naturally, the return of Indiraji," I said. "Be careful," he said. "Avoid all personal criticism of Indiraji or Sanjay." I said I had never believed in that sort of journalism. He dismissed me in five minutes. On all earlier occasions, I used to be with him for at least 30 minutes. Also, this time there were no cakes or biscuits, no affectionate terms like "bhayya". With Mrs Gandhi's return, I had become an embarrassment. At the office Mr Karlekar told me: "Both of us are finished. But I will go earlier. This is the order of precedence laid down by Sanjayji and Manekaji!"



with Mr Karlekar, and we paid all dues to him till the time

of the normal expiry of his agreement

Q: Nobody is accusing the Birlas of not paying off their editors fully But it was your paper which during the Emergency supported it—fair enough—the privilege was vours, but the same paper and the same editor then turned around and supported Mr Morarji Desar The allegation is that this was done on your bidding

A You are absolutely correct that the paper did change its policy, but I was not a party to that In fact, I must have discussed this matter many times with Mr Karlekar I told Mt Karlekar several times that since he was so close to Mrs Gandhi while she was the Prime Minister it came as a surprise to me that he changed from one extreme to the other. But he said that he had his own reasons

Q There was no way in which you could have asked him to leave during the Janata rule for not supporting Mis

Gandhi?

A I could have asked him to leave by giving him three months' notice But I did not want to take that extreme step

O. Mi Surdai Rajan (who has just been sacked from the Hindustan Times)alleges that he was hired as a political column in 1977 only because you thoughthe would be useful to you since he had friends in the Janata govern me nt

A One point I would like to make before I answer this question. If it had been our policy only to appoint oractain editors whom the government approved would I have appointed Mr Khushwant Singh some time in 1978 for a weekly that we proposed to start 'I gave him an appoint ment letter which he accepted It was well known that Mi Khushwant Singh was not in the good books of the Janata government so if Mr Sundar Rajan is right would I have appointed Mr Khushwant Singh? Mr Khushwant Singh later did not join because he got an offer from the National Herald to edit their paper and he requested me for his release which I did

Q Would you tolerate an editor in your company who opposed Mrs Gandhi?

A There are two points First, an editor must not be opposed to Mrs Gandhi basically that is he should not oppose her on each and every issue for the sake of opposition. But in case the editor has an objective view and considers each issue on merit, I will not mind it at all in case he were to criticise her policies. Second, there should not be personal prejudice of any type. As far as Mr Sundar Rajan is concerned, unfortunately he could never forget that he was put behind bars during the Lineigency. At the time of his appointment I told him to try and follow a balanced policy, and not to get carried away by emotions

Q You did assure Mr Sundar Rajan that his tenure in the Hindustal imes would not depend on Mrs Gandhi's

personal fortunes

A The question did not arise In 1978 nobody knew that Mis Gandhi would come back after three years of Janata rule Mi Sundar Rajan has also given the impression that we were trying to woo him then for his political contacts But the agreement with us clearly stated that he had to follow the policy of the paper. There was no fixed term with Mr Sundar Rajan either party could have given three months' notice

Q Yes, but you gave him three months' notice after Mis

THOUGHT THAT ERGHESE HAD BECOME .E. I MENTIONED THIS HIM ONCE OR TWICE, E WAS A MAN OF VERY ONG LIKES AND K**es...** A man with deep PREJUDICES.

ABC/T/102/80



about Mr Sundar Rajan's pieces before they were pub lished, but this was as the editor himself disagreed with what Mr Rajan had written Mr Karlekar, when he phoned me on these occasions, said that he thought Mr Rajan had gone too far. In all such occasions I told Mr Karlekar that it was for him as the editor of the paper to use his discretion Mr Kailekar would then ask me for my opinion, and I would give whatever views I held. I don't remember this particufar incident, but on a few occasions I was consulted. I would, however, like to stress again that the terms of agreement with Mr Sundar Rajan provided that he would write within the limits of the policy of the paper

Q Would you then say that your editors were more

sycophantic than you expected them to be?

A Which editor? Mr Mulgaokar? He would discuss matters with me, but he edited the paper as he wanted to do The same applied to Mr Verghese During the Janata regime, my views and Mr Karlekar's were different

Q What would be the point at which you would say that you could not tolerate a particular editor any more?

A There is only the case of Mr Verghese, there is no other case where we have asked the editor to leave

Q But you do like to impose your views on your editors $\hat{\Lambda}$ I like to place my views before the editor along with arguments in support of them. Supposing an editor of the paper were to take the position that on the economic front the wealth tax should be increased further or the income tax should be raised to 97 per cent, I would certainly argue with him Whether it would lead to parting of ways is very difficult to say in academic discussions

Q But there is the allegation that during the Janata regime you were triendly with Mr Morarji Desai, and your instructions to the paper were that Mr Desar should not be

attacked Is that correct?

hard pressed for time. Tea obviously could not be served during a five-minute meeting I explained this also to Mr Sundar Rajan He appreciated the point. Mr Rajan did not even have the courtesy of clarifying these points with me before rushing to the Press

Q Your paper was critical of the Janata or the Lok Dal state governments prior to their dismissal by the centre earlier this year Would you expect your paper to be equally critical of the maladministration that is taking

place in Delhi city, for instance, today?

A Certainly They must be critical in an objective manner If there is a breakdown of law and order anywhere, it should be criticised. In fact, the Hindustan Times has been critical of the government on a number of occasions. For example, there was an editorial that it would be wrong on the part of the government to challenge the Supreme Court decision on the issue of fundamental rights.

What are your criteria for appointing an editor? A The person must be honest must be competent One very important criterion is that there should be similarity of thoughts and views between the editor and the chairman on most of the issues For example, a communist can be honest, capable and a thorough gentleman, but he cannot be an editor of our paper as our views will be totally opposed on most of the issues

Q And you make these criteria clear to your editors

before you appoint them?

A Yes, very clear We put it in writing, in fact

Q You keep saying that you only discuss things with editors and leave the decision making to them. Now in reality when K. K. Birla tells his employee that such and such is his view, he is implicitly also saying that he expects that view to be obeyed, isn't it?

A Whatever some people may say I think that by and



I HAVE MANY LETTERS IN-CLUDING ONE FROM VERGHESE COMPLIMENT. ING ME FOR UPHOLDING FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.



A I never gave such instructions. But, as I said earlier. I have always advised my editors to avoid personal attacks on anyone

Q But would an attack on Kanti Desai be a personal

attack or not?

A I think that unless there is some evidence, a paper of the reputation of the Hindustan Times should not indulge in personal attacks. If evidence were provided we would gladly publish it I have many letters, including one from Mr Veighese complimenting me tor upholding the freedom of the Press

Q Have you revertaced government pressure to dismiss

anybody?

A Never There are people with all kinds of views about the Hindustan Times We have never dismissed anyone

purely because someone asked us to do so

Q Let me exhaust the subject of Mr Sundar Rajan before we turn to something else. He says that there was an abrupt change in your attitude towards him the moment Mrs Gandhi came to power Apparently you used to chat with him for a long while, and offer him cakes during the Janata regime But when Mrs Gandhi came to power, you curtly told him to push off after tive minutes

A I remember the incident That day I was awfully busy, and I told him so at the very outset. When I visit Delhi, about 200 people want to meet me, and it is not always possible to spare time for a long chat. Sometimes I would myself send for Sundar Rajan, and then we would talk for 15 or 20 minutes. Sometimes he would seek an interview This was one of those occasions when I was large, both among our people and in business circles I have the reputation of not being a vindictive person. Money many people have, but this should not lead to arrogance My philosophy has been that the greater a person, the more humble he should be I must say that I am fortunate to enjoy the respect and affection of my colleagues and my associates

Q But your editors seem to have been very critical of vou

A Who? Only Mi Verghese, and even he did not accuse me of any personal faults until a few months before we parted company In fact, when I became the president of FICCI, he wrote a good piece about me in the paper

Q You keep saying that you believe in the freedom of the Press and it was Mr Verghese who challenged you on

this point

Freedom of the Press means that the government should not interfere with the Press, it doesn't mean freedom to an individual to write in an unbalanced and prejudiced manner. An editor has to follow the policy of the board There have been court judgements supporting this point Freedom of the Press does not mean the dictatorship of the editor If an editor feels that he cannot follow the policy laid down for him by the board, he should, in all fairness, submit his resignation. Take the case of thepublication which is being brought out by the RSS or the BJP, Organiser Would they permit an editor like you to be in charge of it? They will not permit you to come near them. If an editor is anti-RSS, they will not allow him to last even for a day

PIFSY 401 T ÇAY

Why I am an optimist about India

T is sickening for me to hear time and again that India's problems are too numerous and cannot be solved by anyone—ever! I do not know what is there in the spices that we add to our vegetables that Indians are prone to this pessimism. In my rather extensive international travel, I have rarely come across a more despondent lot than us Indians. The despondency is scrupulously holstered by international lobbies which want to keep India down.

Even factually, this pessimism is unwarranted Many of our problems which were just ten years ago thought to be intractable, have been almost effortlessly solved I remember vividly in late 1969 in my last lecture at Harvard—before packing off to India for good -an argument had developed that India could never become self sufficient in foodgrains or have foreign exchange to spare I was quite agi tated by this conventional wisdom and so upon reaching India had prepared a Swadeshi Plan in an act of defiance My professional eco nomist colleagues, a large number of whom were influenced by the World Bank culture then, laughed off my idea of India's independence in foodgrains and foreign exchange as preposterous Even Mrs Gandhi found time in the Lok Sabha's discussion (in 1970) to denounce me as 'Santa Claus'

But what sounded ridiculous then is reality today! At current purchasing power level, India is quite self sufficient in foodgrains (with a buffer stock of 15 million tons) and foreign exchange reserves of about Rs 5,000 crores But ironically, not much of the credit for this unforeseen success belongs to government policy or planning

to government policy or planning. The diligence of the Indian peasant, and his capacity to absorb new technology—when demons trated—is largely responsible for the spurt in foodgrain production (even if only at the rate of 2.9 per cent per year) Some credit for bringing technology to the know ledge of farmers is also due to the modernity of mind of former Food Minister C Subramanium and M S Swaminathan—but not much It is the Indian peasant who is the real hero

As for the foreign exchange sur plus, the credit goes entirely to the conscientous overseas Indian, particularly in the Arab countries, who went to fill the demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour arising out of the buiging pertodollars, and



By SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY

The genius of the Indian peasant and worker has forced many Western writers to withdraw their books on earlier economic forecasts.

repatriated home his savings at the rate of Rs 200 crores a month! Government policy, Congress or Janata had nothing to do with it

But even if the self sufficiency in foodgrains and the surplus in fore ign exchange was not induced by economic policy of the government the fact remains that India had the potential to seize the opportunity when it came Otherwise why could not the Soviet Union after 63 years and China after 31 years of regimented planning, achieve the food surplus that we have? Why could not African and certain South East Asian countries send their labour force out to solve their foreign exchange problem?

The genius of the Indian peasant and worker has forced many West ern writers to withdraw their books on earlier economic forecasts from circulation. The classic case is of two brothers with surname Pad dock. They are considered the US State Department's top experts, and in 1968 they came out with a bestseller titled, Famine 1975. Using military terminology about the injury status of soldiers in war, they described India as a "gone case," as a "bottomless pit" which the world can feed only in futility. The Pad docks, therefore compared India to

For fast growth we need a political leadership which does not try to play safe. and a social culture that does not place a high premium on hypocricy and an economic attitude which favours risk-taking.

a bleeding soldier who has no hope, and hence has to be abandoned in the battlefield. They predicted that India would suffer from acute famine in 1975, and the Indians will revert to cannibalism to meet hunger!

India's potential today is such

that any programme requiring massive investment and resources is possible Among the 170 odd na tions of the world India has the tenth largest level of industrial out put, the seventh largest national income, the fourth largest nuclear set up, and the third largest scien tific and engineering manpower India's manpower and technology is cheaper and better than those of most other nations. In terms of untapped resources there are at least 25 "Bombay Highs" around our long coastal line and in the Andamans which if seriously tap ped can make India an oil

exporting country. The water re-

sources of the country are mind

boggling, and it our planning focus

were fixed on it we can quadruple

our toodgrain production (where will we store it?) in 15 years. The nuclear fuel of the 21st century—

thorium—is in abundance in India

In fact 85 per cent of the known world deposits are in this country! In other words all the necessary inputs to India a developed country are already their Then what is holding the country back? In one word—shackles We are shackled by inhibitions, by a craze for security, and by the fright of taking a risk For fast growth we need a political leadership which does not try to play safe, and a social culture that does not place a high premium on hypocricy and an economic atti

tude which favours risk taking Paradoxically, the key to India's economic problems is really political When Janata was in power the best solutions were often turned down on grounds of "what will people think of us?" For example, I favoured a total abolition of person al income tax for five years to eliminate black money and make people save more The present in come tax system does not collect money at all-except from the mid dle classes "People will say that we are no more socialists," screamed my colleagues They did not say, "We will no more be socialists" The grand hypocricy of Indian soci ety is what is shackling us and sapping our energy It is time to look at the solution to India's prob lems without looking over one's shoulder That requires a new kind of political leadership

NVESTGATION

Marxist CM's Capitalist SOn

Daddy isn't helping his son, but some other friends are, reports TOOSHAR PANDIT



Chandan and his wife Snigdha, (Inset) Mr and Mrs Jyoti Basu

REE enterprise is more alluring than you think Even a marxist father, running a marxist govern ment, has not been able to deter Subhabrata Basu (Chandan to his triends), 27, from starting a business enterprise that displays all the dash and optimism of a textbook en trepreneur Chandan's father of course, is none other than West Bengal's marxist Chief Minister Ivoti Basu And Chandan's business partner is his brother in law, master marmer Shishir Wahi, 32 Together they are setting up a biscuit manufacturing unit in Durgapur, the industrial hub of the state. The unit, designed to produce about 1,800 tonnes of biscuits worth over Rs 15 crores annually will go into production by the end of this month, turning out glucose biscuit in itially Other varieties will follow Just one other little thing the Basu Wahi combination can count on support from the house of Aminchand Pvarelal because of its business links with the house through Apeejay's leading light Jit Paul

. Jvoti Basu wanted Chandan to take after his grandfather and practise medicine. So, after Chandan passed the higher secondary examination in the second division in 1969, he started looking for a seat in the medical colleges. He could not get one and took admission for B Com. in St Xayier's College.

In 1971, however, at the request of Siddbartha Sankar Ray, the then Union Education Minister, Sheikh Abdul lah's son Dr Farooq Abdullah helped Chandan get a seat in the pre medical

course in the J and K State Medical College But Chandan quit studying medicine after completing the premedical course and returned to Calcut ta in 1974. Again he got himself admit ted to the B Com classes in St. Xavier's but did not continue for long as he landed a job as a management trainee, in the Bengal Lamp where one of his relatives is a senior executive. Later he was absorbed in the permanent cadre as a junior executive. The salary was Rs 950 a month, Rs 750 in pay and another Rs 200 as transport allowance This was enough for Chandan, till he tell in love and finally married Snig dha Wahi in January 1977. It was after his marriage that he started to feel the need for a little more than what his salary was bringing in. He began thinking of starting a business

But what? Chandan did not have any clear ideas. The birth of his first child a daughter, in early 1978 only increased his financial problems Around that time, his brother in law Shishii also lett his job with Indian Steamship. He too wanted to start something. It was then that they noticed a newspaper advertisement inviting applications for the distribution rights of Britannia biscuits in Murshidabad district They did not know*much about biscuits. But what they knew was that Britannia biscuits sell well and Chandan, being in the sales department of the Bengal Lamp, had picked up some knowledge in marketing

Chandan and Wahi decided to bid for the distribution rights in Murshida bad. They became partners in a firm, Omkai Trading Company, which even tually secured the rights Chandan resigned from his job in the Bengal Lamp and launched onto the business trail "It was all clean and above board," says a sales executive in Britannia. There are however, many doubters who believe that Britannia offered the distribution rights on a platter to Chandan and Wahi to keep the Chief Minister in good humour But there is no evidence to suggest that Mr Jvoti Basu helped his son in any way.

Anyway, Chandan and Wahi soon found out that biscuits are big business. The annual consumption of bis cuits in the eastern region alone was around Rs 30 crores and demand was increasing by about 20 per cent every year With the production of Britannia, the largest manufacturer, pegged at 15,000 tonnes (value Rs 15 crores) under the MRTP regulations, there was ample room for other biscuit producers to prosper Britannia itself, in addition to their own products was marketing the goods produced by Lily Biscuits and quite a few other smaller units Kolav Biscuits was doing business of about Rs 5 crores, AMPRO, a Hyderabad firm had virtually monopolised the market for the glucose brand in the region accounting for another Rs 5 crores of business, and, among themselves, quite a few other manufacturers, mostly from Hyderabad, were sharing something between Rs 2 to 3 crores of the market.

CHANDAN and Wahi made their first move in September 1979 when they got the Eastern Biscuit Company, a private limited company, registered in Calcutta. Chandan and

Wahi are its two directors. Other shareholders are Chandan's wife, his two daughters, Wahi's mother, wife and son It is all in the family Together they have put in Rs 5 lakhs which is both the authorised and the paid-up capital of the company Wahi says "Part of the money came from our savings, and some we borrowed from our friends and relatives." The holdings in the company are shared equally by the families of Chandan and Wahi

Their next move was to get the company registered with the directo rate of small scale industries, as one must for any venture in this sector They obtained a provisional certificate of registration on 10 September 1979, specifying their intention to set up a biscuit manufacturing unit. The very next day they applied to the executive officer of the Durgapur Development Authority (DDA) for allotment of a. plot of land in Durgapur, a two-acre piece on Lenin Sarani wedged between the state run Durgapur Projects Limited and the site for the now abandoned government tyre project. There were other claimants for the plot but the DDA wrote back on the same day that the land would be available if the Eastern Biscuit Company agreed to take it on a 60-year lease at the rate of Rs 50,000 per acre. The company was also asked to furnish certificates from relevant authorites saving that the proposed manufacturing plant would not pollute air and water beyond the permissible limit

After Chandan and Wahi had met all these requirements a meeting of the DDA board was convened on 24 October 1979, where it formally decided to allot the land to the Eastern Biscuit Company Six days later, Chandan and Wahi took possession after paving Rs 34,000 on the condition that the rest of the payment for the lease would be made in four equal annual instalments The plant design was submitted on 8 December for scrutiny and approval of the DDA Till then, progress had been fairly satisfactory. However, things got stuck with the plant design Some two months later, plant design some two months tapped at the end of February this year, the building sub committee of the DDA informed Chandan and Wahl that the design was faulty and could not be approved unless necessary modifications had been made.

Chandan and Wahl became angry; after all they had paid Rs 450 for a

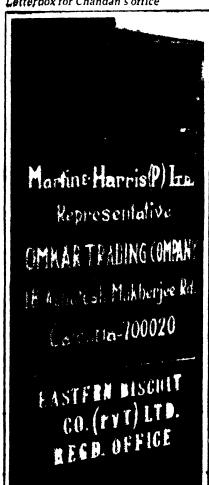
after all, they had paid Rs 450 for a scrutiny of the plant design by the building department of the DDA itself. In a sharp rejoinder, they asked the DDA why the fault had not been detected earlier. They also asserted that the DDA had been most uncooperative, that it functioned no better than a post office. Indeed, the letter they wrote was virtually an indictment of the DDA. So frustrated were they that they even thought of seeking help elsewhere outside West Bengal.

The DDA was not their only source of disappointment. The West Bengal Financial Corporation (WRFC) was another stumbling block. On 29

September 1979 they had applied to the WBFC, seeking a loan of Rs 24 lakhs for their venture. The sanction came on 7 March this year and that too for Rs 18 lakhs. The WBFC took another two months to make the first disbursement of Rs 9 lakhs As a small scale industrial venture, the project is entitled to a cash subsidy of Rs 3 45 lakhs from the government and the seed money of Rs 75,000 Neither of these incentives has been made avail able to the entrepreneurs as yet

The DDA, however, approved the plant design in March and despite the financial constraints, Chandan and Wahi went ahead with their project The technical assistance came from the Britannia Industries Limited and the machinery and equipment from another Calcutta company The capital outlay for the project is around Rs 29 lakhs The working capital require ment is another Rs 12 lakhs This means, around Rs 41 lakhs is involved in the venture Evidently, like any other enterprise this too must depend largely on institutional credits Sever al banks have been approached for loans and advances. But nothing has come of it, as yet Right now, the sum total of funds available are Rs 5 lakhs in paid up capital and another 9 lakhs secured as loan from the WBFC More than half of it has already been used up on equipment and installation Land and building have eaten up some more

Letterbox for Chandan's office



For fresh entrepreneurs, Chandan and Wahi exude unusual confidence. One reason of course is that once production starts Chandan and Wahi will have few headaches about selling their goods Britannia has informally agreed to lift the entire production and market it for them. The other reason, could be their knowledge that they can get the necessary finance from sources other than financial institutions, if need be The name of Jit Paul-the moving spirit behind the Apeejay empire whose business interests include among others shipping, tea, hotel and aviation-crops up very frequently as a source for noninstitutional finance

Some of the speculation about this relationship is certainly misinformed. For example it is widely believed in Calcutta that Chandan's wife Snigdha, is a close relative of Jit Paul "This is not true," says Shishir However, Chandan as also his partner Shishir, holds Jit Paul in high esteem for his business acumen Their merchandising firmthe Omkar Trading Company, to quote Wahi, "does some work for Martin and Harris (one of Jit Paul's many con-cerns)" The letter-box at the entrance of their office in the building in south Calcutta where one of the oldest printing press, the Caxton press, was located till about a couple of years ago, also bears this out Martin and Harris is inscribed at the top of the box, below it Omkar Trading Company and right at the bottom Eastern Biscuit Company This has led many to believe that Chandan and Wahi have been using the premises of Martin and Harris as their office for about a year now.

Both Chandan and Wahi have certainly set their sights high "Depending on our success in the presnt ven ture," Chandan told an interviewer recently, "we propose to expand in other manufacturing areas in a big way" What made Chandan go into business? His reply "To earn an honest living " As the son of a well-known marxist didn't he ever feel awkward about it? Well, he did, but then he himself was neither a politician, nor did he aspire to be one. What were his views on labour and productivity? "Industry must exist and prosper in the interest of both labour and the entrepreneur. The question of productivity naturally remains at the fore There can be compromises on all issues other

than productivity."
Chanden does not look the wheelerdealer type and gives the impression of being frank and straightforward. Their venture has, however, caused a flutter and come in for some sharp criticism from an opposition member in the West Bengal Assembly, much to the embarrassment of the Chief Minister. Jyoti Basu would have been happier if his son had chosen a different vacation. He obviously fears his opponants will be making a political issue out of it. That is why he has been refusing to visit the place where his son's venture taking shape. Chandan do not even stay with his parents although they are close neighbours.

Dacca's miserable The HRI Takh Pakistoms spread over 66 returned comps in Binglidesh are living witnesses to the living witne

living witnesses to the tracedy of the 1971 wu Despised by a whole nation Bang lidesh because of their loyalty to Islam ib idea their than Dacca, they had opted for Pakistan in 1972, hoping that some day in the near future they would be allowed to go to the land of then choice. But their dreams have long since exaporated now they live in unbearable inhuman conditions surrounded by fifth and miscry 5 Iqbal the camp incharge of the New Relief Geneva Camp in Mohammadpur Dac ca cried out almost imploringly. Hum bhi to insain hun (We ife hum in beings too)

Just off the main road some dis tance away from the centre of Dacca is the Mohammadpur camp. Named the Geneva Camp because it was formed under the aegis of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Bangladesh Government in June 19-2 the camp has nothing in common with the peace of thraway Geneval A sharp turn to the right and one finds one self amidst the overpowering stench that pervades over the whole area. The houses or thope is as they are called made of bamboo are in rows bisected by roads. A road just a muddy tract barels three feet wide. The monsoon has reduced it to a series of deep holes in some places filled with water and in others with thick duty mud

On either side of this busy thor oughture are shops playing loud tapercoorded Hindi music Shops sell toodstufts pran cignettes and every few sell clothes. Lask to be directed to the camp office and I am taken through lines behind houses to a medium sized but separated from the others by a high bamboo mat wall Inside a few of the inmates are discusing their problems with Mr Igbal. The latter is young and heavily built but his eyes mirror the sadness and misery they have seen. There is hardly any hope in the hearts of the inmates of the camp who eke out an existence as best as they can manage in a hostile city in a refugee camp no one is rich or poor, there is just one community the community of destitutes

When the camps were set up after the 1971 war international relief was available and everyone in the camps was happy. They thought they would have to spend only a few days or at most a few months in the camps before being repatriated to Pakistan But their hopes died when the Red Cross handed over the camps to the government of Bangladesh. The amount of

These are the last of the refugees of the 1971 war: the Biharis who never accepted Bangladesh and want to go to Pakistan. Today they are living in intolerable conditions in camps, because a callous Islamabad refuses to accept its moral responsibilities and take them to Pakistan, reports TIRTHANKAR GHOSH from Dacca.

food distributed came down to a trick leas the new nation faced ats own problems of inflation and famine

That was seven or eight vears ago. Now the immates of the camp receive three seers and four chataks of wheat (around three kgs) per adult permonth. Minors those below 12 year of age receive half this quantity. Expecting mothers and newborn children do not get any special food or medicines. It is a had life particularly for the weak. The health of the older people is pitiable. When the Red Cross was there doctors used to visit the

camps regularly. Now some voluntary foreign relief agencies send their physicians who merely diagnose the illnesses and prescribe the medicines required. Since the immates hardly have any money to buy the necessary medicines, they have to go to the D+ ca Medical College for free medicine.

Bibles born in the camps suffer from acute malnutrition Medical experts who have visited the camp believe that IB will break in a short time and many children will go blind. The atmosphere is dark and suffocating

A demonstration by the Pakistanis in Daica





The 14 August demonstration by the stranded Pakistanis on the streets of Dacca



Geneva camp



the filth all perviding. The houses are so close to each other that it is difficult to preathe. There are no drains water overflows from the latrines and urin also make matters worse, there are the percinicultains. The water cannot flow out in place, there is kneedeep water and slush, sometimes two weeks old. Mosquite, and in ects breed in the small puddles. In some places, the stagn int water has even entered the houses.

The Geneva Camp is a terrible reminder of what misfortune can mean. Iwentyfive thousand people live cheek by jowl. To give a typical example under one root live a man and his wife along with their son and his wife and children. There he 23 long sheds within the camp are a leach 5 ft by 30 ft) housing about 25 tame hes each In one such hed sat ind slept huddles of women and children while cooking went on over open tires The floor once hardened mud had dampened with the rain and in places was muddy. Old people with acute bronchial conditions lept over the damp floor, and it was hardly surprising to find many with wricking coughs. Even these sheds are collaps. ing there are gaping holes in the roofs providing no shelter from the sun and the rain. The inmates went in a body to complain about the conditions to Daccas Additional Deputy Commissioner (Relief) He visited the place when he heard that rain had caused the death of two old persons. His assurances however have yet to take concrete shape

The rotting stagnant water can cause an epidemic at any time. The administration in its wisdom told the inmates to pray to Allah for relief. In disgust one inmate. Mohammad Hashim, said. We are fed up with life. Ihis is an animal existence. Slqbal asked. Do you know why we are discriminated against? Simply be cause we want to be Pakistanis. We had our houses and property in this country but they have all been taken away and forcibly occupied by the

Bengalis Neither can we claim our property back nor can we demand compensation? Actually the refusees are morally Pakistan's responsibility but a callous Islamabad refuses to help

We will be totally annihilited in the near future said Rahim Khan Most of them do not have any jobs Some however try to provide for themselves and their families by pull ing rickshaws or handcarts. Others have taken up their traditional crafts cobbling and haircutting. Thin emaciated children from the camp are seen hovering around garbage dumps or begging for food. But despite the hardship they each have one thing in common the hope of reaching Pakis tan In fact the hope which had died was rekindled in 1973.74 when the Pikistan government decided to repatriate one lakh ten thousand stranded Pakistanis

The stranded Pakistanis have banded themselves into a committeethe Stranded Pakistanis General Repatriation Committee (SPGRC) On 15 August 1979 the SPGRC gave a call to 50 000 people to undertake a Long March to Pakistan crossing international borders through India They began to gather on the banks of the Kinchin river from 8 August 1979 in Dinappur and on 14 August when the much home started the Bangladesh authorities used force to stop them. In the firing which followed the initial to ugas and Lithi charge a number of them were killed

On 14 August this year the SPGRC held a demonstration on the streets of Dacca in memory of the maityrs who died due to police excesses in August 74 Nearly ten thousand demon strators gathered their lips were sealled and their hands were tied behind their backs to symbolicially explain that they had no independence

The SPGRC head office in the Geneva Camp consists of a small room with a naked bulb hanging from the tin roof. On one wall is an amateurish painting depicting the Long March on i map of the Indian subcontinent Inside the room there is a long wooden table and a revolving table fan This correspondent met the general secret ary, M Mobiuddin to ascertain the future programmes of the SPGRC They planned to undertake a general and continuous hunger strike till their demand for repatriation was met. If that failed they would boycott the little wheat they receive as relief They had plans to immolate them selves if all efforts at repatriation failed Eventually they would under take a second Long March in which all the Pakistanis in Bangladesh would join Said Mr Mohiuddin 'We cannot let this processed genocide 40 on What else is this but processed genocide? So many of us are on the verge of death. We do not get enough to cut and we suffer intolcrably. Do you know what makes us live like this. The hope that one day we will reach home-Pakistan We can tend for ourselves in Pakistan We only want repatriation?

Rafi or Lata: Who has the record?

BY KRISHNA



Rafi challenged
the Guinness
entry
which said that
Lata had the
highest number
of recordings.



OHAMMED RAFI was a superstar whose art was matched only by his generosity. He helped the poor and the needy without restraint; and one question that now arises is, what will happen to the countless destitutes who he used to help, now that he is no more. As long as he was alive, on the second of every month, hundreds of people would queue up in front of his bungalow to receive a sealed envelope containing a sum of money The receiver's name was written on each envelope and Rafi personally supervised this ritual of charity

Among those who received such help were former film artistes now unable to support themselves. Rafigave freely, not bothering about the receiver's religion And he never talked about the charity His last wish was to donate a dialysis machine to a government hospital Just a fortnight before his death, he had called on Naushad (the music director who introduced Rafi to the film industry in 1944), to ask him how much it would cost

Though Rafi was very modest about his success as a singer, he had one consuming ambition and he died without fulfilling it. He wanted to be recognised for what he was the topmost singer in the world But his heart sank when he learnt that the Guinness Book of World Records, 1977, carried the name of Lata Mangeshkar in that category. The paragraph read

"Gramophone/Cinema Most recordings Miss Lata Mangeshkar (b. 1928) between 1948 and 1974 has reportedly recorded not less than

25,000 solo, duet and chorus backed songs in 20 Indian languages She frequently had 5 sessions in a day and has 'backed' 1,800 films to 1974"

Unable to contain his disappointment, Rafi wrote to the Guinness publishers on 11 June, 1977. His letter said (we retain the occasionally incorrect phrasing) "The claim of the singer referred to in that column, to have recorded not less than 25,000 solo, duet and chorus songs is open to challenge This scrupulously mislead; ing report conveyed to you by the source needs to be verified and corrected in the light of more reliable



reports and facts, and also on the basis of 'interaction competitiveness'.

"Considering my humble debut made to the Indian music, including both cinematic and otherwise since 1944, one will be inclined to confer that honour to me In spite of my stable career and devotion all over a span of thirty glorious years I feel shy to claim to that exaggerated figure, although I have a professional edge of four years over the singer in question. I have till to this day to my humble credit 23,000 recorded songs in all the vernaculars of India How then, it is possible for a junior artiste to have recorded more than a senior playback singer? It does not behove her to have appropriated to herself this crowning glory unceremoniously. It is indeed a case of self-assuming record breaking.

"Another claim made by her that 'she frequently has five sessions in a day', should also be taken with a pinch of salt. It is equally open to doubt and challenge. It is beyond the run of human energy to have five trying sessions of recording even ordinary songs in a day. This can be proved empirically. A more monstrous maestro required more than that timings for a satisfying recording, the same is with a fastidious conductor too.

"It is, therefore, hoped that in order to keep your own 'records' flaw-less and up to date, your editorial office will publish 'only records which improve on previous records or which are newly significant'.

"I, hereby, send my independent corroboration in the form of my widely circulated pamphlet containing my humble credits to lay my claim of 'Most Recordings' of 23,000 songs. I

have also the unique distinction as the first Indian male singer to have recorded Pop songs in English...

I HAD met Rafi immediately after he was disheartened by the injustice done to him. Modest and humble as he always was, he never boasted or talked about his achievements. One can imagine how bad he must have felt to write a letter of protest. He sincerely believed this record to be his.

Later, Rafi showed me the letter from G Howard Garrad of Guinness, London, dated 24 June, 1977 which ...You will see that Miss Mangeshkar does not claim a record of 25,000 songs, but the entry simply says that she has reportedly recorded not less than 25,000 etc. This is a very

different matter.:.

"Your letter has arrived just too late to be included in the review for the forthcoming (24th) edition of the Guinness Book of World Records, but it has been carried forward with the live papers for study during the next review period, which will commence in the spring of 1968 (sic, must be 1978) At that time all papers relating to musical items will be referred to our advisers and experts on the subject and no doubt your claim will have their attention. "Despite this acknowledgement of Rafi's letter two subsequent Guinness editions carried Lata's name without mentioning the source of the "record". The Indian film industry does not have any reliable statistics, nor have the recording companies for that matter about film songs So the number is, at best, a conjecture, and other yardsticks must be used to determine who sang how many songs

On 30 July, 1977 Rafi wrote another letter to the Guinness publishers. It stated: ".. I now base my argument and claim on your professed statement that 'she has reportedly recorded not less than 25,000 etc'. I wonder if such reports can be published without being substantiated by figures and facts supplied by authentic and reliable sources. Such reports are tantamount to hearsay" Along with this letter, Rafi had submitted his bio-data upto 1974 and offered to update it on request. But there was no response

A restless Rafi wrote again on 20 November, 1979 ".. am disappointed that my request for a reassessment vis-a-vis Ms Lata Mangeshkar's reported world record has gone unheeded... Whilst I am happy that the record has been credited to an Indian singer with whom I have been privileged to sing many duets over the years, even at the cost of being dubbed immodest I would stake my own claim to the world record Herewith facts to

support:

 My career began in 1944, whilst Mangeshkar first recorded in 1947/48 Ms Mangeshkar has seldom it ever recorded more than one song a day, as her frail constitution would prevent her from doing so.

• To have recorded not less than \$25,000 songs in 31 years would mean

BOOK OF RECORDS

ear tanished in the first of in

Two songs have each been reoprosed over 1,000 times— Yourney within by Paul McCarney and John Lennon (see above with 1.156 versions between 1905 and 1 Jan. 1973 and The Allem Ribbon Round the old Oak True written by Irwin Laving and L. Russell Brown with more than 1,000 from 1973 to 1 Jan. 1979.

Act requelles

Miss Lata Mangeshker (b. 1926) between 1948 and 1974 has reportedly recorded not less than 25,000 solo, duct and choose hadded songs in 20 Indian languages. She frequently had 5 sessings in a day and has "backed" 1,800 films to 1974.

Higgest ceiliges Singles

The greatest seller of any gramophone record to date is White Chrismarky Irving Berlin (b. Israel Bailin, at Tyument Russia, 1) May 1688) with 25,000,000 for the Crosby single (recorded 29 May 1942) and more than 100,000,000 in other versions. The highest claim for any "pop" record is an unaudited 25,000,000 for Rock Around the Clock, copyrighted

recording three songs every day come rain or shine. Even granting her one song every day, excluding Sundays and holidays, she could produce 300 songs a year, or 9,300 in 31 years.

 The fallacy in your report is, therefore, all too obvious.

 My claim of having recorded approximately 23,000 songs is based on my average of two songs a day when I am in Bombay I can substantiate that I have, on occasion, recorded five songs in one day.

"It would not be too difficult for you to ask an impartial agency in India to enquire into the rival claims before you. I trust that my motive will not be misunderstood. I hold Ms Mangeshkar in the highest esteem, however, a record accepted by you becomes unquestionable May I request you to

withhold publication of this item pending proper enquiry".

"神"乃柳张 表表:"杨如陈子之儿 人 点

Rafi did not receive a reply to the letter

Eventually, it was left to Polydor India Ltd to take up cudgels on behalf of Mohammed Rafi Mr G. Wunder wald, its managing director, wrote to Guinness on 5 May, 1980 His letter said, "As a record manufacturing company operating in India, we claim to have enough knowledge of facts to reasonably doubt the correctness of your assertion Miss Lata Mangeshkar whom you have credited with this, distinction is doubtless one of the top recording artists of this country, but so are a few other distinguished singers,

the seniormost of whim is Mohd Rafi. "We made a study of all available data and have come to the conclusion that there is a possibility of genuine misreporting or lack of investigation on the subject We, therefore, feel that the matter calls for thorough reexamination to determine the rightful claimant to the distinction of having made the most recordings ..

Till the time of Rafi's death, the Guinness people had not bothered to reply to Mr Wunderwald's letter



LIVING

Shatranj ka khilari

Tirtha Kumar Phani (21) was once in love with football. He played the game with zest till 1974. Then he suffered a leg injury and, unable to take the field, switched over to chess. Tirtha's parents were worried about him he seemed hope lessly lacking in aptitude for academics. And to add to their misery when only in his second year of college. Tirtha decided against the pursuit of a university degree.

Life at home in Lalgola (in the district of Murshidabad, West Bengal) was getting difficult for Tirtha So on 15 December, 1978 he took to the roads with what then seemed an ambitious plan of touring the country on foot and playing competitive chess wherever he went On 24 August, 1980 Tirtha accomplished the in credible feat, having hitch hiked all over the country in 20 months He passed through almost every state and, according to plan, played chess wherever he went—at



Tirtha (left, foreground) with the PM

the college, club and district levels In Tamil Nadu he par ticipated in two important tournaments, Spick and

Palani lirtha reached Kurukshetra in May this year and, ex hausted as he was, decided to participate in the Haryana state chess championships Displaying incredible perception and tact, Tirtha won the tournament and by 3 June was in Delhi-after another arduous journey on foot-to represent Haryana in the Na tionals But, by now, he was too tired to match his wits with seeded players He couldn't figure anywhere in the tournament Yet Tirtha's spirits were high after he en ded his marathon journey in Calcutta Said the dauntless young man "I now plan to tour the world on a bicycle and play and learn from all the leading chess players of different countries" Obviou ly Tirtha is made of sterner stuff

Lucrative locale

Aging film stars who own sprawling bunglows in Mad ras have come up with a clev er scheme. They are renting out their houses at attractive yet competitive rates to film producers And the owners of regular studios in the city are in a state of panic. They claim that their business is on the verge of collapse—due to the excellent facilities availabe to the producers at the stars' bunglows. That their fears are well founded is apparent from

the fact that a small temple which has already featured in many Telegu films, is actually situated in Pandari Bai's com pound The old timer not only rents out her house but also the temple And the idea seems to have worked famously, more and more ex stars are taking the cue from Pandari Bai Apart from a steady income, the arrangement helps them to get a few on-the-spot assignments as well

Decline on the porno graph

Publishers of pornographic literature in Kerala are in trouble. Their spicy stuff is no longer reaching those hungry Keralites in the Gulf who, in the last few years, have been principal patrons of Malayalam pornography. Now of course the customs officials in India have turned smarter, all the porno consignments to the Gulf are being confiscated by them. Even the stuff pack.

ed in innocent looking wrap pers is being scrutinised by officials who are well versed in Malayalam According to Arthur Pais, a glossy soft porn magazine, which was floated mainly to cater to the bored Malayalees in the Gulf, has also run into rough weather Faced with the customs' blockade and a highly competitive local market it is on its way to oblivion

Projecting the Ray

B R Chopra (who now stands deep in the dust and debris of his last venture, The Burning Train) admitted, albiet ruefully, that Satyajit Ray is a big man But one does not need Chopra's opinion to real ise that the legend from Ben gal is gradually becoming a national institution and get ting into the pages of history A retrospective exhibition on Ray's works held in Bombay recently bore evidence of the man's impact on Indian cine ma Compiled and sponsored by the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP) at the National Cen tre of Performing Arts, the exhibition showed how Ray went about filming Pather



Panchali, how he drew his designs and sketches and how he created his caricatures. It took the DAVP four months of hard work to gather the stuff, digging out information from 4000 articles, essays and original manuscripts. The display, reoports Ashish Rajadhyaksha, included over 300 stills, photovisuals and actual working papers and sketches of the director. It covered Ray's entire 25 years of filmmaking—from Pather Panchali to Hirak Rajar Desh which is yet to be released. The same exhibition opened in Calcutta on 10 September along with a retrospective of Ray's 21 films sponsored by the Cine Central.

The Anglo-angle



Aparna Sen had tried to make it big in the Hindi filmdom But even Sagina, in which she appeared with the legendary Dilip Kumar, failed to rise to memorable heights at the box-office So she came back to Calcutta where she had done very well indeed But soon she got fed up with Bengali films and took up photo-graphy. After a brief affair with that, she switched over to editing a magazine about which not much was ever known. Now Aparna is going ahead with her old ambition of making a film in English According to Anil Grover, the film has been tentatively titled 36, Chowrinhgee Lane and will be based on the Anglo-Indian community Aparna Sen will do the story and screenplay She will also direct the film, which will star Jennifer Kapoor Aparna, it may be recalled, had acted with Jennifer in Ivory. Merchant's Bombay Talkies

The passage to India

In the good old days very few foreign film units came to India But, in the last year or so, there has been a virtual invasion from the West First it was Peter Montagnon who came down to shoot a fourpart documentary on Kashmir for the BBC (the film was eventually viewed by approximately 50 million in both Europe and America) Alexandro Jodorowsky camped in Karnataka for Tusk. Paul Mazursky shunted between Calcutta, Darjeeling and Varanasi, shooting Willie and Phil. And of course there was Euan Lloyd who-more on account of his film's hero, Roger Moore—drove the Goans crazy while shooting The Sea Wolves. Obviously these filmmakers were not daunted by the red tape in India. It is interesting to note that each unit was required to submit four copies of the script with a brief scenario to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting(MIB) either

directly or indirectly through Indian missions abroad; obtain permission to shoot in the specific region of India from the MIB, provide a guarantee to show the completed version of the film to the Indian embassy in the unit's country of origin; sub-mit a complete list of personnel and equipment to the MIB; state the monetary value of all equipment; obtain permission to bring raw (film) stock and equipment into the country without paying duty; submit copies of all permis-sions so far mentioned to the collector of Customs; sign a bond with the Reserve Bank of India to the value of the material being brought to India; obtain a TBRE from the same bank to avoid taxation; obtain permission for daily shooting from the relevant state government bodies; and, finally, bear the board and lodging expenses of a government official who would be present at all the locations.

A bit of wit

Sydney boasts of a peculiar brand of graffiti. According to Jimi Hafizji, advertisement hoarding sites seem to be a favourite medium for the witty or irate Australian. An Air-India hoarding—which showed the face of a tiger and proclaimed "India: Any other holiday

seems tame"—had this little note scrawled underneath: "Yeah! you can't have weak stomachs to see millions starving," But nothing could possibly beat the inscription written during the Soviet take-over of Afghanistan and Tito's illness: "Arms for Pakistan. Legs for Tito".

Guns galore

Quite a lot of pistol-packing has been going on in Goa since the Portuguese left the territory in 1961. There was a time when every foot constable and every soldier carried a pistol Officers were invariably issued more than one pistol or revolver Civilians also bought and possessed arms which they never used, except to threaten coconut thieves, rebellious daughters and the unwanted lovers of coquettish wives It is esti-mated that the Portuguese had left behind 20,000 small firearms Some of these were also taken as souvenirs (of a war which was never fought) by members of the Indian armed forces. And of course many were taken by the VIPs One such VIP—ex-chief secretary of Goa, R M Agarwal—recently got himself in-volved with illegal firearms He is being prosecuted, says Mario Cabral e Sa, for having taken a weapon which had

been deposited by a widow at the collectorate According to government sources, earlier Agarwal had taken away three more pistols. If the allegations are true, then this celebrity has managed to lift items worth roughly Rs 20,000 in the open market



People's boutique

Boutiques thrive on the offbeat, to cater to the needs of the fashion conscious who would hate to be seen in regulation off the shelf attire or have their drawing rooms look the same as others. But Shirine of Calcutta is off-beat in a different sort of way In their second exhibition opening on 14 September there will be mat-woven items by a rehabilitated girl. Mrs Indira Dutta Ray who runs the boutique is actually still at what she had been doing for the last 15 years—helping the handicapped and underprivileged—at Refugee Handicraft The connoisseur will of course have something to attract him—terracotta plaques and papier mache objects by an award-winning artist. Plus the usual Bengal silks and cottons, Banjara jewellery, temple carvings in wood, Pichwai paintings...

Lingular lapse



Vasant Sathe

Union Information and Broadcasting Minister Vasant Sathe delivered the inaugural address at the Kul-Hind Urdu

Conference held in Chandigarh recently. He spoke in English and fumbled painfully while pronouncing the names of the literary gaints of Urdu. And then he prop-ounded the theory of one script for all Indian languages; unfortunately the script that he proposed at the Urdu conference was Hindi. The proposal was rejected the very next day. To add more colour to the conference was another principal speakerchief commissioner of Chandigarh, B. S. Sarao. He opened his discourse in English and then switched over to Bengali A little later, he showered a few sentences in Punjabi. Sarao of course has served the government of India in quite a few states and has thus picked up quite a few lan-guages. But why choose an Urdu conference to display multilingual tendencies?



When Mrs Gandhi's Party was in the opposition Mrs Margaret Alva raised the issue in Parliament to the acute discomfiture of the Janata government. Now the tables are turned. SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA investigates how the Defence Ministry has repeatedly failed to ensure that our arms exports do not finally go to 'undesirable' countries.

HE Defence Ministry has been the subject of re ports of Parliament's Pub lic Accounts Committee (PAC) and the Estimates Committee (EC) on more occasions than any other Ministry of the Govern ment of India. The reason is not diffi cult to appreciate. There is always the suspicion of kickbacks in defence deals. The costliest deals of other Ministries on many occasions look like chickenfeed in front of the defence deals. The Defence Ministry started appearing in the PAC reports right from the first Lok Sabha when the second report of the PAC of that house dealt with the famous jeep scandal Since then voluminous tomes have been churned out by the parliamen tary panels entrusted with the task of overseeing the proper spending of gov ernment funds

The Press and the Parliament have been in recent days concerned with the working of the Defence Ministry due to the exposures regarding the sale of the army's Centurion tinks and Centurion tank spares to what are believed to be undesirable' parties,

that too at ridiculously low prices. The Defence Ministry at present is under the direct charge of the Prime Minis ter, and these exposures have caused grave concern all round Many heads have rolled in the Ministry since Mrs Margaret Alva of the Congress(U) fust raised the issue in a Rajya Sabha debate on 6 August One victim has been the principal officer dealing with the case, who has not only been transferred but also demoted allegedly because he dared to point out to the Minister of State for Defence, Mr C P N Singh, the rajkumar of the former princely state of Padrauna in Deoria district of UP, that what was being done was not in the country's best interests The Defence Secretary, Mr K P A Menon (who has had a phe nomenal rise in the Ministry since joining it soon after Mrs Gandhi's return to power), has transfeired his Additional Secretary, Mr S S Siddhu out of the Ministry Mr C P N Singh had no ministerial experience before becoming the Minister of State for Defence Mr Menon was an Additional Secretary in the I ood and Agriculture Ministry before he was brought in as

the Secretary (Defence Production) under Mr C P N Singh Within a few weeks Mr Menon was elevated to the post of Defence Secretary, the Defence Secretary has under his command the Secretary (Defence Production), Secretary (Defence Supplies), Secretary (Defence Research), and one or two more officers of the Secretary's rank And it is this comparatively young team which has been entrusted with the task of handling major defence deals since the return of the Congress(I) to power

Among the prominent decisions

Among the prominent decisions that are being made are those concerning the purchase of submarines for the navy, the decision about whether to continue with the Jaguar deal or scrapit (partially) in favour of the French Mirage, the selection of proper equipment for the armed forces for the Eighties (as most of the equipment now in use has been there since the mid Sixties and there is a genuine need for change), and the sale of Centurion tanks and their spares, which was tendered for in October, 1979 but which has been awaiting a decision because the Defence Minister

of the Charan Singh government, Mr C. Subramaniam, had felt that it was not proper for the caretaker government to take a decision on such an important transaction on the eve of the Lok Sabha elections.

The tank deal has raised a lot of dust since the exposure by Mrs Margaret Alva on the floor of the Rajya Sabha during a debate on the performance of the External Affairs Ministry on 6 August. Mrs Alva was a prominent member of the Congress (Indira) when that Party was in the opposition; she crossed over to the Congress(U) along with Mr Devaraj Urs. During the Morarji regime, 90 Centurions had been sold to an international gunrunner, W. R. M. Mitchelle, who represents a British firm called Interarms, which is a subsidiary of the American firm, Interarmco—the acknowledged number one dealer of secondhand arms in the world. These tanks had ultimately found their way to South Africa, and the British Press had published photographs, taken in South Africa, of tanks complete with Indian markings.

Mrs Gandhi, as the leader of the major opposition Party in those days, had asked her prominent MPs to raise the issue in both the houses in early 1979, and Mrs Alva was entrusted with the task of lambasting the Janata government over the deal. Today, with Mrs Gandhi heading the government, and in-charge of the Defence portfolio, Mrs Alva wondered in the 6 August debate how the proposed sale of 200 more Centurion tanks to the same Mr W R. M Mitchelle could be justified. Mrs Alva stated that she had been to London recently, and had been shocked to learn there that Mr Mitchelle was in New Delhi, negotiating another deal with the Government of India and also receiving VIP treatment from the people entrusted with the task of running the Defence Ministry. Mrs Alva gave Mr Mitchelle's address as 30, Milners Street, London and told the treasury benches. "I may be corrected if I am wrong. I do not make charges in Parliament without having full facts.' The CPI's Mr Bhupesh Gupta and CPI(M)'s Mr P. Ramamurti backed Mrs Alva. No rebuttal came from the government.

On the evening of 6 August, shaken by the revelations of Mrs Alva, a hurried meeting was called of some top officials and to the glee.of those interested in the two deals—the sale of 200 Centurion tanks to Mr Mitchelle, and of 3,000 tonnes of Centurion spares (as 'scrap') to a Canadian firm, Auto Levy—it was found that Mrs Alva had only mentioned the tank deal and was not aware of the deal regarding spares. Immediately, instructions went to quickly finalise the spares deal, and within barely 24 hours of the Parliament disclosures on the tanks, the curtain was rung down on the spares deal, despite vehement opposition from both the Finance (Defence) authorities and a section of the army top brass dealing with ordnance stores.

These facts came to the knowledge

of Mrs Alva much later, and on 18 August she rose to make a 'special mention' in the Rajya Sabha on the spares deal, and said that tank spares worth Rs 7 crores had been sold off for Rs 70 lakhs, and the deal had been signed by an officer of the rank of Under Secretary to the Government of India, who normally is not authorised to sign such deals. Mrs Alva further revealed that the Ministry of External Affairs, who have to be kept in the picture on all such transactions (see box on the misuse of 'End User Certificate') to ensure that our defence stores do not get into 'undesirable' hands, had been kept in the dark about the sale of Centurion spares.

Mrs Alva said that since she had raised the issue regarding the sale of tanks on 6 August, Mr Mitchelle had been ringing her up frantically from London. "He has been trying to tell me that I should not create problems for him and that he is a very good and an honest man, not an agent for the Pentagon, as I had said, and that he has very deep and very friendly connections with the Government of India and with India. He tells me that these tanks which he expects to buy will go to London under Indian naval escort to make sure that they reach London. I, therefore, asked him whether the British Government was interested in her own (obsolete) Centurion tanks, and what will happen when they reached London? 'Well, that is a question which will come up later,' he said. I, therefore, want to point out that this question of the spare parts dealwhich I know for certain was objected to by the Finance Ministry-has now been delinked from the Centurion sale



On 18 August Mrs Margaret Alva said in the Rajya Sabha that tank spares worth Fls 7 crores had been sold off for Fls 70 lakhs. No denial came from the government.

Auto Levy for this price (Rs 70 lakhs) with a commission of Rs 70 lakhs. We are told that this deal is going through the famous Sagar Suri and their firm... This kind of deals with the gunrunners damage our friendly relations and our international reputation... I, therefore, plead with the government—in fact, I would submit that a statement should be made by the government. If I am wrong, let a denial come out..."

No denial came on 18 August. And none came later. The government took shelter behind the plea that it was not obligatory for it, under the parliamentary rules, to comment on the members "special mentions." Mr C. P. N. Singh, instead of trying to clarify his position, was seen entering the house while the debate was on, but he did not sit in the usual place reserved for Ministers Mrs Alva later told this reporter that in view of the government's silence, she was convinced that her information was correct.

VEIL of secrecy always shrouds Athe activities of the Defence Ministry, and perhaps rightly so. But unfortunately this veil can be misused. A typical case is that of a report of the Estimates Committee of the sixth Lok Sabha, which had gone into the sale of 90 Centurion tanks by the Defence Ministry under Babu Jagjivan Ram in the Janata regime, and in which Mr Kanti Desai's name was linked. The report was a revealing document. But it was not made public in the 'public interest' under instructions of the then Speaker of Lok Sabha, Mr K S. Hegde, Instead of exposing the dirty tricks of the top functionaries of the government, this report is now gathering dust in an obscure file of the Estimates Committee branch of the Parliament secretariat (It is normal practice to print the reports.) Only two copies of this report were typed; one was kept in the EC branch and another was forwarded to the Defence Ministry for 'suitable action.'

It may be in the national interest to reveal the contents of this report, as it would help plug the loopholes that can arise in such deals. Interestingly, the Defence Secretary at the time of the 90 tanks deal, Mr Gyan Prakash, is now the Comptroller and Auditor General of India-an autonomous post; the appointment is by the President, and the appointee is entrusted with the task of plugging all loopholes in government deals. At least Mr Prakash knows the truth about Mr Mitchelle, to whom his former Ministry had sold the 90 tanks, supposed to have been destined for Spain, but which landed up in South African hands

The fact of the 90 tanks deal is that these tanks, after being sold by India on the basis of an 'End User Certificate' issued by the Spanish government, found their way to South Africa Though the Spanish company responsible for the purchase of these tanks as 'scrap' has been vehemently saying that 'these tanks were actually broken up into pieces and melted, the photographs published in the Bittish Press told another story. Further, a

study of the Military Balance, published by the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, during three years is revealing. According to this study, in 1977-78, South Africa had 150 Centurions and India had 180 in active service In 1978-79 the figures were: South Africa, 150, India, 100. The 1979-80 figures were South Africa, 250; India, 50. Whereas India has been phasing out the Centurions, South Africa has been constantly increasing their numbers. The figures of all other users of Centurions have more or less remained static From where did South Africa get the extra 100 tanks suddenly in 1979-80? Apparently the 90 Indian tanks and some others, procured by some gunrunner, have found their way to the racist regime

According to revelations made by the Congress(U) Lok Sabha member, Mr K P Unnikrishnan, in the sixth Lok Sabha, soon after the tank deal of the Janata regime, the Indian tanks were loaded on a Taiwanese ship, Scan Fuzi, which sailed to Port Elizabeth in South Africa straight from Bombay. After unloading the cargo of tanks at Port Elizabeth, this ship left on a voyage to Latin America and not for Barcelona, which was supposed to be the destination of the cargo of tanks. Taiwanese and Liberian colours are really 'flags of convenience,' in maritime parlance, and the very fact that Mr Mitchelle chose a Taiwanese ship for exporting the cargo should have alerted the Janata government, that is, if we are to believe that the authorities were totally in the dark about the destination of the hardware being purchased by Mr Mitchelle

90 Centurion tanks sold (through an international gunrunner W. R. M. Mitchelle) when Jagjivan Ram was the Janata Defence Minister, were resold to South Africa. A report of the Estimates Committee of the sixth Lok Sabha, which had gone into the sale, and in which Kanti Desai's name was also linked, was not made public in the 'public interest'.

N the present case, the tender for the sale of the 200 Centurions and 3,000 tonnes of Centurion spares (some of them still in packing cases) was floated by the Defence Ministry in October 1979, during the tenure of C. Subramaniam as the Defence Minister. Apart from Mr Mitchelle, the original manufacturers of the tank, Vickers Engineering of England, ten-dered for the tanks. On a conservative estimate, the market value of each tank in present conditions is US dollars 1.26,000. This figure can go up to anything if there is a sudden demand, due to a regional war or tension. The final offers of the two parties, at the time of writing, were: Mr Mitchelle was offering 26,500 dollars per tank, and Vickers was offering 80,000 dollars per tank

Due to some strange reason, the Defence Ministry was favouring the lower offer of Mr Mitchelle This could have meant straightaway a profit of 20 million dollars for Mr Mitchelle had the deal gone through. However, due to the hullabaloo raised in the Press and in Parliament, the Prime Minister

has ordered a fresh look into the deal and there is a possibility of fresh tenders being called.

The interesting part of the tank deal is that while Vickers were trying to buy the tanks, to resell them to Morocco after reconditioning, Mr Mitchelle had produced a British Board of Trade (BOT) import licence, which showed that the tanks were allowed to enter Britain for reconditioning and upgunning, apparently by Vickers, who are the only people capable of reconditioning these tanks. After the ouster of the late Shah of Iran, and the subsequent cancellation of huge defence orders placed by Iran on British armament manufactures, many arms firms in Britian are lying idle and any jobwork, like reconditioning old tanks, is welcome. Therefore, it is not difficult to get a BOT import licence for such things. In all likelihood, in the next tender also, Mr Mitchelle will be able to pull off the deal, perhaps at a slightly higher price, because Vickers had become cold about their offer in the last stages of the present negotiations. The irony is that while the government objected to the Vickers proposal of Morocco as the end-user, it apparently was not bothered about Mr Mitchelle's enduser. Mr Mitchelle rightly told Mrs Alva over the telephone that Indian naval ships would be accompanying the tanks to London He has not specified to the government who his enduser is, and perhaps the government is treating the BOT licence as the 'End User Cerificate' contrary to the normal practice

The proposal to delink the sale of tank spares from the main deal came from the office of Mr C P. N Singh. Both the army authorities and the Finance (Defence) opposed the delinking because they felt that the spares would fetch a better price if sold along with the tanks (Due to the enormous amount of money involved in the activities of the Defence Ministry, there is a separate wing of the Finance Ministry known as Finance (Defence), headed by the Financial Adviser to Defence services, who is also an Additional Secretary in the Finance Ministry) Two army officers who opposed the delinking were Major General A. D Mohoni, Deputy Director, Ordnance Services and Maj Gen. P. N. Anand, the Officer on Special Duty (Armaments) in the department of Defence Production. Gen. Anand's main job was to promote defence exports. The post of OSD (A) was created in 1973.

Fallout of '62

THE Chinese aggression in 1962 had made even a person like Jawaharlal Nehru give up his well-known anti-Israel stance and allow defence deals with the Jewish state The Indian army had gone around many Western countries looking for the latest armaments soon after the war and in most cases drawn a blank As the war was with China, a Communist state, the army authorities did not feel confident about dealing with the Soviet bloc (though later the Soviet bloc became the major arms supplier)

In January 1963 a delegation led by an Indian colonel visited Israel and got a VIP treatment and came back after successfully negotiating a deal for recoilless guns and 81mm and 120mm mortars. The deal could not be done directly as the Indian government did not recognise Israel. Therefore a Finland-based firm, Soltham, was used as the go-between. As far as the Indian government was concerned, the arms were purchased from Finland. The mortars, known as Tampella, replaced the obsolete two, three and four-and-a-half inch mortars which were till then used by the Indian army.

The Indian team came back very impressed with the facilities for arms manufacturing in Israel: over 18 ordnance factories in such a tiny country! The Israelis then were the only manufacturers of anti-tank recoilless guns, apart from the USA and Turkey. As it was not possible to buy the guns from either of them, both being allies of Pakistan in the SEATO and CENTO, the Israelis were the only choice.

were the only choice.

The visit by the Indian colonel and his team was leaked by a junior functionary of the Defence Ministry in New Delhi in the winter of 1963, just before a visit by the Chinese premier, Chou En-Lai to Egypt. This did a lot of damage to Nehru's anti-Israeli image in the Arab world. The officer was later found to be a regular supplier of secret documents to foreign embassies and arrested on charges of spying.

Due to some strange reason, the (present) Defence Ministry was favouring the lower offer of Mr Mitchelle (on the pending tender for the sale of 200 Centurion tanks). This could have meant a straightaway profit of \$20 million for Mr Mitchelle had the deal gone through... The PM has ordered a fresh look into the deal and there is a possibility of fresh tenders being called.

Vhereas Gen Anand was reverted ack to his substantive post and transerred out, Gen Mohoni was astoished to find that his objections were ot even recorded in the minutes of ne meeting held on 23 May under the hairmanship of Mr K. P A. Menon.

The firm to which the spares have ow been sold at a throwaway price is ot new to this country. In April 1956, ne government had looked around for pares to overhaul the second world ar-vintage army vehicles, both

armoured and non-armoured, of North American origin. Then too Auto Levy had come forward with a proposal to barter some spares needed by our army, and some signals equipment, in exchange for some unused spares of the Indian army The deal created a scandal later, and the 28th report of the Public Accounts Committee of the second Lok Sabha (published in April 1960) noted that the deal with this Canadian firm had been gone through despite an objection of Finance (De-

ence). The PAC then had pulled up not only the Defence Ministry but also the Director General, India Supply Mission, London, for entering into a deal of this nature without verifying the credentials of the firm. At present, the firm is represented in India by Mr Lalit Suri, the brother of Mr Sagar Suri, who was reputed to be very close to the late Sanjay Gandhi.

WHILE moving the papers for the tank deal to be postponed, the former Defence Minister, Mr C. Subramaniam, had asked the Defence Ministry to lay down firm guidelines about defence exports and sale of spares in view of the objections raised in the 81st report of the PAC of the sixth Lok Sabha Apparently, no thought has been given to the note of the former Minister. It will be in the national interest to allow a Parliamentary committee to go into the entire gamut of defence sales and purchases abroad. The role of international agents dealing in defence transactions with this country may bring out many

Stephen's strictures

A CERTAIN defence export under-taken during the Emergency, when Bansi Lal was the Defence Minister, came under the scrutiny of the Parliament's Public Accounts Committee (PAC) in 1978, when the present Communications Minister, C. M. Stephen, was the chairman of the body and the present I & B Minister, Vasant Sathe, was an opposition PAC member. The PAC's findings on the deal were published in its 81st report to the Sixth Lok Sabha, completed on 26 April 1978. The deal, which was made in the financial year 1975.76, was commented on in paragraph nine of the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for 1975 on the Union Government (Defence Services):

two years back, though separate from the recently concluded deal involving tanks and Centurion spare parts, has special significance for the present contest as the main point of disputethen too was that a proper 'end user certificate' was not obtained before then too was that a proper 'end user cartificate' was not obtained before the deal war put through. An 'end there certificate' is a written affirmation from the foreign government that the storestere betended for its own atclusive use and would not be sold, transferred or diverted without the seller's pries permission. Such certific takes are generally verified at the government to generally verified at the government to generally verified at the government to generally verified at the government that shey are generally for the foreign that the privacy 1973, when vidys that are finished was the Minister for the proceed Production, his set up a security that to be able to private the increase of security in the ordinate factories about the 1962, 1965 and 1971.

Street The way to be a superior of the state of the second

defence stores to friendly countries. What was meant to be a move to help the country's image abroad later turned out to be a conduit for sending indian arms to undesirable parties through unscrupulous agents. The basic idea of an 'end user certificate' is to have government-to-government dealings in armaments and cut out the role of international gunrunners. The induction of agents as go-betweens only waters down this concept, as was seen in the case scrutinised by the

In June 1975 the special export cell of the Department of Defence Production received enquiries from an Indian firm for the export of a. certain defence equipment. The Defence Ministry started the negotia-tions and was given an 'end user certificate' from country 'A'. (Due to reasons of state, the names of the countries and the description of the equipment exported have been concealed in the PAC report Due to reasons unknown, perhaps at the prompting of the government, the report steelf was not given much publicity, though it was printed in April 1978.

On solutiny, the 'end user certificate' was found to be a unacceptable and surprisingly, instead of the negotializable being called off, the firm was achief to produce an 'acceptable' certificate slong with the formal orders for the stores. The firm placed the sider on the Indian ordance factor less of 25 July 1975 and on 23 August that year an 'end user certificate' was produced from country B', which had not figured in the past negotiations, "The acculpment was finally ship-"The adulpment was finally shipped by the agent, on the basis of the end that certificate of foreign governed by the British the military attache of India is something the shipped by the certificate of the property of the property of the certification of the ce in country B reported that the ship-

ment purported to have been despatched to foreign government 'B' was, in fact, intended for and had been despatched to another destination. It is surprising that the shipment was sent at all, because, according to the PAC report, around the same time the 'end user certificate' from country 'B' was produced by the agent, in August 1975, an official Defende Ministry delegation from that country was in India. When consulted by the Indian officials, the delegation said that it was "not aware of the require-ments of the stores indicated in the 'end user certificate". Subsequently, in May 1976, the foreign agent held that as the buyer of stores from the Indian Ministry of Defence, it hed the right and option to resell (or subdivide) the stores to any other customer or customers.

More intriguing is the reply given, by the Defence Ministry, in March 1977, to a query from the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. The Ministry said: "The 'end user certificate' was only intended as a safeguard and the same was not verified or authenticated as there was no doubt about its authenticity."

Saying that "the Ministry of Defence owes an explanation to the committee for this apathy," the PAC report, drafted under the chairmanship of the present Union Communications Minister, C. M. Stephen, had laid down clear guidelines for future deals. It had disapproved of the idea of dealing with foreign gov-ernments through agents without verifying the agent's credentials and stressed the need to respect the sanctity of the 'end user certificate' while entering the international armaments market, even if the motive was to utilise spare capacity available with the ordnance factories in India.

revealing facts

There are six Jewish firms who are dealing with the Defence Ministry and other government agencies at present They are the firm of Mr Joe Kozaieck (who gifted the ill fated Pitts to Mr Sanjay Gandhi), the firm of Mr Isen berg (also dealing in aircraft), the firm of Mr W R M Mitchelle, Levy Auto, Marcell Dessault (who are trying to sell the French Mirages), and Estab lishment Salgaad Interestingly, the Principal Secretary of the former Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, Mr Shankar (who was also a former Defence Secretary), had represented two of these Jewish firms before re joining the government during the Janata regime-Marcell Dessault and Establishment Salgaad besides a

Swedish firm, Bofors Could it be possible that the controversial visit by the Israelı leader, Gen Moshe Dayan, was organised at the behest of this cartel Jewish firms?

Moreover, most of the international arms companies dealing with the De fence Ministry prefer to employ re tired colonels, brigadiers and major generals as their 'consultants' In most of these cases, the consultants had dealings with these firms or were in important positions either in the ordn ance services directorate of the army headquarters or the directorate gener al of inspection of the defence produc tion department, or in the chief con trollerate of research and develop ment in the Defence Ministry

The sale of 200 Centurions to a

party which is capable of selling then to countries unfriendly to India may have been stopped for the time being but the very fact that in the pas-Indian arms have fallen into the wrong hands (for example, the Ethiopian re bels and the Somalis in 1976, when our government was supporting the Ethio pians against the Somalis-the posi tion has changed now), should be enough reason for firm guidelines being laid down for defence sales and purchases After all, a few dollars cannot be enough reason for neglect ing our international image as a lead ing force in the non-aligned move ment, as well as in the anti-racist and anti zionist movements, of which we have been a part since the days of our independence struggle

The new-look Centurion does quite well

ON 20 August the army head-quarters in a Press briefing tried to put out a story that the Centurions, about whose sale a storm has been raised in the Press and Parliament, have been rejected by armies all over the world as being "obsolete" The "informed sources" quoted by the daily papers on 21 August sought to give an impression that the Centurions had ceased to be in operation "in any armoured warfare in any country in the world " But a reference to the reliable encyclopaedia on armaments Jane's Weapons Systems would disabuse these "informed sources" of the Sena Bhavan of any such notions. They have for some strange reason tried to get them-selves involved in a controversy which does not directly concern the army headquarters.

According to the 1979-80 edition of Jane's Weapons Systems, the Centurions are currently in active service with the armies of Denmark, Iraq, India, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Netherlands, South Africa, Sweden and Switzerland The Centurions were first manufactured by Britain's royal ordnance factories under a design of Vickers Engineering of UK in 1945 They were the standard British army tanks for over 20 years, till the development of the Chieftain tanks by the royal ordnance factories The Centurion tanks have seen service in Korea, the Suez crisis, Indo-Pak wars, Arab-Israelı wars of 1967 and 1973 and with the Austra-

lian army in the Vietnam war One drawback of the Centurion is that it has a petrol engine, which makes it more fire-prone during battle than the tanks with digsel engines Moreover, the original Centurions would be unsuitable for the present operations because of the obsolete gun and other accessories However, the tank, according to Jane's, can be reconditioned

with a retro-fit package, developed recently by Vickers Engineering The modernisation can either be carried out in the Vickers factory or the customer's own workshops, according to Jane's, Already the armies of Switzerland and Sweden have given their Centurions to Vickers for the retro-fit treatment. The modifications include, besides upgradation of the gun to the 105 mm range, a change of engine, gear-box, modernised gun control equipment, a laser range finder, a new commander's cupola, modern ventilation system and passive night vision equipment. For the modernisation of the engine, Vickers are using a General Motors V-12 engine and a TN-12 gearbox (as used in the Chieftains). But army experts in New Delhi point out that such reconditioning can be useful only if the tank is 'healthy', that is, if the track life, suspension life and the bodywheel life are all right.

India had ventured into the field of reconditioning old tanks in the early Sixties. Apparently the 1962 Chinese aggression had made the army sit up and look for new weapons When they found the going not so easy in the international market, a base workshop near Pune was entrusted with the task of upgunning Sherman tanks, some of which saw action in the 1965 war with Pakistan. Some T-55 tanks too were upgunned and reconditioned in 1972-73 by the Indian army workshops after the Bangladesh liberation war In fact, apart from Israel and France, India was the first to venture into the field of recon-

ditioning tanks.

The performance of the reconditioned Shermans, however, was not encouraging and most of them got knocked off in the beginning of the 1965 was because only the upgunning had been done, without paying any attention to other aspects like the possible effect of

the new, highpowered gun on the commander's cupola, which was suited to a lighter gun Also, the recoil effect of the bigger gun was ignored In the retro fit package offered by Vickers for the Centurions, these aspects have been taken into account and the possibility of the reconditioned tanks doing well are rated high by experts

Interestingly, the Indian made Vijayanta tank, manufactured at the Avadı factory near Madras, is basically a successor of the Centurion so the Vijayanta is based on a Vickers MBT(Mark 1) model, which was developed by the British in the mid Sixties along with the Chieftains (MBT stands for 'main battle tank') The Centurions have gone through 13 marks (models) and the Vickers MBT(MK1) is only an improved version of the Centurion so the Vijayanta armament is that of later marks of the Centurions (105 mm gun), but it has an improved transistorised gun control equip-ment. In 1966 India purchased a few of the MBT(MK 1) tanks from Britain and later set up the Avadi factory

The Israelis, according to the Military Balance, 1979-80 published by the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, have around 1,000 Centurions in active service. Besides, informed sources say that the Israelis are using around 500 Centurion tanks as self-propelled guns by removing the turret and purting a 105 mm gun in the tank. These self-propelled guns come in handy at the time of a tank attack on the enemy's infantry. Before the tanks actually move in, these Israeli self-propelled guns can plaster the enamy lines from a range varying from it easier for the tanks; which ing it easier for the tanks; which follow them, to take up vantages positions before attacking the

enemy's infantry.

How sincere is king Birendra?

By DEVENDRA PRASAD SINGH

OR those seeking an insight into the politics of Nepal and the character of B P. Keirala who has towered over the country's political scene like a colossus during the last three decades, this book will come in very handy. The palace and the government have been guided by only one consideration all these gloomy years, namely, how to curb Koirala's influence among the people of Nepal and in the outside world. As the book will show, Koirala has never been unreasonable But he has been unrelenting in the pursuit of his only goal of bringing democracy to Nepal, without which, as he rightly thinks, Nepal cannot make any real progress and be modernised

For people who have not known Koırala fairly intimately, it may be surprising to discover through this book that BP always stood for a negotiated settlement with the king It was with considerable reluctance that he chose the path of a violent struggle to achieve democratic rights for the people of his country Bhola Chatterjee has rendered a great service in making it abundantly clear that Koirala can go to the greatest lengths to reach an understanding with the monarch Koirala, as the book reveals, never stood in the way of his valued col-league, General S Shamsher adopting a conciliatory attitude, although he did not believe that at that point of time the efforts would be fruitful

Jayaprakash Narayan is quoted as saying that the efforts made to persuade king Birendra to democratise his country's polity did not produce encouraging results at all. The king in his reply to JP's letter said that there was no question at all of bringing in Parliamentary democracy, although, he admitted that there were faults in the existing Panchayat System, which he would try to remove Even though the king's stand seemed to be unbending, Koirala, at the risk of his life, returned to Kathmandu in December, 1976

The author had been authorised by BP to visit Kathmandu and explore on his behalf the possibility of a rapprochement with the king But he did not succeed in getting an audience with the monarch and came back disappointed. As Bhola Chatterjee had participated in the Nepalese people's struggle for democracy in 1951-52, he had become identified with the demo-

cratic cause in Nepal. The intensity of his feeling for a democratic set-up in Nepal can be matched only by his great concern for the preservation of democracy in his own country. He has, therefore, been taking constant interest in the development of the Nepalese polity since 1951. He has, almost all along, agreed with Koirala's moves to restore democracy in Nepal.

The taped interviews, which have been incorporated in this book, have a special attraction, but they do raise some suspicion in one's mind as to the genuineness of the king's desire to democratise his country's polity—a fact, which the author has somewhat overlooked. The present king's father, as has been brought out, agreed to meet Koirala to sort out differences only when he was under heavy pressure of armed attacks by guerillas of the Nepali Congress. When he found the situation easing, he discovered excuses for calling off the meeting King Birendra also did not initially

respond favourably to Koırala's overtures Koirala's very reasonable thesis that the monarch and the democratic forces must cooperate in their mutual interest did not seem to produce the desired effect. Although BP remained in prison even when he was seriously ill, it was only when pressure, both internal and external, for his release mounted that the king set him free for treatment in the USA. Believing in the sincerity of the king and also to keep his word, Koirala returned to Nepal after treatment and he was sent back to prison. When his condition deteriorated, he was allowed again to go to New York When Koırala was away in the USA this time, two of his political colleagues, Thapa and Shrestha, were hanged. This naturally shocked BP and almost anyone else would have lost faith in the king. But despite bitter criticism from his colleagues, BP was determined to resume the dialogue and meet the king to reach some kind of an agreement with him He believed that if an understanding was not reached with the king, Nepal's very existence as a nation would be in jeopardy He still had faith in the sincerity and more so in the wisdom of the monarch. As he has been quoted in the book, he believed that king Birendra was wiser than other kings Time alone will show how far this belief is iustified

There is no doubt that BP's persistent endeavour to bring the king on

the side of the democratic forces had created a favourable climate for the development of a liberal atmosphere in the country. On top of this, the violent flare-up in Kathmandu on 23 May 1979, preceded by an agitation in many other parts of Nepal, exerted the necessary pressure on the palace. King Birendra announced on 24 May 1979 that a national referendum would be held on the vexed issue of what the future shape of the country's polity should be.

Although the announcement created great enthusiasm in the country, what intrigued people was that the political prisoners and detenus and those activists who were in exile were not immediately granted amnesty. It was only a few days before the referendum that amnesty was granted to them, making it impossible for them to use their influence with the people. From Koirala's statements before the referendum date was announced it also appears that he too had some doubts in his mind. How is it that the king fixed the date for the referendum only one month earlier, when he had announced that there would be a referendum a year before the poll? Was the time necessary for making preparations for rigging the polls? Bhola Chatterjee should have dealt with this aspect in his book.

The analysis of the Nepalese scene in the book is in total conformity with BP's. Not even once has Chatterjee expressed any misgivings about the genuineness of the king's intention to restore democracy in Nepal, although there were quite a few indications that the king was not as sincere as BP believed him to be. Developments subsequent to the referendum strengthen the suspicion that the king had his reservations about Nepal having a democratic polity Many of BP's colleagues and others of the multi-Party front honestly feel that he has been doublecrossed Although Koirala feels that the election was not rigged, he does find the election result unexpected and inexplicable. To those who do not put the same faith in the king as Koırala, it is perhaps not so unexpected and mexplicable Maybe that the whole thing was so planned as to produce a favourable result for the Panchayat System Unless things improve. Nepal may again be in the grip of upheavals and the very integrity of the country may be threatened, which Koırala has been doing his best to

The special attractions of the book are the long interviews with Koirala the author draws heavily on But its readability has been marred somewhat by numerous printing errors.

Palace People and Politics, Nepal in Perspective, Ankur Publishing House, Rs 55

The same with the said of the

Many uses of the Doctor

Pawar uses Datta Samant as a pawn

THE former Chief Minister of Maharashtra Mr Sharad Pawar is trying to be the self-appointed saviour of Dr Datta Samant the Congress(U) strategist Mr Pawar and Raini Patel, the lawyer are playing the middlemen between Dr Samant and the big industrialists But does Dr Datta Samant need either Mr Pawar or Mr Patel? This is the question being asked in trade union circles where it is well known that middlemen work to the advantage of employers alone, very rarely

to that of the employees

Neither of these two gentlemen, one of whom was once the Chief Minister befriended Dr Samant last year when he languished for nearly two months in police custody following a knife attack by an unknown assailant on three members of the wealthy Godrey family When Mr Pawar was the Chief Minister he was unable to resolve the dispute at Premier Automobiles He let down the Premier workers at the last minute when arbitration was left in his hands Meanwhile, he reportedly toured a Gulf state with the young Ajit Gulabchand, nephew of Premier's Lalchand Hirachand, as his tour guide And as Dr Samant said on the day of his July 1980 morcha (see Sunday, 7 September 1980) "The then Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr Sharad Pawar, and the then Labour Minister Mr Sushil Kumar Shinde, had declared openly in the Legislative Assembly that they would incorporate a secret ballot in the MRTU and Pulp Act, but for reasons best known to them, this has not materialised so far "

It may also be recalled that Dr Samant had toyed with the idea of joining the Congress(U) at one time, but he was not welcomed by Mr Pawar Then, when Samant decided to fight the 1980 Parliamentary and Assembly elections on his own, Mr. Pawar put up one of his henchmen Mr Gurunath Kulkarni as the Congress(U) candidate against him Mr Kulkarni lost his deposit, and Samant won the Assembly seat from Kurla, thus proving that the Congress(U) had no base among the working class in the city

In layman's terms the moves by Messrs Pawar and Patel could be



Datta Samant

described as opportunist, but in political terms it would be tactical, a trap, within which Dr Samant could be manipulated in the interest of the Congress(U) Dr Samant made a grave tactical mistake when he tried to gain control of the Crompton Greaves union with the support of a very small minority of workers. He got arrested The advocate general appeared for the state Mr Rajni Patel who appeared for Dr Samant put up a strong case for bail for the trade union leader Samant was released on bail after 17 days in police custody And so the Congress(U) is demanding its pound of flesh which would also enable them to be relevant in Bombay city where every action is magnified to national proportions.

Dr Samant who has a vast following among workers in the industrial belt is presently hounded by the industrialists and government alike. In fact the INTUC affiliated Mazdoor Congress took a three-member delegation to the Prime Minister last month with a trumped up charge that 2 3 lakh workers were facing starvation in Bombay region due to the 'irresponsible actions of a union which is led by unruly elements' They also said that big units like Premier Automobiles, Wellman India Ltd., Richardson R. Cruddas were shut down due to the 'nefarious' activities' of the above union. This has obvious reference to Dr Datta Samant's union.

The INTUC which has always survived, courtesy the government in power, is irrelevant in the state and particularly in Bombay Though it claims a large membership, its influence on the trade unions cannot be compared to that made by Dr Samant In fact they are nowhere near the crest of the wave that Dr Samant is currently floating on

The Congress(U) is even more irrelevant in Bombay city. They have to depend on renting a crowd, for their morchas in the city Dr Samant, on the other hand has been able to get thousands of men and women to come to his meetings. This has made him a 'prize catch' in the political playfield where Congress(U) is trying desperately to either topple the Congress(I) led Antulay government or alternatively to bargain for entry into the Congress(I) from a position of strength If Dr Samant is theirs they have a readymade base in the city, though Dr Samant does not believe in workers' fraternity, nor does he participate in action on wider issues effecting workers like price rise, ordinances and so on So far, the Congress(U) seems to have the first round in playing the middleman game Speaking on behalf of Dr Samant, Mr Rajni Patel who had invited the Press and Dr Samant to his house for tea last week, said that Dr Samant was ready for talks with the management of Premier Automobiles In fact, Premier's Ajit Gulabchand was waiting in an adjoining room. The enforced talks obviously fizzled out, notwithstanding the presence of middlemen A day later, Premier's issued a statement denying that.

Mr Raini Patel has since left for the United States for an eye operation and Mr Sharad Pawar who lacks the knowhow of Mr Patel has messed up the strategy. The Chief Minister Mr A. R. Antulay has now called Dr Samant and the representatives of Premier Automobiles, Calico and other effected companies. He has succeeded in getting Calico and others to lift the lockouts which have been declared some weeks ago.

Dr Samant is skating on thin ice. From the ring-side view it seems that if he plays the 'domesticated poodle' of the Congress(U) he will be given 'protection'. Alternatively, he has to keep on the right side of the Chief Minister This is the price he has to pay in terms of his individual style of functioning which has made him the focal point of lakhs of law-abiding, impatient workers from highly paid engineers to the oppressed quarry workers.

Nobody, least of all Messrs Pawar and Patel, care to answer these questions. They and the Congress(U) have to survive first and they will use Dr Samant as a pawn in their game for survival, if they can.

OLGA TELLIS, Bombay

A barbaric trade

Mart a deathtrap for birds



A bird cage

BEHIND the famous Sir Stuart Hogg's New Market in Chowringhee is the Calcutta Bird Market, largest bird mart in the country. There are 15 dealers who own the whole mart. It houses about four lakh parakeets, cranes, cuckoos, chaffinches, pigeons, falcons, doves, orioles, coots, white-backed vultures, monkeys, rabbits, white rats and guinea pigs. For the animals it is a ghastly experience As many as 100 to 200 orioles, finches etc choke in unbelievable togetherness in cages full of seeds, droppings and dead birds. Each of the cages is three feet by two feet by few inches in height and are placed precariously one below another in seemingly endless rows. The larger birds like the cranes, white backed vultures and owls are stacked in baskets with a net topping each. They are more suitable for five or six hens.

The mart is a massive dark hall. Inside there is a constant cacophony and a strong stench of putrescent birdseed, bird droppings and dead birds. Amidst the pandemonium the macabre packing of birds and animals for export to Britain, USA, Holland, France, the Gulf States, far Eastern and other European countries goes on.

Since colourful birds are in great demand and fetches a minimum of £3-50 a pair, ordinary birds are dipped in vats containing red, blue, yellow, and green pigments. Some dealers even use pumps and spray colour through the bars of the cages. The mortality rate of the birds is very high due to the colours in their nostrils and eyes. The dealers however, remain unperturbed because of the high price each pair of birds fetch. Since they buy them at cheap prices from professional trappers they can afford it.

In fact, a high mortality rate starts from trapping itself. Although a trapping licence is necessary from the respective state's chief of wildlife the professional trappers and poachers continue to trap the birds clandestinely in UP, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Karnataka. The rule the trappers strictly follow is: the more colourful a bird the more its price. Therefore, once the birds are trapped the females and the young ones usually duller in colour are killed. The next stage consists of sending the birds to bird markets in conditions similar to ones prevalent in Calcutta.

When this correspondent visited the Calcutta market, 20 cages of painted orioles were being prepared to be sent to the UK. British Airways labels were on the cages About 100-150 of them along with two small pots of water and seed were clustered in each cage measuring one foot by one foot by about six inches in height. Some of the birds definitely looked dead

When asked why the IATA cargo rules of providing proper food, adequate water and bigger cages were not followed, the cargo agent in charge of the consignment complacently replied. "When millions of human beings are devoid of food, shelter and clothes, why bother for these mute birds?" The bird market is under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Corpora-

tion but it remains a dubious observer. A senior administrator said. "It is for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) and Zoological Survey of India to look after such a silly matter".

On the other hand the SPCA is fully aware that numerous protected birds under the World Wildlife Fund are being taken out of the country illegally and in conditions in which only a few months ago all the 770 birds died en route to Holland. This has happened before when due to a climactic change or technical default a flight was delayed. All the birds were found dead because of suffocation and lack of adequate food and water.

The organisation also knows that if it "protests strongly both to the Central Government and Calcutta Corporation something fruitful will definitely crop up" But it is not so. A strange status quo is maintained by it as it is helpless in rehabilitating the bird dealers due to a "lack of funds unless helped by the state government."

Bureaucratic red tape on the other hand stops the Zoological Survey of India (ZSI) from taking any firm step. A ZSI official said: "Right now we're shifting our whole office to the Botanical Garden and we're quite busy. Only after we shift could we give a thought to this issue". A point to note is that the bird market has been in New Market since 1937 No step has been taken yet to stop such a barbaric trade

SOUMITRO BOSE, Calcutta

Operation snakeskins

International racket busted

THE date 16 July 1980, the time 9 am An Ambassador car followed a truck out of the phal pattee (fruit section) of College Street Market, Calcutta-where the truck had just been loaded-along Mechua Bazar Street. The truck continued moving in a north-east direction, towards Bongaon, a town on the Bangladesh border, the Ambassador on its tail By nightfall, they reached Bongaon. Early next morning, the truck began moving again. Its destination: the Petrapol border. Not long after the border was reached, Customs officials singled out the truck and conducted a thorough search. And not in vain. Of the 320 fruit crates on the truck 59 contained one lakh snake-skins. The truck was seized, its driver and his 26-year-old companion, Lakshman Mishra arrested.

"We spent a sleepless night, keeping a constant vigil. But we had to be cautious lest the driver and his companion know of our presence," said Tapan Lahiri, deputy director Revenue Intelligence, Calcutta, one of the five occupants of the Ambassador that was tailing the truck. Mr Lahiri

had been informed earlier that a truck would be smuggling contraband snakeskins across the Bangladesh border. He immediately issued an order to follow the truck and accompanied four officers to apprehend the culprits redhanded With the cooperation of the Land Customs officials, West Bengal, the efforts of Mr Lahiri and his men were crowned with success.

The 17 July arrests and seizure on the Petrapol border revealed some interesting facts. The attempted smuggling was a part of the operations of an international ring. The kingpin of the gang, Kamal Chedda operated from Colaba, Bombay. But strict vigilance of the Land Customs, Bombay forced Chedda to change his centre from Bombay to Calcutta and Madras. Of these two bases, the vigilance of the Tamil Nadu government forced Chedda to make Calcutta the main centre of his activities with an office at 23, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta. The office was manned by Lakshman Mishra (one of the occupants of the truck) and his brother Bijoy Mishra.

The modus operand of the gang was to buy snake-skins from adivasis at throwaway prices. The goods were then smuggled to Bangladesh under the garb of exporting marble chips, umbreila handles, glasses and fruits. From Bangladesh the skins were finally smuggled to London, Paris, Madrid, Bonn, Lisbon, Rome and the United States of America, where they found a ready market.

Not long after Lakshman Mishra's arrest on 17 July, police sent messages to Calcutta and Bombay where Bijoy

Mishra and Kamal Chedda were arrested. The Union Finance Minister Venkataraman has decided to look into the matter of illegal exports, but so far no concrete measures have been taken

SUDEB ROYCHOWDHURY, Calcutta

The transfer game

MLAs and Ministers play it



Arjun Singh

THERE is a new business in Madhya Pradesh in which some ruling Party MLAs and a few Ministers are involved. The business is a money spinner and all it involves is the transfer of government servants. Of late, especially during the three months of Mr Arjun Singh's Chief Ministership, the business of transfers has assumed a dimension hitherto unknown in the country. It is learnt that nearly one lakh transfer orders were issued during the last three months and almost half of them were cancelled.

Mr Arjun Singh has repeated in his Press conferences and in the Vidhan Sabha that transfers were done only for administrative convenience However, it needs no Sherlock Holmes to detect that the transfers are politically motivated. It is believed that the present Chief Minister finds his position politically insecure with the other two Congress (I) leaders, P C Sethi and V. C Shukla, in direct oppostion to him. In order to consolidate his position Mr Arjun Singh has allowed his Party MLAs to have their say in the transfer of the officials. The MLAs are exploiting the opportunity for replacing inconvenient officials with men loval to them The transfers have mostly occurred in the Forest and Irrigation departments Education, Food, Excise, Sales Tax and other depart ments have not been left untouched

Engineers in Madhya Pradesh are known to patronise the MLAs and Ministers. It is alleged that they had paid Rs 10 lakhs to some members of the Janata government for new pay scales. The their president of their association, Mr G. S. Puri, resigned from his post in protest against the

payment When the Congress (I) came to power in MP, they offered a similar payment to the members of the new government The result was that the Irrigation Minister, Mr Shiv Bhanu Solanki, prepared and finalised the transfer list of the engineers of his department in New Delhi and not in Bhopal. A special feature of the list is that such officials were charged with corruption and transferred elsewhere and against whom enquiries had been going on They have not only been brought back to their former posts but also promoted Mr Ram Shankar Singh, a Lok Dal MLA, has presented a list of names of irrigation department engineers to the state governor He claims that the engineers had paid huge sums of money to the Irrigation Minister for transfers to places of their own choice

There are innumerable examples of such transfers A food inspector was arrested in Mungeli for his involvement in the black market sale of sugar worth several lakhs of rupees from the Food Corporation of India godowns When in the course of his election tour Mr P C Sethi visited Mungeli, people complained about the food scandal Mr. Sethi promised them that as soon is a Congress (I) government was formed in the state, action would be taken against the errant food inspector True to his word, Mr Sethi through the Minister of State for Civil Supplies, Mr Balkavı Bairagi transferred the food inspector No sooner had this been done, the Minister of Forests Mr Vedram, who is from the same place raised his voice in protest. He moved Mr Bairagi to get the transfer order cancelled as the food inspector was a "very good official"

The deputy chief Minister Mr Shiv Bhanu Singh Solanki is reported to have confided to some of his Cabinet colleagues that his main headache was recommendations about officials received from Party MLAs and Ministers In many cases the Chief Minister and his Cabinet colleagues have had to revise their decisions about transfer of government officials. July and August were months of transfers when all roads led to Bhopal. It was a time when a large number of officials camped in the state capital seeking cancellation of transfer orders.

M. V. KHER, Raipur

Publisher remembered

660MPRAKASH, my father, who was the founder of the Radha Krishna Prakashan, had a great passion for publishing We have organised this exhibition and instituted a prize for the best Hindi book for the year to keep the memory of the man who has contributed so much to the publishing of Hindi books in this country alive," said Arvind Kumar, son of late Shri Omprakash The exhibition—Shri Omprakash Smriti Samarohopened on 28 August and lasted for four days. It was organised in memory of the founder of Radha Krishna Prakashan, Shri Omprakash who died on 29 August, 1979 The exhibition is going to be an annual event and will be held on the same days It will also consist of an award of Rs 500 per month for a year to be given to a young author (age not exceeding 39 years) The exhibition will display significant books published in Hindi over the last ten years This year's winner was Girdhar Rathi, the author of Bahar

At the inauguration, Nirmal Varma, the noted Hindi author, said that publishing was an obsession with Omprakash and recalled his various meetings with the publisher The duty of an artist, he said was to transfer reality which was visible to everyone into writings An important question was raised on the 48 books on display at the exhibition. The fact that a small number of books in Hindi was published over the last ten years was significant. In effect it meant that complacency had crept in.

Out of the small number of books on display 25 per cent were translations from Marathi, Kannada, Urdu and English books The selection of the books was done by a panel of five eminent writers S. H Vatsyayan, Namvur Singh, Rajendra Yadav, Kunwar Narain and Ashok Vajpayee "We chose writers from different fields. We wanted the selection to be absolutely fair But what has caused the controversy is the fact that there were many books which were translations Some eminent writers were critical of this But our emphasis is on books published in Hindi, which include translations and not just books written in Hindi. This exhibition is from a publisher's point of view. We merely organised the exhibition. The selection was done by the panel of authors and the books are meant to be trendsetters," said Arvind Kumar

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Delhi

"Jagmohan's sugary bluff

Or is Delhi Lt. Gov. merely incompetent?

THERF might have been a sugar muddle all over the country, but in belin the blunder was compounded by the extraordinary behaviour of Lt Governor, Jagmohan The Lt Governor's drily proclamations in the newspapers, and over TV and radio that there was no sugar shortage only aggravated the Delhite's already short temper "It was apparently a case of sugar sugar everywhere, but not a crystal for sale in the shops except at blackmarket rates commented a school teacher sucastically

Ironically the scheme for providing sugar at the rate of Rs 6 10 in the open market was mooted on the grounds that it would ensure a sweet filled festival season. But Janmashtami on 2 September proved to be bitter. House wives searching desperately for sugar to make their kheer gajjar ka halwa ind gulab jamuns suddenly discovered that there was no sugar at the local grocers' or it was being offered at exhorbitant rates of Rs 12 to Rs 13 a kg. The sudden spurt in sugar prices took everyone by surprise since two days earlier sugar had been selling for Rs 8 per kg. A week ago the price had been Rs 7 50

On 3 September Jagmohan called the first of a series of evening Press onferences to clarify matters on the significant. He explained that Delhi had started a new scheme for the distribution of free sale sugar in Delhi He announced triumphantly that sugar would be sold in the open mar ket it a fixed price of Rs 6 10 per kg Since when had this amazing scheme been in operation, asked puzzled newsmen According to the Lt Gov cinor the scheme was introduced from the beginning of September although he had no satisfactory explanation as to why it took him three days to unnounce to the Delhi public what the new rate of sugar was to be. In answer to newsmens' protests that sugar prices in the capital during the first three days of September had almost been double his magical figure, Jag mohan explained that there was a talse impression of a sugar shortage simply because most shops were closed on Janmashtami When it was pointed out that a survey on that very day a working day, revealed that sugar was selling in most localities for Rs 12 per kg, Jagmohan dismissed it as nonsense with a wave of his hand He assured the newsmen if any cases could be cited the blackmarketeers

The picture painted by Jagmohan was indeed one of plenty Delhi had been provided an extra 3,500 tonnes of sugar for September over and above its monthly quota of 1,650 kgs of non levy sugar. He said that superbazars and co operatives had been issued 500

would be prosecuted under the Essen



tonnes already and another 700 tonnes would be allotted the next day. In addition the wholesalers had been sanctioned 500 tonnes and asked to lift another 700 tonnes by 4 September "The market is now flushed with sugar, there is absolutely no incentive to hoard," said Jagmohan. Newsmen were assured that the public would be free to buy free sale sugar at Rs 6.10 per kg.

Apparently the state administration was unware of the situation. The government run superbazars had on that very day been selling sugar at Rs 7 90 a kg, which, as the president of the co operative stores noted proudly in a Press handout, was much below the prices being quoted elsewhere in the city Superbazars promised to sell sugar at Rs 6 50 on a ration card from 4 September The superbazars however sold sugar at Rs 610 a kg to ration card holders entitled to two kilograms The queues were long and tempers high "I had to take leave from my work to ensure that my family can get its cup of tea at breakfast," said a clerk disgustedly

On 4 September, Jagmohan held another Press conference, by now backing out of his original promise of "take home as much sugar as you like" Free sale sugar was to be res tricted to two kilograms per ration card The Lt Governor was becoming peevish about the queries put to him Two kilograms of sugar was more than enough for a family Asked what was to be the state of nonvation card holders, Jagmohan dismissed their plight They were the affluent few who could well afford to buy at blackman ket rates said he, conveniently forget ting some 200,000 persons, most of whom are migrant, poor labourers for some inexplicable reason, however, the masses continued to queue for sugar at the superbazars and co operatives Most shopkeepers either claimed to have no sugar stocks or sold it at blackmarket rates

By then Jagmohan's tone at his Press conferences was becoming distinctly snappish. The shortage panic, he claimed, was due to Press report He reiterated that there was plenty of sugar "If there was so much sugar why were shopkeepers still selling sugar at Rs 12, asked a newsman "Why should you pay extra? Why encourage lawlessness when you can buy at official rates through government agencies," was the 1t Governnor's retort Apparently he was now conceding that the government was in no position to get the shopkeep ers to sell sugar at the approved rate

The next day a local daily carried a photograph of the mammoth queue outside the sugar bazar, making it obvious why people were being forced to buy at exhorbitant rates. But Jagmo han was not convinced. Ostrichlike he continued to dig his head into the sand and at Press conferences explain his "no sugar shortage" theory. If there was a shortage Jagmohan felt, it would be seen in the second week of September not in the first week. It was a simple mathematical problem.

By Monday 8 September the Lt Governor had given up his sugar brief ings to the Piess Whether he had finally woken up to the fact that there w a sugar problem or not, is anyone's guess Incidentally in all this sugar mess Delhites could not help recalling the so successful Congress (1) election ditty, "Dekh keva Janata ka khel, kha gavee cheeni pee gave mitti ka tel '(See the Janata's game They have eaten up the sugar and drunk the kerosene) Sugar at the end of the Janata 141 was selling for Rs 3 50 to Rs 400 a kilo, although for most of the time the price was around Rs 3 00 per Filo Even during the Lok Dal regime sugar was selling for Rs 4.55 per kg

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT,

Delhi

Succour to unwanted

We want Mandai orphans for Veshabilitation, writes Mr Tatyasahab Chavan, a member of the "Sandipani Gurukul" an organisation which proposes to be a home for unwanted and abundance children all over the world. The organisation wants to accept this dren who have been orphaned by the massacre at Mandai and the violent disturbances in Trigura (Sunday; 15 June 1980). The Curukul or the home is altuated on a 52-acre plat of land at Kudawali, 10 kms off the Bombay-Goa highway. The children will be taught crafts and educated at the Gurukul and made into good citizens of the world. Anyone wiling to help the organisation may contact Mr Tatyasaheb Chavan, President, Zilla Parishad, Ratnagiri, 415612.

tial Commodities Act

Administration to films

Bombay Corporation grants a loan

TVING ad hoc grants is all very well, but it is necessary to fol low up the use these grants are put to For instance, what has happened to the film on Shivan's mother and how is the ad hoc grant made for that purpose being used? asked corpor ator Prabhakar Niklankar He was teferring to grants that had been adv anced by the Bombay Municipal Cor poration recently Apparently Mrs Shantilal Patil grande dame of Mahai ashtra politics is well as its Revenue Minister had thought of making a historical film on Shivaji's mother. In 1977, she sold the idea to the Bombay Corporation and succeeded in obtain ing an initial grant of Rs five lakhs to start the production

But that was only the beginning. In course of time a total of Rs 45 lakhs flowed in most of which was reported ly spent on the film. Strangely chough the director of the film refused to believe the fact "If they have already spent that much, then they have cer tainly overspent," said director Pad manabh But Hindurao Patil, a lo g time associate of Shantilal Patil and the man handling the Jijamata Pratis than had an explanation of how the money might have been spent "We often spent Rs two lakhs just for four day sets. We wanted a sense of grandeur, of artistry, an absolutely authentic wardrobe. We got the best actors (Nutan, Sunil Dutt, Parikshit Sahani and Aiuna Irani) and we are going to make what will be a living memorial to Jijamata"

So that was where Rs 45 lakhs went But where was the film? It was stated that eight reels had already been can ned, and that the film had been de layed for the want of funds. An acci dent that had befallen Parikshit Sal ni, the actor who plays Shivaji had also stopped the filming Sahani, who is quite indignant at the way he has 'een saddled with all the responsibility for the delay said, "It was a very bad accident, which was caused by this horse that I had never ridden in my life I need not have ridden it, I could have demanded that an extra do it for me In any case I have been at work for the past eight months after the acci dent, and this film is nowhere

Saham is not the only person who is feeling this way Padmanabh, the director has quite obviously-put his heart into it and is very disappointed at the delays "We in the film unit, are all experienced men, professionals. But the production people the men handling the finances, etc. from the lijumata Pratisthan were very bad lihey were so inept that the facilities that we demanded either just did not come, or came too late. We were very badly off for finances. It was all very amateurish. That was the main problem."



Parikshit Sahani

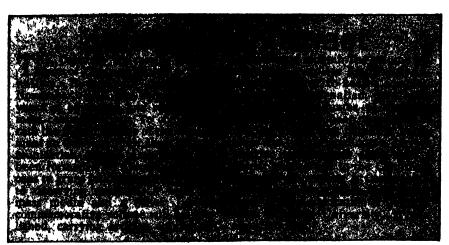
All tingers thus pointed to the Irjamata Pratristhan who have been blamed for, among other things mis appropriation of tunds Prabhakar Niklankar when contacted said "Don't speak to me about these people who surround Shantilal Patil, or the Irjamata Pratisthan Yes, if they had been honest and had really wanted to make a film on Irjabhar, they should have gone about it properly and taken some director who had a sense of history Someone like V Shantaram,

who will have an idea about the power, the greatness of the woman and that era. But they have taken Padma nabh, whose only achievement habeen the fact that he directed Ra Khosla's Do Choi I hate to say thing against my fellow corporators, but hey are just taken in thoroughly, at they often do, and grant loans withou finding out the facts.

And what do the Pratisthan members have as an answer? "We are not commercial, you see We have not yet used the distributors' money, we treated it mainly as a loan Because then we would have had to sell it at Rs 55 lakhs, but now we are hoping to get Rs 70 lakhs for it You should see the songs—one has been picturised on a muna on Aruna Irani It has been written by Pandit Narendra Sharma, and has Laxmikant Pyarelal's music with Lata Mangeshkar's voice And what dialogues! Nothing like it has ever been made on the Hindi screen," says Hindurao Patil

But for all practical purposes, from the cast it appears that the producers have not been able to make up their minds on whether to make a commer cial film with all its trappings or to make a more accurate film with the characters as central to the film Meanwhile, the Bombay Municipal Corporation is, hopefully, learning to be more cautious

ASHISH RAJADHYAKSHA Bombay



SUNDAY

Next Week

Special Investigation:

The anti-national activities of the Jamaat-e-Islami

THE WORLD

Buy Indian

This is good news for drug addicts According to an offi-cial report of the British Government Chemist Indian hashish, Zimbabwean mari juana and Pakistani hashish oil are the best in the English market The report is based on a study of the drug's THC content—cannabis's active ingredient And the three best were chosen amidst stiff competition from 150 samples of the super drug from 15 countries seized by the British customs. In hashish, for example, one sample hit a 25 per cent THC rating And Pakista ni hash oil has IHC contents ranging from 13 per cent to 25 per cent

Meanwhile, the report has cautioned possible consumers about Thailand's marijuana sticks Around 1976, the I hais had gained a reputation for the potency of their sticks. But now their story is different I heir product is weaker and they are duping British buyers. Buy Indian, you would be buying only the best, is our

advice

In troubled waters



Retugees from Vietnam

It started a year ago Malaysia had plans of cvict ing more than 75 000 Vict namesc retuge's who had landed on Malaysian shores Then suddenly the Malay De puty Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said that the Malay authorities would shoot any Victnamese boat people entering Malaysian territorial waters. Everyone then happened to forget the tragedy of the boat people and the forced eviction they had undergone till the begin ning of July this year A playwas supposed to open then named Retugees Images, the first play on the boat people directed by Chin San Sooi and acted by his group Phoenix 61 When a permission was sought for the opening of the play the Malaysian Home Affans Ministry stepped in and said it was a sensitive issue and could lead to diplomatic embarrassment as well is security problems in Malaysia There is a hue and cry now in the Press about censorship being imposed.

Relieving cure

Asthmatic patients of the world will be glad to hear that their troubles will soon be over Thanks to the team of six doctors and students from the Institute of Basic Medical Sciences and Imperial Col lege in London and their pain staking research over the last three years. They were trying to identify the mysterious chemical present in the lungs which causes breathing prob lems in asthmatic patients Scientists in Furope and USA knew of the presence of such a chemical but it was the team of London scientists who iso lated what has been named as SRSA or slow reacting subst ance of anaphylaxis The

isolation of SRSA will be helpful for the cure

Meanwhile some other researchers in London's Kings College Hospital have accidentally found the subst ances that trigger off asthma tic attacks when they were conducting research into di abetics They have discovered that a substance called en kephalin, a recently disco vered chemical present in the brain, acts as a natural mor phine and this may be the cause of asthmatic attacks But the scientists were not worried since they found a cure The effect of enkephalin can be blocked with an injec-

Dying to be free

A new book will soon hit the stands in Britain It will be instructive and not meant for today's mixed up frustrated kids who search for the end to their problems through drugs and consequently a slow death and suicide. The pamphlet, a manual on how to commit suicide, will be meant entirely for the old and incur ably sick people who have no one to take care of them It will be a publication of the Society for the Right to a

Dignified Death or otherwise known as "Exit" which has a membership of 9,000 people with an average age of 70 years In the beginning, the society had problems in publishing the books since prevalent laws in Fingland prohibit aiding and abetting suicide. But Exit had a way around it Since no such laws exist in Scotland the Scottish branch of Exit will publish the book which will ease the pain and misery of the old and infirm

Charms and the man



Women's Libbers, take to arms against your sisters who are members of the Feminine Fouch The Feminine Fouch is an organisation formed more than a year ago which be lieves in setting up women on pedestals. The Touch mem

6 bers want to wear hats, make 9 up then hair in fallringlets and let men take charge of them again. The founder of the organisation is a 43 year old grandmother, Mrs Peter Lebow She is known to her louch compat riots as Bettine Le Beau When she tound herself surrounded by many friends who were mouning about the chances they were losing of wearing hats with veils she decided to do something She called them over for lunch at the Casanova Club Alfred Barnett the club owner was so overloyed that at last there was an organisa tion to fight the Libbers he volunteered to pay for their lunch The Feminine Touch will, we hope, give back the pride of place to women.

Hold it!

If you have learnt the three 'Rs' you have not learnt all There was sex education which you might have missed out So schools included sex education in the syllabi. The Australian wine expert from Melbourne, John Stanford, found out that what his young Australian friends in schools needed most was a course on

drinking. He said if a student fell down drunk after school he scu d not be blamed be cause it was possible that the student had not taken a wine education course. So the wine expert has proposed a humanities style" course for senior students, which 'deals with the facts of life, including drinking.

THE invitation card was it self rather funny The three hosts who jointly in vited us to celebrate O P Ralhan's buthday were not films personalities at all—O P was merely a good old friend of their's we learnt Outside the hotel where we were invited one could see huge hoardings announcing three films which O P was going to launch that evening the muhinat equipment was certainly there but we didn't see any formal muhurat Un less of course they were shooting a party scene with us in the jam packed hall The crowd,

if you want to call her one She was thoroughly enjoying herself dancing with O P She also took the floor with young boys who had hooked up enough courage to ask her, after a couple of drinks

Rajendra Kumar was also there, with his beta, Kumar Gauray, who looks even less impressive in person than he does in his pictures-

his expression.

enjoying its "drinks, dinnei and music" like the card said, was being periodically captured by the cameras The most important spot for the evening was the mammoth dance floor where the dazzling disco lights and loud music hammering at one's eardrums made con versation impossible

No big stars graced the occasion but O P did not seem to mind He kept him self busy meeting friends and also getting another huge hall readied for a quawwali with Miss Sabii, (supposed to be a famed quawalla), for the post dinner entertainment, somewhere around two in the morning! The disco bugs were not to be disturbed, he gushed, and fog was actually breathed, like in the films, to give the dancing crowd a bit more impetus! Nutan in one of those side slit gowns she wears these days, could be spotted among the crowd, she was the only big star around

Ranjeer's wife Pushpa doesn't

like his dancing, remained consistently bland The unbelievable evening cli maxed as O P was called upstage by his friends to re ceive birthday kisses The disco johnnies were given a break, the cake was cut and believe it or not, a real, out of true "Happy buthday to you" was sung! And all this in spite of O P feeling bad about celebrating his buth

day so soon after Mohammed Rafi's death!

mind hubby s flings

ANIELT continues to R make the party rounds with wife Pushpa, who in cidentally must have been told by someone that she looks nice in pink and is now rarely seen in anything other than a pink saree Pretty soon, you see a high Ranjeet with his arms around some young girls and kissing and nuzzling them with gay aban don You look around instinc tively for Pushpa and wonder if she is the permissive wife and then you find she is no

where around Probably she leaves early and lets hubby have a good time with no

Nutan A charm mellowed by age

 $\mathbf{F}^{ ext{ILMDOM'S}}$ latest gossip is not all that new at all $ext{I}$ am talking about the affair Dimple and Vijavendra Ghatge are supposed to be having It was over two years ago, that Vijayendra had gone to Hong Kong alone and that co incidentally was the time Dimple had gone there alone too Rajesh had been too busy and had sent his secretary Yusuf with her That's probably where the two met, and must have done a bit of shopping together Vijayendra however always kept a respectful distance and somehow it never occur red to anyone that they could be having an affair Anyway the Khannas are together again, and it is any day now that Dimple will go back home

Arabs were only inleasted in Bombay? Well, actress Premila does not think
so. She's going to open a big
travel outlit, and the
grapevine tells me that the
butit situated in a fashionable shopping area in the
heart of Madras city would be
trying to promote Arab conrections. Does this explain
Premila's trips to the Gulf
tountries?

The actress was arrested a lew weeks ago but she claims that it was a frame-up. She refused to come to the court disappointing those who had turned up to watch her "If ople have to watch me they ter do so in the movie atres," seems to be her attitude but then not many Premila starrers are in circulation. From a leading lady in "A" grade films, she's now reduced to playing small roles. "Blame my stars" says the actress but she isn't going to lie down and pity herself

WHOSE was the brain that managed to plant a story which said that Balu Mahendra is producing a film starring Deepa and "six other heroines"? Published in a popular Tamil eveninger, the "news" raised many eyeblus as it's well known that alu wouldn't like to direct or photograph any film starring Deepa after "professional misunderstanding" between the two cropped up nearly a year ago. He wasn't really amused to see the "news" item and promptly telephoned the editor of the daily seeking clarification

OT long ago Jyothilakshmi's vulgar dances
were considered a must in
Telugu films but once her
sister Jaya Malini stepped in,
lyothilakshmi's popularity
eclined. But she isn't really
but of films occasionally
both sisters are featured in
the same film. And the ageing
actress gets into magazines
now and then whenever
there's a domestic problem
Only recently, her husband
complained to the police that
he had thrown him out of the

SUHASINI, who's acting in two films, isn't sure as yet hether she should take up more acting assignments or incentrate on photography. The's an alumni of Adyar ilm Institute, Madras, where she was trained in photography There's also this hand-



some cinematographer Jainan Vincent who can easily play lead roles. His uncle is an actor but Jainan who has photographed nearly a doze films (including the latest his Curu) says he'd rather folion his father who's a well-know cinematographer and director.

GAYATRI is really
Gaoing places. She
has a couple of big films with
Rajkumer in Rannada and it
being increasingly paired
with Shankar Nyg, the number two hero in Karnataka.
They were featured in one
solid hit, Auto Raja, and the
are now working together in
half a dozen films.

Like Gayatri, Rajni Sharma may soon make it big in the south. She's doing a num ber of films in Andhra, and her maiden Tamil release is doing rather well.

OU have a liberal, prog-Y ressive producer. And a trustworthy director. And ye the film may drag its feet This is what's happening to Nenjathu Killadey being produced by Gowri Shankar for Devi films and directed by J. Mahendran. Though the film was designed as a quickie, it' going on and on. Originally only Mohan and Suhasini were to star in the film, now Pratap Pothan has been brought in. He plays the role of a fashion photographer. And then there's Sarat Babu. The delay apart, Gowri Shankar is optimistic that the love story (with a bit of action thrown in) will do well. His first film as a producer, Azhiatha Kolangal, was quite a hit.

If there's one actor who has retained an informal atmos phere around him it's Mohan He has made it quite big in Andhra and is getting meaty roles in Karnataka His first film Kokila had done impressive PR work for him

Whenever Mohan turns up in Madras, his room at hotel Palmgrove is packed with friendly visitors. His free evenings are spent in a nearby drive-in restaurant, an excellent place for "bird watching". Is Mohan trying to live up to the role of the carefree bachelor he played so efficiently in Kokila? In the upcoming Moodu Pani, he has done an excellent role as a still photographer who seduces a minor actress.

PIOUSJI

Begining September 21 This week the Sun, Saturn and Mercury are in Virgo, Mars and Uranus are in Libra, Neptime alone is in Scorpio, Ketu is in Capricorr Venus and Rahu are in Cancer and Jupiter is in Leo. The moon will be moving through Aquarius, Pieces and Aries from Capricom.



ARIES (March 21-April 20)This week is favourable for love and domestic affairs However, it is not so for business matters which

will demand very careful attention from you You will benefit unexpectedly as a result of a journey or the cooperation of a relative or elder person. You are advised not to get into quarrels and to check erratic and inconsistent behaviour. Friends and relatives will prove helpful to you Good dates: 21, 23 and 27 Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 9 Favourable direction: South



TAURUS (April 21-May 22) This is more or less an uneventful week for you Your love or domestic affairs might be threatened,

but eventually the trouble will pass Those in business are likely to face financial frictions. This is not the time for speculative ventures. Do not take the help of your hunches in matters of importance. You will stand to gain a lot from a new friendship. Be careful in your dealings with your employers or those in authority Good dates: 24, 26 and 27 Lucky numbers 1, 3 and 6 Favourable direction. West



GEMINI (May 23-June 21)Do not take unnecessary risks this week Also, avoid getting into disputes and misadventures The

time is not ripe for gambling. Conserve your resources and check extravagant tendencies Try and pay attention to business and employment matters and be prepaed for delays and obstacles Take nothing for granted especially regarding property matters and elders. You will have to take more pains to achieve success Good dates: 21, 24 and 25, Lucky numbers. 2, 7 and 9 Favourable directions: North and West



CANCER (June 22—July 22)This is a good week for you provided feelings and emotions are kept in check emotions are kept in check Look after your health and

that of the womenfolk in your family Do not spend money on questionable pleasures and worthless friends. Avoid legal complications and speculation Your financial condition will improve gradually this week A new friendship with a member of the opposite sex will bring happiness into your life. But beware of deception Good dates: 22, 24 and 26 Lucky numbers 2, 3 and 6 Favourable direction. South-east



LEO (July 23-August 22)This is an auspicious week for you. Business activities will be successful. You will gain through stran-

ders. Beneficial changes, travel and a happy promotion are foreseen. Even an unexpected upheaval will result in financial gain. You are advised not to lose your temper and take impulsive decisions. Exercise tact while investing. Keep up your correspondence with friends as this will be of great help to you in the weeks to come. Good dates: 21, 22 and 25. Lucky numbers: 1, 3 and 10 Favourable direction: South.



VIRGO (August 23-September 22) The first part of this week is fraught with danger or trouble or loss through trickery and deception in

business and love affairs. Later, however, initiative and intuition will come to your aid You are advised not to speculate too much Also, do not lend or borrow or stand guarantor to anyone Observing these, the week might prove good Womenfolk might cause some concern Good dates: 25, 26 and 27. Lucky numbers: 4, 6 and 7 Favourable direction: North-west



LIBRA (September 23—October 22) You will suffer from fits of depression. Try and overcome these and face challenges with fortitude

and uprighteousness. Pay heed to the advice of elders. Attend to your profession with great care and dexterity. Courtship and marriage are best deferred Take care of your health. Your fortunes will revive suddenly. Do not be afraid to adopt bold and original business methods. Try and exercise caution in matters of the heart Good dates: 23, 24 and 26 Lucky numbers: 1, 5 and 10. Favourable direction: West.



SCORPIO (October 23-November 21)You will gain in diverse ways this week. Benefit by publicity and, in some cases, by a winning

ticket is foreseen. Avoid getting into quarrels and be extra careful about property matters. A secret matter or association will also be to your benefit. An unexpected travel is foreseen. Your home front will be calm and therefore a great source of happiness to you. Push your affairs to the utmost. Look after your health. Good dates: 24, 25 and 26. Lucky numbers: 3, 6 and 8. Favourable directions: West and North



SAGITTARIUS (November 22-December 22)The first two days of this week are not favourable to your pursuits in both domestic and

professional matters. But the later days are very bright and you will prosper greatly. This is an excellent week for entertainment and acquiring costly clothes, ornaments etc. Try and take full advantage of your stellar vibrations. Strange yet beneficial events will take place and you will long remember them. A letter will bring good news. Good dates: 23, 25 and 27. Lucky numbers: 3, 6 and 9 Favourable direction: West.



CAPRICORN (December 23-January 20) Do not be dismayed by domestic turmoil The result of this turmoil will be beneficial to you

Relationships will be strengthened. In professional matters, those attempts which were planned or made in the morning hours will eventually crown you with success. You are advised not to let your heart overrule your head. If necessary, do not avoid undertaking a journey Good dates: 22, 23 and 25 Lucky numbers: 3, 9 and 11 Favourable direction: West



AQUARIUS (January 21-February 19) Despite minor confrontations with those in authority your affairs will progress well this week

You are advised to pay heed to the advice of elders and to attend to your profession with undivided attention. You can take reasonable risks this week Speculative ventures may also turn out successful. Concentrate on business expansion rather than in love and pleasure. Good dates: 21, 24 and 26. Lucky numbers: 1, 2 and 3. Favourable direction: Southeast



PISCES (February 20-March 20) Your prospects are much better than last week's. Professional and domestic affairs will now

bring you much happiness. Relatives and friends will prove very helpful to you. A beneficial change of job ar place of residence is not unlikely. You might have to undertake a journey which will have a lot of significance You are advised to exercise caution and restraint in financial matters. Good dates: 21, 22 and 23. Lucky numbers: 6, 7 and 9. Favourable direction:

M. B. RAMAN

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UJJAIN The face of the vice-chancellor of Vikram University was blackened by students of a local college According to university sources, about 100 students of Madhav College entered the office of the vice chancellor, Mr P N Kavthekar, and blackened his face with the ink of a duplicating machine By the time the police arrived on the scene, students had escaped The students had been demanding the filling up of the post of college principal and other teaching staff—The Times of India (Sunandan Kumar, Titabor)

NEW DELHI: This is the story about a bomb that turned out to be a dried up baingan (brinjal). At 3.35 in the afternoon the police control room received a frantic call from the Indraprastha depot of the Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC) that a bomb was lying somewhere on the premises and might go off at any moment. A police party immediately rushed to the spot and after a thorough search of the depot, located the offending object lying under a bus. While the police were wondering whether or not to call the bomb squad, an alert constable noticed that the object was no bomb but only a shrivelled up baingan "Luckily for everyone the present scare turned out to be a damp squib", a police spokesman said—Northern India Patrika (Rajneesh Batra, Allahabad)

MEKLIGANJ. Believe it or not, a lucky youth of Birpara of Dooars has so far got 40 prizes from different lotteries. It is a new record in the history of lotteries. With a shock of long hair the youth is seen now and then at Birpara bus stand comparing the lucky numbers of lottery tickets. The name of the youth is Ashok Roy. He drives a taxi. It is difficult to count how many times he has won the lottery prizes ranging to Re 1 to Rs 3000 But the heartache is that he has not received a big prize. It is expected that his perseverance may prevail where his luck has failed—Hindusthan Standard (Prahlad Ghosh, Calcutta)

RAJKOT: The wife and son of a retired railway employee of Gondal were arrested for allegedly kidnapping the husband and detaining him for a month. In his complaint, the 62-year-old man has alleged that he was kidnapped by his wife and her two accomplices who

also took away from him documents of a plot of land. The husband and wife had separated in 1953—The Indian Express (S. Krishna, Nagpur)

BARODA The winner of the Presidential award for the best teacher in 1963 and president of the Gujarat Pustakalya Sahakari Mandal, Mr Ambubhai D Patel was arrested here for alleged misappropriation of funds of the Mandal to the tune of over Rs 17,000, police said Mr Patel was sent to judicial custody Police said Mr Patel was arrested on a complaint lodged by the district registrar about the alleged off ence Immediately thereafter he resigned from the presidentship of the Mandal—Amrita Bazar Patrika (Sadananda Mohanty, Keonjhar)

SIMLA. Corruption up to Rs 50 has been legalised in Himachal Pradesh Road Fransport Corporation. According to a government directive all such conductors who had misappropriated money up to Rs 50 will be reinstated. The corporation has fixed a new norm for reinstatement of dismissed conductors. Hundreds of corrupt conductors were dismissed by the previous government but the conductors have been bringing about pressure on the transport authorities to reinstate them In order to accommodate a certain percentage of the dismissed conductors the new norm has been fixed-The Hindustan Times (Rajneesh Batra, Allahabad)

JAMMU Residents of Mandi village in the earthquake affected area of Billawar and Bhuddu are fully convinced about the power of "yagna". They told reporters who toured the area that they had performed a "yagna" before the earthquake Their village was not damaged at all. This, they said, was a miracle because Pallan village about 50 yards away, was presently in ruins. The villagers of Mandi performed a "yagna" again for future safety—The Statesman (Dhiren Das, Utmal)

MORADABAD. Some people, who alleged they had been harassed by the police here, retaliated by leaving donkeys which had the word "Police" painted on their sides on the streets. Another target of attack was a local legislator. Donkeys with the letters "MLA" painted prominently on their sides were also a source of mirth to people who came out when curfew was relaxed The U.P Police and Provincial Armed Constabulary have come in for criticism from all quarters. In sharp contrast, people were full of praise for the BSF, the CRP and Army jawans who, they said, had behaved in a fair manner-The Statesman (S. Joshi, New Delh₁)

THE ONLY reason for adding colour in television, which is purely black is to ensure that the Prime Minister will go on talking nonsense while continuing to look glamorous—Pillo Mody in Onlooker

CIVIL liberties in a capitalist society are different from those in a socialist society—E.M.S. Namboodiripad on the Polish miners' strike

POOR man (Marx), he never took into account the possibility of a showdown between the proletariat and the self-proclaimed party of the proletariat in a proletarian state—Shyam Lal in *The Times of India*

YOU ARE lucky because you have no High Command to obey—A Congress (I) legislator to Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M. G. Ramachandran in the context of Channa Reddy's resignation, quoted in The Hindu

I WASTED my father's money (studying in England), not mine The cost of production of making me a Communist was my father's—Bhupesh Gupta interviewed in Weekend Review

ALL MUSLIM legislators in the country (should) meet in a conference and express their regrets for what the Muslim invaders did to this country (India)—K. R. Malkani, Organiser editor in New Delhi

MAJORITY communalism passes off as nationalism. Minority communalism is blamed as communalism—Rasheeduddin Khan, MP

WHO KNOWS the second coming of Mrs Gandhi may be a trick of destiny to complete the exposure of the Nehru dynasty?—Organiser

IT SEEMS to be a law of the 1980 US Presidential campaign that when Mr Ronald Reagan (the Republican candidate) opens his mouth to venture beyond the lines written by his scriptwriters, he promptly walks into trouble—N Ram in The Hindu

TO HEAR the same person over and over again (on All India Radio) speak the same old familiar language, is no pleasant experience with the listeners—Ram Dulari Sinha, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting

FOOTBALL without tension? That's contradiction in terms— Dhirendra Nath Dey, Secretary of Calcutta's Mohun Bagan Club



VARIETY

Schizophrenia virus

STUDIES carried out at the Clinical Research Centre, Northwick Park, near London, have identified an unusual virus-like agent or agents in the cerebrospinal fluid of some schizophrenic patients and of others suffering from neurological diseases. The finding came as something of a surprise to teams led by Dr David Tyrrell and Dr Tim Crow as the object of research was to test the hypothesis that some psychotic illness might be the rare outcome of infection with common and well-known viruses.

Samples of cerebrospinal fluid drawn off by lumber puncture were collected from patients diagnosed as having schizophrenia or a variety of other conditions, and were then inoculated into cultures of human and animal cells. In 18 out of 47 patients with schizophrenia or schizophrenic symptoms the fluid was found to contain a virus-like agent which killed cells here and there and sometimes destroyed the cell cultures within one or two days of inoculation.

The effect was also exhibited in samples from eight out of 11 patients

with other serious neurological diseases but in only one of 25 patients with surgical or other general medical conditions indicating a strong link with psychotic and neurological disorders. Tests were carried out to ensure that the result was not due to a contaminating agent such as a mycoplasma.

Exactly what causes the effect is not clear as the agent does not correspond with any known virus found in the central nervous system. Until enough material is produced to enable in vitro studies it cannot be identified.

At present all that can be said is that it is apparently less than 60 manometers in size, possibly contains infectious RNA, is relatively heat stable and seems not to have a lipid envelope. Although it is thought that only one infectious agent is involved, characterisation is so incomplete that there could be several different organisms.

The interesting question is whether this agent actually causes psychiatric or neurological disorders. In the case of schizophrenia, a viral aetiology has not been widely considered. There is a known genetic influence in predisposition to schizophrenia, but this does not explain the onset of the disease in adult life or rule out an infectious agent since genetic factors have considerable influence on susceptibility to disease of viral origin.

No clinical differences were detected between patients with or without the virus-like agent in their fluid, who included those with nuclear schizophrenia and paranoid psychosis, except that patients with the agent tended to have a poorer outcome and be less likely to respond to drug treatment.

Many questions remain to be answered. For example, the role of the body's immune response and how the virus or viruses enter the body. For the moment the teams at Northwick Park are considering that there may be a causal relationship between the agent and a variety of diseases and that the agent is a pathogen only in individuals who are genetically predisposed to it. The prospect is that if the agent is found to cause illness it might be possible to prevent or treat schizophrenia by vaccination or by giving interferon or synthetic anti-viral compounds.

45



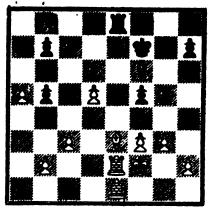
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chess

nejkel (Black)



Velimirovic (White) to move

To be or not to be

THE TROUBLE WITH king and pawn endings is that when they are drawn they are drawn, and when they are lost they are irretrievably lost. Which means that when on the defensive and slaying for a draw, the opportunity to transpose into a king+pawn. ending can leave you in something of a dilemma. On the one hand it might be the quickest and safest route to a draw, on the other hand it may be automatic suicide. Of course one can calculate far ahead, but with everything depending as it usually does on everything depending as it usually does on one tempo here or there, one is not left with much margin for error. It is rather like coming to the edge of a minefield and encountering a 'Please keep to the footpath provided' sign. It might provide a perfect escape to safety, or it might have been put there deliberately for the benefit of anybody daft enough to believe it.

To illustrate I give a perfect example of the king-haven ending syndroms.

the king+pawn ending syndrome. From a situation where he has the draw in hand and situation where he has the draw in hand and is probing for winning chances, Black begins to feel uncomfortable and starts to look around for ways of forcing a draw With numerous chances to transpose into king-+pawn endings, some of which are drawn and some of which are not, he is not assisted by time trouble and eventually makes the wrong choice. White D Velimirovic Black J Smejkal Ponziani Opening.

White D Velimirovic Black J Smejkal Ponziani Opening.

1. P.—K4, P.—K4; 2. N.—KB3, N.—GB3; 3. P.—GB3, N.—B3; 4. P.—Q4, NxP; 5. P.—Q5, N.—K2; 6. NxP, N.—N3; 7. Q.—Q4, Q.—B3. 8. QxN, g.—R3; 11. N.—B4, NxN; 12. BxN, B.—K2, 13. Q.—Q, Q.—Q; 14. R.—K1, B.—G3; 15. P.—GR4! P.—QR3; The most accurate H 15. B.—Q2, 16 B.—QN5! BxB, 17 PxB White will have some chances as the black QRP is weak 16. P.—R5, B.—Q2; 17. B.—K3, QR.—K1; 18. P.—B3, R.—K2; 19. K.—B2, KR.—K1; 20. B.—R7, B.—K2; 19. K.—B2, KR.—K1; 20. B.—R7, B.—K2; 19. K.—B2, KR.—K1; 20. B.—R7, I.—R1; III. R.—B2, III. R.—R1; III. R.—R1

draw, 21. P—KN3, P—KN4; 22. R—K2, P—KB4; 23. QR—K1, K—B2; 24. B—Q3, B—N47! A dubious idea. Now the king and pswn endgames become dangerous. 25. BxB, PxB; 26. B—K3, B—63;

DIAGRAM

27. 8—Q4! Very cunning. If 28 ... BxB 29
PxB RxR+ 30 PxR RxR+ 31 KxR and Black
will have problems when the white king
comes to QN4 viz. 31 ... K—K2 32 K—Q3
K—Q2; 33 K—B3; P—B3; 34 K—N4. Now
black can only walt while White decides
whether either of the two possible break-

through plens (PxP and P-Q5 or P-R6 and K-R5) actually leads to a win Maybe e position is drawn, maybe not, but cer-inly impossible to decide over the board,

27 . . B—K4; 28 P—N3, K—B3; 29. P—KB4, PxP; 38. PxP, BxB+ 31. PxB, RxR+ 32. RxR. Again Black has one of those terrible deci-Agein Black has one of those terrible decisions. If 32. RxR+ 33 KxR K-K2 34 K-Q2 35 K-Q3 P-R3 36 K-N4 K-B2 37 PxP KxP (not 37 PxP? 38 P-Q61 and White will win with the outside passed pawn) 38 P-Q5+ KxP 39 KxP K-K5 40 K-N6 P-Q4 41 KxP P-Q5 42 P-R6 P-Q6 43 P-R7 P-Q7 44 P-R6-Q P-Q6=Q with a draw probable, but it is not so easy to calculate this far ahead with total accuracy. In time trouble Smarkat harks the accuracy in time trouble Smerkal backs the wrong hors

32 . . . R—K57? 33. RxR, PxR, 34. K—K3, K—B4; 35. P—N4, P—R4; 36. P—R4, K—N5; 37. KxP, KxP; 38. K—B31 Resigns Black is forced to block his own pawn by 38 K-RS and leave the white one free to

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

MOST players have seen at some time a constructed deal where declarer with Ax opposite Kx in a side suit can make his contract only by dropping the King under the Ace. The set-up may be something like this Dealers East NS vulnerable

♠ A 5 4
♥ K 9 8 3
♦ 10 7 4 2 ♣ A 3 ♠ KQJ 1093 **♣** 7 ♥ 6 2 W E ♦ Q J 9 6 **▲ 85** S ♣ QJ109765 **862** ▼ A Q J 10 5 4 A K 3

NORTH **EAST** WEST SOUTH 4 🖤 4 📤 5♥ No No No West leads the King of spades. The only

way to make the contract is to win the first trick, draw trumps, cash two diamonds play the Ace and King of clubs on the same trick. and exit with a low club East must play another club, on which South discards a diamond and North a spade East must play another club, South ruffs and North dis-cards another spade. The trick lost in clubs earns two by way of the double ruff-anddiscard

Now a young American player has con-structed a deal where it would be good play holding Ax opposite Kx to duck the first

♥ KQJ10987 + QJ ♦ Q ♥ 6 5 4 3 2 ♦ 10 7 6 3 **♣** 10 6 3 **♠** J 10875432 **♥** A **♦** K 5 N E S **★** K 9 ♠ A 9 B 4 2 4 A98742

The Queen of spades is led against a notrump contract. The only way to make eleven tricks is to duck. If West follows with a heart, there is still a spade entry to dummy, and if West leads a minor suit, this creates a second entry, allowing North to force out the Ace of hearts and regain the

TERENCE REESE

stamps



A World Health Organisation poster forms the design of a new Fronch stamp support ing the international anti-smoking campaign It's your own choice - tobacco or health! is the slogan Another recent issue from France honours the Socialist politician from France honours the Socialist politician Aristide Briand who was several times Prime Minister or Foreign Minister both before and after the First World War It is just 50 years since Briand published his memorandium on a Regime d'Union Federale Europeene, so that the choice of the 1980 Furona the new stamp as one of the 1980 Europa series is particularly appropriate Britain a contribution to the Europa series whose theme this year is famous people will be issued later this month. The British startips are to honour four women novelists. Charlotte and Emily Bronte George Eliot and Mrs Elizabeth Gaskell

C W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- 1 Among birds, what is a trumpeter? 2 The kiss was first seen in an Indian film, Karma Who were the stars? 3 Aikido, the martial art has two chief styles What are they?
- Anna Freud is famous for?
- What is Friar's Balsam?
- When do migraines occur?
 - What is plastic explosive made of?



or cyclotrimethylenetrinitramine with oil one-sided severe throbbing headache 7 It is made by mixing RDX or cyclonite of blood vessels, there is a tingling in parts of the body followed by an often 6 When there is an abnormal reactivity inhalation to ease coughs

The minerial of the state of th

A species of dove Himansu Rani The

VM2MEH2

COMICS



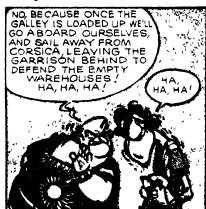
IN CORSICA by GOSCINNY and UDERZO







































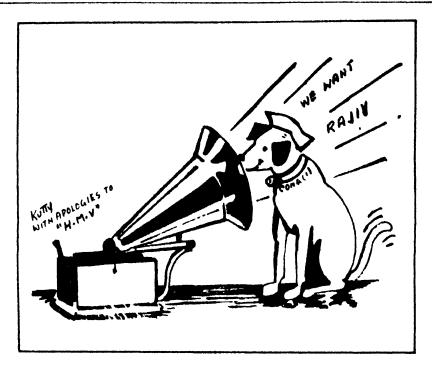
CMs TAMED

THL National Development Council meeting on August 30 31 was in sharp contrast to the last meeting of the body held in February '79 when the Januar government was in power at the centre. The Chief Ministers were then in a defiant mood, demanding a bigger share of the financial cake from the centre And they succeeded to a large ex tent particularly in the field of transferring more centrally spon sored schemes from the centre to the states. A committee set up to go into this recommended the transfer of R , 2 000 crores worth of schemes to the states. Mrs Gandhi set the tone of the August meeting by thre atening to take these projects back knowing full well that she couldn't (the approved recommendations of the NDC have parliamentary sanction behind them) The Prime Minister actually took the wind out of the sails of the non Congress(1) Chief Ministers by saying that the centre didn't intend to dislodge those governments. She even added with a straight face. We have nev There would have been er done it ' total disbelief on Mr Karunanidhi's face had he been present there

Mi Ivoti Basu, West Bengal Chief Minister, was quite unlike his former self, at the previous meet ing, and tactfully welcomed Mrs Gandhi's "assurance' The person who really outdid himself was Mr AR Antulay, Maharashtra Chief Minister, who after an appeal to the delegates to rally round the PM, added that "those who do not sup port the Prime Minister are unpat inotic ' This was too much for MGR who shouted, 'Ennasolrada (What is he saying)' Mis Gandhi under stood the implications and tried to make light of the remark by saying. "He was only talking about unity After all he is an enthusiastic and young Chief Minister" Mr ND Tiwari adoed a touch of colour by saving. The plan framework represents the return of the red rose to the garden of planning with all its fragrance

NEW BLOOD FOR OLD PARTY

THE Janata Party led by Mr Chan dra Shekhar is all set for a miniunification Mr Raj Narain is eager to re-enter the Janata Party in its present shape and some Lok Dal leaders like Narendra Singh and Jagbir Singh are expected to follow suit



STIFF COMPETITION

CONGRESS(I) Chief Ministers are all yving with each other to show their respect and reverence for the memory of Sanjay Gandhi, but the Punjab and Harvana CMs have a clear headstart over the others Punjab has decided to have a San Javgiam on 1200 hectares of land near Hoshiarpur donated by the state government. A university called Sanjayniketan will also be built near it with the help of the UN housing organisation, Habitat But Haryana Chief Minister Bhajan Lal is cleverer. He doesn't waste time in planning schemes to be named after Sanjay He has decided to name the western Yamuna canal hydro electric project after Sanjav There will also be a Sanjay Memo rial College in Bhajan Lal's home village in Hissar district

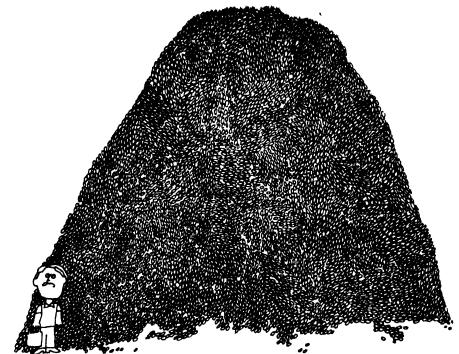
POOR MEMORY

In 1978 the Delhi Development authority allotted a plot of land to Southern Rajouri Garden Friends' Association for a community hall After the allotment the association prepared a plan for the hall and submitted it to the DDA But in August 1980 the DDA re-allotted the plot for the proposed Sanjay Memorial Hall without intimating the previous allottees Not only this, on 10 August Mr Yogendra Makwana laid the foundation stone of the Sanjay Memorial Hall.

NEWS AS VIEWS

IV viewers of New Delhi were surprised with the coverage on 17 August of the Moradabad riots in the two evening news bulletins (8 pm and 9 45 pm) In the 8 pm Hindi news, Congress(I) lightweights like Sajjan Kumar and Ram Sewak got wide coverage. An item on Independence Day celebrations in south Delhi was also shown These celebrations were held that very evening At least 40 seconds were allotted to Delhi roads and road engineering, showing several Delhi roads Not only this, two minutes were devoted to a Defence Colony organisation called Sanjiwaniwhich helped people release mental tension The newscaster started thus "Sanjivani main logonki samasyayon ko kafi hamdardi say suna jata hai (In Sanjiv 'ni people's problems are given a sympathetic hearing) " A girl from this organisation was also interviewed But there was no mention of the Lok Dal leader Charan Singh's statement issued the same morning withdrawing the Baghpat satyagraha and expressing concern over the attacks on innocent people in Moradabad. In the English news at 9 45 pm the same priorities prevailed. The TV camera showed only the sky and the first floors of houses in Moradabad city. The reality on the ground was literally ignored.

D E. NIZAMUDDIN



You who store twenty kg-

Storing foodgrains at home for only one family involves almost no effort, when you compare it to what the Food Corpora tion of India does FCI stores foodgrains for millions of families like yours for many months, in all parts of the country

These foodgrains are stored safely and scienti fically in godowns and completely mechanised silos with high speed receiving systems CAP (Cover and Plinth), a temporary storage method adopted by the FCI, is gradually being phased out, as the more scientific godowns are being set up

These massive storage accommodations, located at strategic consumption and production centres, ensure the prompt supply of foodgrains to all, any time and anywhere in the country Apart from day to day distribution, large quantities of food reserves are also stored

Keeping pace with the production and procurement of foodgrains, FCI's storage capacity has steadily increased from a modest 6.17 lakh tonnes in 1965-66 to 230.64 lakh tonnes in 1979 About 22 lakh tonnes are under construction with the financial assistance of the World Bank, Another 10 lakh tonnes will also be added soon under other construction programmes

The maintenance of these messive storage accom-

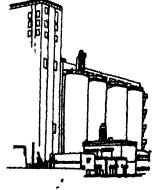
modations, as well as transportation and other operations, naturally result in a great deal of expenditure Yet, despite all this, the Corporation supplies grains to every distributing agency throughout the country at a fixed price which is much lower than the actual costs Take for instance wheat A quintal of wheat which costs FCI Rs 161 05 is sold to the distributing agencies for Rs 130 00 The difference of Rs 31 05 is absorbed by the Co vernment to make food grains available to the consumer at a lower price In other words, Government subsidy of Rs 31 05 is received by the consumer, through the Corporation.

FCI carries out every stage of these numerous activities with the utmost economy ın the best of both interest the confarmer sumer

imagine storing two thousand four hundred crores kg.

The estimated Consumer Subsidy on wheat in 1980-81 (Per Quintal)

| Price paid to farmer | 117 00 | Administrative overheads | 1.71 |
|---|--------|---|--------|
| Statutory and other charges like mandi purchase | | Storage, handling, godown expenses, etc | 5 92 |
| tax, mandı labour cost of gunny | | Interest on loans | 5 54 |
| bags, temporary storage etc on | | Total cost incurred by FCL | 161.05 |
| which FCI has no | | Cost charged by FCI | |
| control | 20 64 | from distributing | 130 00 |
| Freight charges | 10 24 | CONSUMER SUBSIDY | 31 05 |



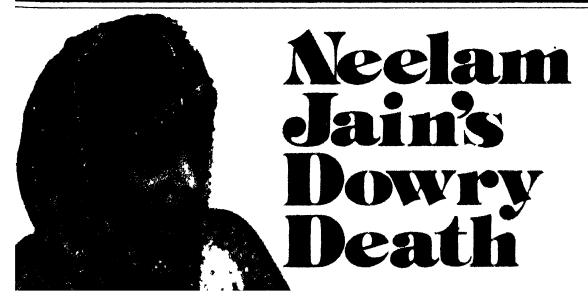


In the service of the nation

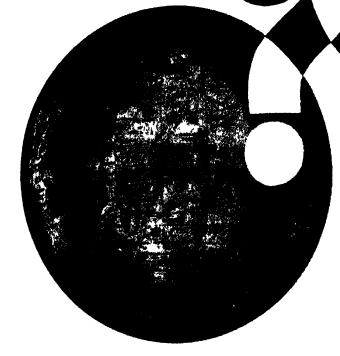


SUNDAY Kashmir's anti-national pressabudin chief of the Jamaat-e-Islami Rashmir shankar-e-Islami Rashmir shankar-e-Islam

Jagmohan-Bhinder Misrule



Tomorrow may well be yesterday. And vice versa. Or worse!



Who can tell?
The Mathrubhumi daily, of course!

The most prestigious daily of the Malayalam-speaking people, the Mathrubhumi (meaning Motherland) is heir to a great tradition. Born in the struggle for freedom, it had remained an integral part of it all the way.

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from Kerala

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മാതൃഭൂമി

PUBLISHED SIMULTANEOUSLY FROM CALICUT AND COCHIN. SOON TO BE PUBLISHED FROM TRIVANDRUM ALSO.



September 21, 1980



The Jamaat-e-Islami is the Mussalman's RSS both organisations preach communalism and pretend that they do not have political ambitions. The Jamaat has played a dubious role in our country ever since its creation in 1941. In Kashmir the Jamaat commands vital pockets of support but interestingly it is not affiliated to the national body. Its activities are quite visibly anti-national **Sunday** presents a special survey on the Jamaat.

Page 10

Crime rising prices lack of electricity and acute artificial scarcities especially of sugar—have made life in Delhi a nightmare. And the reason is becoming increasingly clear an incompetent Administration that is bungling almost everything. A special report on how the capital of India misruled.

Fage 20



Neelam Jain a 17-year old Marwan housewife died under mysterious circumstances in Calcutta Suspecting foul play the police immediately arrested her husband and her mother-in-law on charges of murder. Neelam's tragic death has shocked Calcutta's Marwari community and it has made its protest known through bandhs and demonstrations. Neelam Jain may have been yet another victim of the dowry system.

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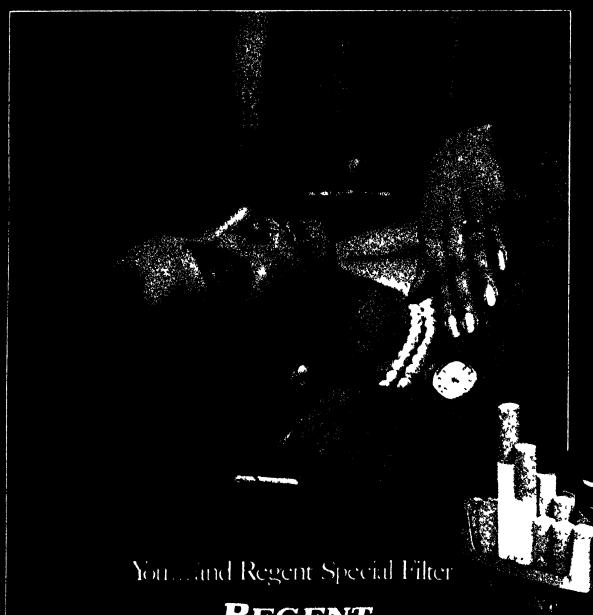
Cover photograph of Pir Saaduddin by Mehrajuddin Dar

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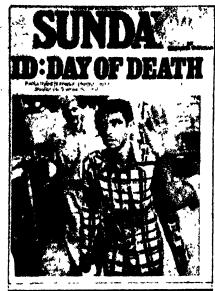
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Murdering Mahatma

M J AKBAR rightly said, "There are enough people, both Hindus and Muslims, who are anti-national, who would like to see the tremendous experiment called India, born out of the faith of a saint called Mahatma Gandhi, destroyed "("Id Day of Death," 24 August) I would like to add another sentence. Godse, a fanatical Hindu, killed Mahatma Gandhi physically, but the Mahat-ma's successors have been murdering him ever since independence Nilesh Sen. 24 Parganas, West Bengal

Your extensive report, I bet, will go unheeded

R. Ahmed, Jamshedpur

IT IS a pity that policemen have no qualms about indulging in such havoc Don't the top brass in the police have any control over their subordinates? Such incidents, which were sporadic a decade or two ago, have now become common We are tast approaching the stage when the word "policeman" will become synonymous with "criminal"

C. V Aravind, Madias

THE secular character of our constitution has often been subverted by communalists—and Moradabad was one clear case The government should protect the interests of the minorities and severely punish those responsible for insugating the riots Debabrata Sengupta, Howiah

ARE harijans and the minority community destined to be exterminated? Is it not ridiculous to imagine a pig being the cause of the widespread carnage? The cover picture was proof enough of the plot behind the Moradabad massacre Azad Bharti, Ranchi

MR AKBAR was correct in saying that the police tried its utmost to give the incidents a communal colour. The cover photograph is an example of what happened in Moradabad

M P. Akhter, Ranigunj, West Bengal

Freedom?

INDIA that is Bharat, is called the world's biggest democracy. But only the jawans of the PAC here are free among other things, to abuse citizens with such foul language as: "Have you come here to get your mother raped?" ("How I spent Independence Day, 1980" by Vijyendra Tyagı, 24 August.) Mr. Tyagi's experience is enough to reveal the true character of the police Saswati Ghosh, Calcutta

IN Independent India, a policeman no longer symbolises law and order; he is rightly regarded as a dacoit in uniform. Nabin Kumar Tripathy, Sambalpur,

I appreciate the forbearance of those who, despite the loss of many of their near and dear ones, refused to turn Moradabad into a communal riot Instead, they are crying for justice Joydeep Mazumdar, Sindri

Your story was refreshingly different from the reports in many Indian dailies and magazines which harped on a socalled "foreign conspiracy" I suspect, in fact, a conspiracy by communal forces Syed Amın-ul-Hasan Jafrı, Hyderabad

HOW can we consider ourselves indepen dent and secular? The massacre at Moradabad was no less tragic than Jallianwalla Bagh

Sujit Sarkar, Dhandad

It was through your report that we came to know about the facts and motives behind the carnage. The question is not how many human beings have lost their lives; the question is what we want to make of ourselves and posterity. Razia Shafique, Jamshedpur

I strongly condemn the attitude of the police in not preventing the stray entry of a pig in the Idgah at any time, leave alone at the time of Id prayers. It is the duty of every police officer or man, whether on duty or not, to safeguard the sanctity of any religious shrine or place at all times. However, the casual entry of a pig in the Idgah and a determined attempt to slaughter a cow cannot be compared. While the former is an inadvertent accident, the latter would be a determined act. The restraint maintained by the two communities in the face of provocation is praiseworthy I would advise every member of the police force, so long as he wears the uniform, to think that he has no religion Will the police today take a lesson from the incidents at Moradabad? Tarkeshwar Prasad, Muzaffarpur

"Police," an acronym which stood for politeness, obedience, loyalty, intelligence and efficiency, has now come to represent prejudice, offence, laziness, insanity, cruelty and errors P V Govindan Kovoor, Cannanore

Law of cruelty

THE man on the cover is so frail as to I make one wonder why he was so brutally assaulted after arrest. There would have been some sense in beating Shakeel Ahmed had he evaded arrest or fought with the police Mrs Gandhi does not hesitate to rush to the spot if anything goes wrong in a non-Congress(I) state, even if it involves wading through knee-deep water or riding an elephant! With her return to power, the police feel free to beat, rape and shoot whoever they please I now shudder at the sight of a policeman, even if he is unarmed A S Murty, Visakhapatnam

While most leading dailies avoided the truth or blamed the Moradabad trouble on the minority community, Sunday proved it is not a sin on the part of a minority to raise its voice fronically, the Muslims of India have, election after election, continued to support a Party which swore to root out communalism 33 vears ago, but has done virtually nothing to that end. I think the blame for this should fall on the self-styled leaders of the Muslims who are more concerned with pleasing Mrs Gandhi and retaining their positions in the Congress(I), rather than understanding the deep-rooted economic problems of the community M Atyab Siddiqui, Delhi

Can you please tell us what became of Shakeel Ahmed, the man on the cover? M H Jowher, New Delhi

Mr Akbar takes the final honours for writing with such dignity, objectivity and, above all, restraint on such a sensitive issue, especially as a Muslim him-self. Shubhabrata Bhattacharya ("The Delhi riots," 24 August) and Vijyendra Tyagi ("How I spent Independence Day, 1980," 24 August) also showed their professional ethics and honesty Jaya Mehta, New Delhi

IN ALL fairness, you should have also published pictures of the innocent magistrate who died. It is high time the inhumanity of the police, as well as militant fanaticism, were put to an end with a firm hand. T S. Rao, Guntur

Your cover story on the Moradabad tragedy was quite informative. However, I do not agree with you one point You state that the violence on 13 August was not at all communal. But would the police (presumably comprised, by and large, of Hindus) fire on a Hindu congregation under similar circumstances? Shivkant Chaubey, Bhopal

Muslims in India do not form a separate entity May Allah and Bhagwan change the minds of our policemen. S. Narasımha Rao, Paradeep

Your Moradabad coverage was truly vivid What we now have to do is cheer up—the worst is yet to come. N. Ramesh Hyderabad

The second secon

Mr Akbar says that if the namazis had any intention to create trouble they would not come to the Idgah with children and women members of their families. But why did some of the namazis come to the prayer armed? Secondly, the parallel Mr Akbar drew with the slaughter of a cow before a Hindu temple does not hold good; in the neighbourhood of the Idgah there is a fairly large concentration of pigs. In the circumstances, if the pig strayed into the gathering, it was accidental.

HR Bose, Calcutta

The reporter's contention was clear: that the namazis had not come armed.

To transfer responsibility for the entire episode on the PAC and other policemen is not correct. A handful of policemen fired for the safety of the Aman Commit tee members and themselves. I strongly feel that the incidents were preplanned by a handful of miscreants belonging to the minority community, to create sense of insecurity among Muslims. Sushma Pradeep Gupta, Moradabad

The report betrays its partiality when one gathers from it that only Muslims were the target of police atrocities. More shocking is Mr Akbar's example of "the man on the cover" whose friend, Babu Singh, in spite of committing the same offence was spared because he was affindu. This part of the report is veri upsetting. What should one rely on for the truth-newspapers or Mr Akbar's report? One thing is certain-such reports are likely to disturb communal harmony, and are better not published for the sake of national integrity it is alw ass better never to reveal some facts Suprio Bhattac**ha**rva, Patna

Master Conman

REFER to Pritish Nandy's "Natwarlal superconman" (17 August) There is a saying in Telugu "Potodiki putudu budhulu" which means "He who is a trickster has a lot of brains." This applies to Natwarlal.

Jagadish Japani, Hyderabad

THERE appears to be some confusion over Natwarlal's age: on page 32 it is put as 40 but on page 34, he is said to be "at the ripe old age of 65 M C. Das, Bhubaneswar

Again

FOU published the same cartoon in Y "Delhi Diary" in two consecutive issues—17 and 24 August. Sajjan Sharma, Çalçutta.

You are right. It was a silly error. Our apologies—Editor



The state of the s

Relief centres

WE WERE not amused by the feature "Pity the paisaless" ("Living," 17 August) where the Calcutta Metropolitan Development Authority (CMDA) has been taken to task for interfering with people's freedom to relieve themselves anywhere they like. For one thing, the urinal and lavatory referred to was built by PWD and is run by the ex-servicemen's league. The CMDA will, however, be constructing such urinals and lavatories in other parts of the city. The difference between the PWD unit and the CMDA unit will be that while there will be a nominal charge of ten

paise for using the lavatory and bath. urinals will be free. Also, those v.ho cannot pay are welcome to use the lava-tory or bath free of charge rather than use the open or not-so-open space for defecation. These will be run by Sulabh Shauchalaya Sansthan, a voluntary social organisation.

Though there is no scope to discuss the other activities of the CMDA, we are not certainly apologetic about the work that we have done and the dent we have been able to make on the city's problems. S.C.Basu, Director of Public Relations, CMDA, Calcutta

One more detail

OUR scientists deserve praise for the successful launching of SLV-3 ("India enters the space age" by Bikash Sinha, 3 August) But I think we should not get overconfident. According to official sources in the Department of Space, the Rohini satellite, which was designed to last for 100 days and whose orbital parameters were originally estimated at 600 kms and 285 kms is now likely to have a life span of 900 days and its actual orbital parameters are said to be 950 kms and 325 kms respectively. The conclusion

that has been drawn from this is that the launching has passed all expectations. But it should be clear that a deviation of approximately 100 per cent from original approximately too per term to a sign: the calculations is not a happy sign: the success of a scientific experiment is measured in terms of the accuracy with which the final results can be forecast. A deviation of this type detracts from the dependability of the design and technology used; it is also a sad portent for our space plans. Shiv Kumar Dhyani, Dehradun

The sweet, and sour

CONCUR with Subramaniam Swamy's Adescription of the present Indira government as a caretaker government ("Bitter sugar policy," 17 August) in that no firm decisions are being taken, especially on economic policy. The price of sugar has risen phenomenally; no one need be surprised if it reaches an all-time

Choice of words



R KHUSHWANT SINGH's reaction R KHUSHWANT SINGH'S reaction to Mr Bhupesh Gupta's use of the word "sycophant" ("Offensive, but bot unparliamentary," 27 July) clearly shows the former for what he is worth. His reply that he is not a sycophant but a supporter may be correct. But what Mr Gupta meant by the word "sycophant" was the Hindi term chaploos. That this was an apt description of Mr Singh was confirmed when he equated Maneka Gandhi togoddess Durga. R. C. Goel, Solan, Himachal Pradesh

MR SINGH exposed himself by counter-attacking Mr Gupta. There is a popular Oriya saying: "Thakur ghare kiare? Mun kadali khai nahin" meaning, "Who is there in god's abode? I have not eaten the plantains." How does Mr Singh consider himself to have emerged victorious from the Rajya Sahha debate when his words were expunged from the proceedings?

Surendra Nath Mohanty, Kaptipada, Orissa

high of more than Rs. 10 per kilo. Perhaps sugar barons who had donated huge sums to the Congress(I) for election purposes are trying to make good the money. The government has any number of excuses to justify what is happening, but common people continue to suffer.

H. Krishna Murthy, Pune

Time to reckon

AGREE with Gurbux Singh ("Goals Lagain, and gold again," 17 August) that-instead of rejoicing on regaining the Olympic god, it is time for us to assess ourselves Mr Singh correctly pointed out that Surjir Singh is still the best defender that Surjit Singh is still the best defender we have today; had he played, we would have won more convincingly.

Incidentally, in the short profile of S. S. Sodhi, it is stated that Sodhi had the distinction of scoring the only hattrick of the game Did not Spain's Juan Amat perform the same feat in the final? R. L. Hansia, Purulia, West Bengal

Face facts

MRS NARGIS DUTT's remark ("With-out comment," 10 August) that Mr Satyajit Ray portrays poverty in his films is biased and thoughtless. She should know that people abroad are aware of our apalling poverty. Shekhar Banerjee, New Delhi

Wrong answer

TT WAS Northamptonshire that won the Benson and Hedges Cup for the year 1980 and not Essex as stated in "Quiz" (10 August). Essex won the trophy in 1979 and the "Man of the Match" award went to Allen Lamb of Northamptonshire.

K. G. Venkatesh. Bangalore

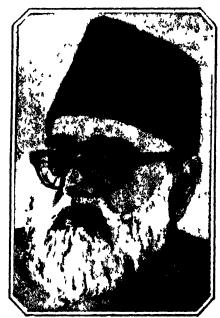
Kashmir's anti-national Jamaat-e-Islami

The Jamaat in Kashmir is different from the Jamaat in the rest of the country—it is not even affiliated to the national body. It is both overtly and covertly anti-national in its activities. For a large number of reasons it is not a very strong force in Kashmir, but it does command vital pockets of support. In any case, what it does is sufficient to invite the sternest measures against tt—as the Sheikh's government has adopted, reports UDAYAN SHARMA from Srinagar.

HE veat was 1945 Mr Saaduddin had returned to Srinagar from Pathank of even as the ill wind of partition was blowing across the nation Along with him were Mr Saifuddin Kari and Mr G A Harhar, and the three had come with a specific plan to launch a new organisation in Jammu and Kashmir Few realised then that in that plan were the seeds of communal venom which would irritate, if not dominate, the politics and the life of the valley of Kashmir for a long, long while Mr Saaduddin had been one of the

few people who had attended the inaugural convention of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, a religious organisation launched by a firebrand called Maulana Mawdudi, which intended to lead the movement not simply for a secular state for Muslims but for an Islamic state whose life would be controlled by Islam as interpreted by the Maulana (The Maulana had serious differences with Jinnah) Even before partition the Maulana settled down in what became Pakistan, and after 1947 the Indian wing of this organisation gradually built up its own leadership (though of course the intellectual sustenance was still provided by the Maulana) In Kashmir, Saaduddin had other ideas He did not affiliate his organisation with the parent body headquartered in Delhi And he maintained close ties with the Jamaat in Pakistan Its activities would not involve Muslims in the rest of the country

The pattern of growth was typical of such organisations He concentrated



Maulana Mawdudi

on building a young cadre which would remain committed to the Jamaat, no matter what the pressure. And this cadre was told to concentrate, in turn, on moulding the views of the very young. The method build and run schools through which the indoctrination of innocent generations could take place. Today, the Jamaat has a network of 182 fairly efficiently run schools in the valley, and uses study circles and mosques to propagate its ideas. Such is its confidence that it has now begun to talk openly about plebiscite, and an Islamic revolution on

Iranian lines (since they don't have an army to back them, one presumes that they cannot demand a 'revolution' on Pakistani lines) Nor is the Jamaat short of funds Their money comes from Pakistan and the west Asian countries, particularly Saudi Arabia The Jamaat in Kashmir is not bothered about Muslims in the rest of India, largely because its role is, deep down, political it wants to create an environment in which the demand for seces sion in Kashmir will become irresistible

The Jamaat first started organising itself in the Doda district of Jammu In the valley its only stronghold was, and still is, the town of Sopore, which is a commercial centre, a town of apple kings with a prosperous community of Muslim businessmen (the similarity with the RSS base among traders can hardly be missed) Sopore is the only place in the state which sent a Jamaat candidate to the J and K legislature in the 1977 elections Slowly, the organisation has grown in pockets of Baramulla, Anantnag and Kulgam, and in Srinagar city too the Jamaat has much larger support today than it ever had in the past. All this does not add up to very much; but it still adds up to much

more than what it was in the past

The Jamaat is still basically an
unimportant political force in this
Muslim-majority state, because of a
very interesting contradiction. The
Kashmiri Muslim peasantry is a greatbeliever in shrines—astan parast: Maqdoom Sahib, Dastgir Sahib, Shah
Hamdan Sahib, etc. are revered
shrines. This is part of the Kashmiri
tradition. The Jamaat, with its fun-

damentalism, is completely opposed to such reverence for shrines, and preaches against them. Consequently, it is rejected by the peasantry. The Jamaat has been more successful among sections of the professional classes: teachers, engineers, doctors, the bureaucracy.

the bureaucracy.

Like the RSS, the Jamaat concentrated on schools: with financial help from Pakistan, it started schools right in the interior villages of Kashmir, called Darazgah Jamaat-e-Islamiya. The Jamaat keeps fulltime workers and pays them between Rs 350 and Rs 2,000 (for the few at the very top) per month. During the Emergency, when the Jamaat was banned, the schools continued functioning—under pseudonyms. The burden of the lessons in schools is anti-Indian.

These are some of the things taught in the Jamaat schools: the Indian constitution cannot apply to Muslims; the Indian army is occupying a Muslim state by illegal force; Muslims can only live in an Islamic state; the so-called secularism and socialism of the Indian constitution is a threat to Kashmiri Muslims This is the kind of communalism and anti-nationalism that the Jamaat is spreading through its schools and its study circles.

In the 1953 crisis, the Jamaate-Islami in Kashmir supported Sheikh Abdullah's Plebiscite Front. But it was quite clear that the two were never friendly The reasons for this were also quite simple. Whatever the Sheikh's differences might have been with Delhi, the one thing the Sheikh was not going to be was a stooge of Pakistan. Ideologically too, the Sheikh could not accept Pakistan; never, even through his worst days, did the Sheikh forget Mahatma Gandhi or the-national independence movement.

The first major confrontation between the Sheikh and the Jamaat occurred in 1968. Sheikh Abdullah convened a state people's convention to discuss the Kashmir issue. All sections of opinion were invited to participate in this debate; every personality who mattered even a little in the state's politics was asked to come The Jamaat too accepted the invitation and attended the first session of the convention.

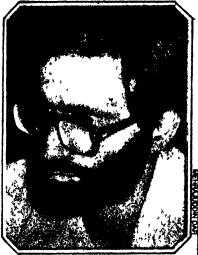
The Sheikh wanted the convention to adopt a resolution that "the future set-up of Kashmir should be on a secular basis." Except for the Jamaat, everybody else accepted the resolution: the Jamaat opposed it vehemently. Heated arguments took place between the Jamaat's representative, Saifuddin Kari, and Sheikh Abdullah; the end result was that Kari walked out. That signalled the complete break between the Sheikh and the Jamaat (Ironically, the Sheikh was being called a Pakistani agent by the centre at that time.)

But this was the first time too that the Jamest was publicly defending a certain political line. All this while it had continued its propaganda quietly, under the cover of preaching religion.

The Secessionist Tulba

SHEIKH TAJAMMUL ISLAM, president of the Jamaat-e-Tulba, represents the arrogance and the ideology of the secessionist forces in Kashmir (see Sunday August 24). Not merely does he openly advocate the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan, but he has said again and again to anyone who will listen that the Indian army in Kashmir is like the Russian army in Afghanistan.

On August 5 he held a Press conference in Srinagar in which he told the media what he believed. And these are some of the things he believes: "...India is not our country. The Indian constitution does not apply to us. Our wafadari (loyalty) can only be with an Islamic constitution, because Kashmir is an independent area which is being illegally occupied by India. As far as the occupation of Kashmir by Pakistan is concerned we cannot say that Pakistan is illegally occupying this area of Kashmir because Pakistan accepts the demand for plebiscite in Kashmir. And



Sheikh Tajammul Islam

above all in 1947 India was divided on religious lines. According to that, Muslim states went over to Pakistan and Hindu states remained in India. Kashmir was a Muslim state. Then why should it remain in India?"

Mr Islam was organising a world Islamic youth conference, which was later banned by the state government. And he told the Press that the "basic topic of the conference will be 'The Islamic revolution in Kashmir'. We will study the various ways of bringing the Iran type of revolution to Kashmir...The kind of revolution brought by Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran will be the best for us."

But now they began getting ready to contest elections. Jamaat leaders went to Pakistan to seek funds, and presumably got them. And the Jamaat did not do too badly in the 1971 Lok Sabha elections. They polled quite heavily in a few constituencies, although they did not win any seat. Mohammad Shafi Qureshi, who became a Minister in Delhi, had some difficulty in defeating his Jamaat opponent, Hakins Gulam Nabi.

But the Jamaat's political thrust came in the 1972 Assembly elections. The Sheikh was not contesting. G. M. Sadiq had died. Syed Mir Qasim, who had succeeded Sadiq, had a few scores to settle within his own party, and wanted the Sadiq faction of the Congress defeated; and it is alleged that the Jamaat received a bit of encouragement from the Congress establishment too in its election campaign. Moreover, although the Sheikh had refused to participate in the elections, the Congress did want to give the impression that the elections reflected the genuine popular mood-and what better line could they throw than show the world that even the Jamaat-e-Islami, quite avowedly pro-Pakistani, was participating in the polls? The Jamaat also had a score to settle with the Sheikh, who had rebuffed them in 1968. The Sheikh was back in jail in 1972. And a combination of all these circumstances helped the Jamaat-e-Islami to win five Assembly seats: Gulam Nabi Nausharı from Tankıpura; Saifuddin Karı from Khanyar; Syed Ali Gilani from Sopore, Abdul Razak Mir from Kulyam; and Ali Mohammad Dar from Nandi.

Numerically, five seats was insignificant. But the impact was powerful. The Jamaat, with a little bit of help from the Congress, had emerged as a political force in Kashmir.

Then came the 1974 municipal elections. Finally, Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference decided to enter the electoral fray. The ruling Congress, for reasons best known to it, did not contest. Sheikh Abdullah formed an alliance with Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq, and the main rival of this front was the Jamaat-e-Islami. In their first electoral confrontation, the Jamaat was routed, despite their 1972 success, and the reason was clear: Sheikh Abdullah's return. The Jamaat had only acquired a small corner of the vácuum left by the Sheikh's absence.

The story was repeated in the Assembly elections of 1977. Every political party was out to demolish the 'myth' of Sheikh Abdullah in that election. The Janata Party, despite the presence of RSS hardliners (or perhaps because of their presence?) even joined hands with pro-Pak elements in the valley. The Congress was a demoralised force then; but the Jamaat was spreading its poison with a fervent intensity. The Sheikh emerged with flying colours. The National Conference lost just three seats in the valley. The Jamaat could win only one seat, in its traditional stronghold of

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The lone Jamaat MLA said in a Press conference that secular and socialist forces were a threat to Kashmiri Muslims and the role of the Indian army in Kashmir was the same as the role of the Russian army in Afghanistan.

Sopore—and that only by the barest of

margins, just 33 votes

But, most surprisingly, despite this overwhelming victory, the Sheikh did not take any strong action against the Jamaat in his state Despite the mauling it received, the Jamaat continued its activities, and even began a whisper campaign that it had the clandestine support of the Sheikh. Perhaps the Sheikh thought that, as long as he was there, no other political force could accrue any strength. Perhaps he was only following a tradition maintained by Kashmir's Chief Ministers, of using pro-Pak forces as a tool in their problems with Delhi. But the Jamaat continued to expand.

AST year, Bhutto was hanged by the military government in Pakistan. The Jamat e Islami of Kashmir "celebrated" what has been called a judicial murder by distributing sweets: for them it was a victory against a "modernist" All the anger of the Kashmiri masses against the hanging found a target, and they fell upon the Jamaat More than 150 villages in which the Jamaat had supporters were completely destroyed (although in virtually every village Hindu families stay, no Hindu was touched). In Anantnag district alone, property worth lakhs was destroyed. It was the first time in memory that Kashmiris had been aroused Only five people died, true, but such was the fury that if bloodshed had been in the Kashmiri character, hundreds of Jamaat workers would have been slain.

Till the middle of this year, the Jamaat adopted a very low profile after that display of mass anger. But they used this period well Large amounts of money mysteriously appeared, and every Jamaat member who had been attacked, or whose house was burnt, found himself a beneficiary he got the money to build a far better house than he originally had. Sheikh Abdullah has charged the Jamaat with getting money from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia and said that the Americans too are sending money through the Arabs The Jamaat, it might be noted, never says a word against the USA, and is so anti-Russian that its ardour for even the PLO has cooled due to Arafat's friendship with the USSR. The Amir-e-Jamaat has publicly accepted that his organisation has been the recipient of foreign funds. However, the Sheikh only recently stepped up his attacks on the Jamaat. The only important leader who has been criticising them constantly has been the Congress(I)'s Mufti Sayeed Mohammad.

After regrouping its cadre, the Jamaat now wanted to refurbish its

image. And so they organised a seerat conference in June this year. The apparent reason was to celebrate the arrival of the 15th century according to the Islamic calendar About 10,000 people came to attend this conference, largely professionals and students, generally from the middle-class, orchard-rich areas like Sopore, Baramulla, Shupian, Arwani, Kulgam etc This conference should have been religious, where speakers should have discoursed on the life of the Prophet Instead, political resolutions were passed. A message was read within closed doors, sent by the Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan, which said the Muslims of Kashmir should fight against subjugation Resolutions on Iran, and Afghanistan, were passed. And a resolution condemning the "pro-India" attitude of Sheikh Abdullah was also passed.

This last was done in the presence of the most respected guest of the conference, the Imam of the Ka'aba, who had come all the way from Saudi Arabia to lend his presence And after the conference, the Imam, in a virtual campaign for the Jamaat, went to village after village, accompanied by Jamaat leaders the ground was apparently being prepared for an "Islamic revolution". There were important guests at this conference from Iran, Abu Dhabi and Sudan The slogan of this conference was La Shiye la Sunniye, Al Muslim o Islamiya (message, defined simply, is Shia or Sunni, a Muslim belongs to Islam!)

The success of the conference encouraged the Jamaat so much that its only MLA Mr Gilani said in a Press conference that secular and socialist forces were a threat to Kashmiri Muslims, and the role of the Indian army in Kashmir was the same as the role of the Russian army in Afghanistan And in Sopore he publicly said that Muslims should sell their TV sets and their jewellery in order to arm themselves. The front organisation of the Jamaat, the Jamiat Tulba (for students) suddenly became active after this conference.

Technically the Tulba is independent of the Jamaat-e-Islamia just as the Vidyarthi Parishad is 'independent' of the RSS) It was formed in 1978 with the declared aim of organising Muslim youth to bring about an Islamic awakening in the valley. It has a three-tier membership system: 'rukn (basic); rafiq (friends); and imuawin (sympathisers). At the moment its basic members are only 54, but it has more than 12,000 "friends" and more than 100,000 "sympathisers". The Tulba's president is an unmarried 27-year-old Muslim with an obsession against India, Sheikh Tajammul Islam. Before

becoming the chief of the Tulba, he was editor of the Jamaat's official paper Azaan published from Srinagar. A not too successful lawyer, he believes in Islamic fundamentalism and Kashmir's merger into Pakistan (see

The Tulba had planned a World Islamic Youth Conference in Srinagar on August 22, in which delegations from many Muslim countries were expected to come (once again, the question: where was the finance coming from?) At this conference Tajammul Islam wanted to unilaterally declare Kashmir to be an Islamic country. Sheikh Abdullah put paid to such exaggerated notions of importance by banning this conference, and sending Mr Islam behind bars temporarily (no one protested in Kashmir when this was done). Sheikh Islam is in Riasi jail near Jammu Another brain behind the Tulba is Dr Ayub Thakor, who was teaching in Kashmir University till recently. He comes from a village called Pudsoo in Kulgam, and he finished his PhD in 1977. He was the man who was in charge of the Tulba's activities on the campus. He has gone underground after the administration's crackdown on the Jamaat. Thakor was the person who represented the Jamaat-e-Islami Kashmir at Maulana Mawdudi's funeral.

Such is the perverse attitude of the Tulba about education that they have forced the university authorities to ban books like this from their libraty: Outline of History by H.G.Wells; Encyclopaedia Britannica, Volumes 5 and 9; Divine Comedy by Dante, all of Toynbee's books on history and many others

Not merely this the Tulba's real anger is directed against those Muslims on the campus who do not accept their hardcore fanaticism. Prominent on the Tulba's "enemy's list" are Dr Rais Ahmed, the chancellor; Prof. Magbool Ahmed, director, centre of central Asian studies; Dr Ayub Khan, reader of the Hindi department, Prof. Ali Ahmed Saroor, director of the Igbal Institute; and Mr Wazid, the librarian of the university. Among the senior teachers openly on the side of the Tulba are Dr Shamsuddin of the Persian department, Kazi Gulam Mohammed, head of the mathemtics department; Dr Qayyum Rafiqui of the history department; and Mr Abdul Saleem of the law department.

Saleem of the law department.

Kashmir, one need hardly stress, is a sensitive state, with geographical proximity to an area which is currently a hotbed of international intrigue and war. The Jamaat is active in the valley; the RSS is holding shakhas on the school grounds and the municipal grounds of Jammu. Foreign agents can slip into Kashmir with comparative case. No administration can afford to be less than decisively firm with any kind of communalism or antinationalism. Sheikh Abdullah finally seems to have woken up to the danger posed by the Jamaat. Surely there should not now be a relapse into complacency.

a Charletter

12

The Kashmir problem has not been solved

Q. Your organisation is supposed to be religious, then why have you started participating in politics?

A: In Islam, religion and politics are one. If people want to see these two as separate, what can I do?

Q: Why do you think these attacks on you have begun in Kashmir?

A. It is a mistake. The authorities should turn their attention towards those who have done some wrong. They cannot prove anything against

Q: Sheikh Abdullah says that your organisation has links outside the country, and that money comes to you

from outside.

- A: I have replied to this charge: how the money came, and for what purpose. I have told India about this too. This campaign against us was begun last year. Houses of the members of the Jamaat-e-Islami were attacked and burnt and looted, and there was great destruction We then appealed to everybody to help us, and in response to this appeal our sympathisers who stay outside Kashmii sent us money, which came through banks We collected that money and distributed it to those who had been affected.
- Q: But the allegation is that the Jamaat is getting money to create a secession in Kashmir.

A: People can say anything.

Q: Then why is the Jamaat indulg-

ing in such activities?

A: To understand what the Jamaat does, you have to understand Islam To be a good Muslim, one has to know about Islam. Islam is a relationship between God and man, it is a bond of strength between man and God, and we have to honour this bond properly. We have to live in a certain way we believe that the way to live was shown to us by the Prophet; the nearer one can reach that ideal the better a Muslim one is. We have taken it upon ourselves to tell Muslims about Islam.

Q: No religion teaches anyone to preach hatred. But you people are spreading the poison of communal

hatred in this valley.

A: Where have you seen us spreading communal hatred? People do not always speak the truth about us. Where is the hatred in the programme that I have outlined to you? Fire broke out in Badgaon, there was an earthquake in Srinagar: we helped everyone. Now is that communalism or friendliness? In 1965, fires broke out in many villages. When no one from any Party was willing to go out, our Jamaat members went out and did relief work. Parties fight among themselves, kill each other: no one calls them communal. And we, who have never fought anyone, are called communal. But this is an age of propagan-

Udayan Sharma met the head of the Kashmir Jamaat for this exclusive interview.



Pii Saaduddin is the founder-amir (head) of the Kashmir unit of the lamaat-e-Islami Seventy years old, he is a man of few words and a great deal of action And he is tough toi instance, no one in the Jamaat can talk to the Press without his permission Pir Sahab lives a comfortable life in a posh modern colony, Lalbazar. Badshah mohalla. His beautiful, newly constructed house is surrounded by private or chards: the fragrance of raw apples wafts you into another world You are not allowed to take any photographs without the Amir-e-Jamaat's permission He did eventually allow us to take pictures-four times the camera clicked, within the confines of his room, and that was it. He was quite clear about where his Jamaat stands. he said that his unit had nothing to do with the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind because Jamaat-e-Islami Kashmir is much nearer to the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Saaduddin was born at Tarabal,

Saaduddin was born at Tarabal, Nawakadal in Kashmir in the year 1332 of hyri. He passed his BA and BT from Punjab University, and then got involved with the Muslim Conference in the late Twenties. He was quite active, when young, in the mass movement against feudalism in Kashmir. He avoids speaking English. This interview was conducted in Hindi and Urdu. He did not answer all the questions we wanted to ask and kept quiet about many questions that arose out of

his answers.

da: it drives people's attentions away from the corruption of this society.

Q: Just as the RSS talks of a Hindurashtra the Jamaat talks of an Islamic rashtra: how can such philosophies work in a country like ours?

A: I have neither seen nor read anything about the RSS. I have only heard some of the things said against it. That is why I cannot have any opinion about it. If you want to compare the two, just see what both do, what kind of literature they spread. But people tend to just couple them together: when you want to ban the RSS you need a Muslim organisation to ban too, so you ban the Jamaate-Islami

Q. Do you think Kashmir, or for that matter India, should be an Islamic

country?

A: What does 'Islamic country' mean? We believe that society should live by certain rules of humanity, which are the commands of God. In this society, everyone is equal, and all believe in God. He who fears God more is a better human being: that is Islam. You search for the best in everything; why not search for the ideal society? Forget quarrels about colour, language, nationality look for something above all this.

Q. But you are convinced then that a country can only run on Islamic

ıdealısm

A Yes; and when Islam becomes common, then progress will be faster. maybe not in my lifetime, but after me.

Q: Do you consider Kashmir a part of India?

A. The problem is still there: no one savs that the problem has been solved. Let everyone say that the problem has been solved, and then I will give my views. When the big leaders of India and Pakistan meet, they say to each other, 'Let the matter of Kashmir rest, aside, and let us talk of something else.' They themselves believe that the problem remains, why worry about me? We also say that the problem remains. The truth is that Pakistan has occupied one part of Kashmir and India has occupied the other. In Simla,

both countries agreed that the solution to Kashmir had not been found Q. How should the problem be

solved?

A: It will not be proper for me to give a direct answer But those in power refuse to take the people into confidence. Nobody asks the people of Kashmir what should be done.

O: What should be done?

A: In the last three decades nothing has been done A plebiscite was to have taken place. Without our consent, Indians and Pakistanis kept talking. Nobody wanted to hear the views of the Kashmiri people.



Who's who in the Kashmir Jamaat



THE office-bearers of the Jamaat-e-Islami are not interested in publicity, and it is not easy to learn about their organisational power structure. But right at the top is Saadudin, the Amir-e-Jamaat. Well-built. soft-spoken, scholarly, he wears his silvery beard with immaculate grace. He is said to be a strict disciplinarian about others, though his own lifestyle is comfortable enough. He is around .70, and stays home most of the time, visiting his Party office only occasionally. But he is always available to his followers, whether they be important or not.

Saifuddin Qari is a retired teacher, and is the most communicative of the Jamaat leadership. His short statuse, salt and pepper beard and the inevitable sheswans make him a conspicuous figure. He was an MLA in the 1972-77 session, representing the Khanyar constituency of Srinagar city. He is the vice-president of

the Jamaat.

Syed Ali Shah Gilani is the lone Jamaat MLA from Sopore town; this is his second term in the Assembly. Sopore is a traditional stronghold of the Jamaat. He is a typical example of the zahid, the puritan. He rarely misses an opportunity on the floor of the Assembly to condemn anything which is "modern"—and of course he rants against liquor too. Gulam Nabi Nowsheri was another Jamaat MLA in the last Assembly, representing Tankipora, Srinagar. He is not the brightest of the Jamaat leaders, but he is perhaps the most fanatical.

Hakim Gulam Nabi is the man who organised a fairly strong base for the party in some pockets of Anantnag district. He stood against Md Shafi Qureshi in the 1971 Lok Sabha elections but was defeated. He too is well-

known for his obscurantist views.

Sheikh Mohammad Suleman is the party general secretary, but he prefers to do his work quietly, from the background. On the other hand. Ashi af Sehrai is a firebrand, and he is said to be the force behind the Jamaat-e-Tulba, the youth organisation which has been so much in the news recently. The president of the Tulba is Sheikh Tajamul Islam, a law graduate who has tried his hands at both journalism and the small courts, without being successful in either. His ambition is to make Kashmir an Islamic state, and he wants to make his organisation the mouthpiece for religious and political extremism.

Dr Ayub Thakor has a doctorate in physics; his education was financed by the Jamaat. Till recently he taught as the Kashmir University, but his services were terminated because of his association with the Jamaat.

He is an important leader of the Tulba.

Both the Jamaat and the Tulba are cadre-based organisations; the emphasis is on ideology, policy and programmes, not on individuals. Each cadre is assigned his duty, which he is expected to carry out to the best of his abilities. They mostly concentrate on educated youth and students. They have a network of schools where education is imparted on purely religious lines, with emphasis on fundamentalism. Money does not seem to be much of a problem for these organisations—it comes from both inside and outside the country.

The Kashmiri character and communalism

By SHYAM KAUL

KASHMIRIS are inveterate meatslaughter a chicken for you, nine times out of ten you will hear a 'no'. It means spilling blood, and Kashmiris abhor the sight of blood.

If you see two Kashmiris fighting, do not get too agitated. There won't be any fisticuffs and bloody noses. Because the worst weapon of the Kash-

miri is high-pitched abuse.

Violence does not come easily to the Kashmiri. He has been called a coward, but it is not cowardice that makes a Kashmiri non-violent, it is compassion. This might be a legacy of Buddhism to Kashmir, as some historians point out, for Buddhism held sway over this region for long centuries. Kashmiris are also a highly artistic and sentimental people, and these traits are not good breeding grounds for violence.

Kashmiris feel very unhappy therefore, when newspapers and politicians, while talking of communal riots, bracket Srinagar with Aligarh or Allahabad or Delhi. It is a confusion of connotations. Anywhere else a communal riot means bloodshed: bullets, knives, death. But Kushmir has never had anything like this. When tensions are very high, there might be slogan-shouting, demonstrations, and then brickbatting. On rare occasions there might be the occasional touch of violence on an individual, or an attack on a place of worship, but this is a far cry from the endemic violence which seems to be plaguing many parts of the

Right from the towering Chief Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, down to the man eating across your table in a coffee house, Kashmiris are very fond of recalling the past. They will tell you exactly how they have maintained their calm and equanimity under the most trying circumstances. And they are genuinely proud of their record. The Sheikh himself never misses an opportunity to refer to Kashmir in the terms immortalised by Mahatma Gandhi, as a "ray of hope". Almost invariably, during times of tension, the saner elements predominate. In July, there was the clash between the army and civilians, and later, in August, there were strong protest demonstrations against the Moradabad incidents. On both occasions things could have taken a very ugly turn. But the credit must go to the people of this valley for keeping things under control. The concern shown by the National

Conference and the Congress(I) for

the maintenance of peace and communal harmony is understandable, for they are both ruling parties, one in the state, the other at the centre. But the work done by Maulana Faroog's Awami Action Committee, and the followers of the late Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, for instance, was highly commendable. When tension was high, and tempers were getting out of control. these people spent many a sleepless night, and went from place to place entreating others to remain peaceful. Then there were the stories of individual heroism. When all the other legislators representing the numerous constituencies of Srinagar were sitting at home, Mr A. R. Kabuli rushed into

Budshah's tomb



One ordinary Muslim maintained a round-the-clock viail, on his own, at a temple in Maharajgunj, to protect it against possible arson or attack...It is this which the Jamaat-e-Islami is trying to destroy.

an agitated crowd to calm tempers, to cajole the people not to get violent And he was hit in the shoulder by a bullet from the police who too were trying to control the crowd. One ordinary Muslim maintained a round-theclock vigil, on his own, at a temple at Maharajgunj, to protect it against possible arson or attack. Another Muslim dived into the river during the July disturbances, once again on his own, to recover and restore some property of the Hanuman temple that had been stolen. At Karannagar, an old Muslim lady did her best to prevent miscreants from setting a temple on fire At Shamaswari, an isolated Hindu shop and its owner were protected by the local Muslims when communalists came to attack it. These are the traditions and values which will never die. An average Kashmiri is highly conscious of the fact that much of the respect he enjoys is due to his deep faith in secular ideals, and he will never tarnish his own image.

But the tragedy is that there are people who seem determined to try and destroy this. They may not be very large in number, but that does not mean that they can be ignored. These people are gradually trying to poison the minds of Kashmiris, in cities, villages and towns. Kashmiris are deeply religious, particularly the peasantry. And religious zealots, using the cover of their beards, can mislead them, by preaching sentiments that go against the basic secular traditions of the Kashmiri. The Jamuat-e-Islami of Kashmiri (which, officially, is not an affiliate of the Indian Jamaat) is the one organisation which is doing the greatest damage in this respect.

Though ostensibly a religious body, meant to preach Islam as they interpret it, the Jameat is not only highly politicised, but openly anti-secular and anti-national. Listen to the sermons they preach in village mosques, attend their study circles, and just go through some of their literature which they circulate so widely, and you will be convinced that they are sowing the seeds of discord and hatred.

True, the Jamuat still has not been able to find any acceptability among the peasantry (one reason being because the Kashmiris are great believers in religious shrines and the Jamaat is against this 'shrine-worship'). But today the Jamaat is operating through educated youth, through students, teachers, bureaucrats: it has its few but dedicated members in these circles. And it is such people who can influence the thinking of a community.

The Jamat e Islami does not make any secret of its activities and objectives. The question is whether we can afford to turn a blind eye to this danger. It is a question which secular forces have to answer, a challenge they have to meet. Administrative measures cannot be enough It is anideological battle, and must be fought like one. Fortunately, the ethos of Kashmir is on the side of secular. forces But will they take up the challenge?

The Communal Communal Jamaat-e-Islami

The Jamaat is the Mussalman's RSS

By D. R. GOYAL

HE Jamaate Islami is general ly mentioned along with the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh quite a few people do it just as a balancing act to maintain a kind of non aligned position between the two communi ties Those who indulge in such political posturing issue, with equal ease, certificates of innocence to these orga nisations when their particu lar interests so demand. The result is confusion in the minds of people, who feel cheated and, sometimes, in reaction turn to these very organisations in sheer disgust at the hypocrisy of others

Enough factual material about the RSS has by now come to light to ensure that nobody takes its protestations about being secular seriously With the exception of school going children, who are still innocent whoever associates with the RSS now does so either because the communal attitude is accept able to him or her, or because some temporary political advantage is possible in the association

That is not the case with the Jamaat e Islami No in depth study of the organisation has been attempted so far Whatever scanty research work has been under taken is based exclusively on the ideological material and, as such, tends to be more pedantic than enlightening. The reason may be found in



the general apathy among the intellectual elite about the goings-on in the dark and dingy ghettos in which the bulk of the Indian Muslim population lives There is also, perhaps, a naive and complacent feeling that Mus lim communalism is not as dangerous as Hindu com-munalism The fact that most of the publications of the Jamaat are in Urdu also hin ders our respectable resear chers who feel only English language publications to be worthy of serious consideration As a result the Jamaat remains obscured from the eyes of general public, and continues to play with the sentiments of the Muslims who are unable to see through its sanctimonious veneer

Like certain animals, communal organisations try to conceal themselves by taking on the colour of the foliage around them Whenever the RSS is criticised, they kick up a shindy that Hindus are being blamed, and the Jamaat, in the same vein, misinterprets any accusation against itself as an onslaught on the Muslim community as a whole It is a tribute to their propaganda techniques that most people hardly ever realise that both these organisations represent less than a minute fraction of their respective communities.

The RSS and the Jameat also benefit from a seriousweakness in our national vigilance against the Torces of

disruption: we do not care to look at a phenomenon or process till it manifests itself in the form of a violent flare-up. And then too our juridical brains look for a direct cause-andeffect relationship. Questions are asked: What is the evidence that soand-so organisation participated in looting, rioting or killing? Did any of the people found guilty of communal violence belong to the impugned organisation? Little do the questioners realise that the reasoning used in the case of individual crime cannot be applied to groups

The correct approach for judging the role of a movement or organisation would be to evaluate what kind of mind it prepares, and what kind of sentiment it appeals to or rouses. If an organisation continuously promotes that members of a community cannot have anything common with those whose religious faith is different, it is building partition walls and creating. in the minds of people, deep-rooted

suspicions about the others.

When you examine the activities of the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami, the conclusion is inescapable that the society in which they freely operate cannot hope to build bridges of inter-communal understanding. The RSS tells the Hindus that Destiny has entrusted them with the sacred know-ledge of the Ultimate Reality, and therefore the scattered elements of the Hindu society have to be forged into an organised and invincible force. The Jamaat postulates to the Muslims that they have been chosen by God Almighty to deliver his message to the rest of humanity, which is afflicted by sheer ignorance.

The veneer of spiritualism, of course, acts as a stimulant to groupego, which so hardens the desire to be, remain, and look separate from the other community that prospects of sharing a common experience or endeavour becomes distasteful, even

abhorrent.

The Jamest representatives often argue: "We never preach hatred against others. We have never advocated violence. How can you call us communal?" Maybe they have not done so directly. But what would be the impact on social life if you say that various religious communities cannot have common organisations even for secular purposes? Worse, if you say that any such attempt is against the

will of your God?

That precisely is the position that the Jamat has been expounding right from its inception in 1941. The basic difference of the founder of the Jamaat, Maulana Mawdudi, when he parted company with the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, was that the latter was in favour of treating the struggle for freedom as the common struggle of all the religious communities inhabiting India, Mawdudi disagreed with Hus-sain Ahmed Madni when the latter propounded the thesis that in modern times nationality can be based on territory and not on religion. It is the conviction of the Jamest that Muslims

cannot and should not associate with non-Muslims. It was because of this that it was often accused of being a British stooge to disrupt the national movement.

MAULANA Mawdudi considered nationalism in India as Hindu nationalism in which Muslims could not be partners. The view is identical with that of Golwalkar. In a speech at the Jamaat congregation in Pathankot in 1946, on the eve of partition, Mawdudi suggested that Pakistan should become an Islamic state, and advised the Indian leaders to turn to the Hindu scriptures for guidance to shape the Indian polity

Mawdudi differed from Jinnah because the latter only wanted a separate Muslim state and not an Islamic state. In the state of Mawdudi's concept, even those Muslims who did not come up to his arbitrarily set stan-

Jamaat members were saying: 'You have tasted the fruit of secularism. Don't you think vou would be much better off if there were Hindu Rai?' Muslims are told that their life and property can only be safe if they agree to become second-class citizens of a theocratic Hindu state.

dards would not be allowed equal status, what to speak of the non-Muslims. It is not a matter of conjecture or inference; the Maulana said this in so many words before the Munir Commission which had en-quired into the anti-Ahmadiya riots that took place in Lahore in early Fifties. In the course of his interrogation by the Commission the Maulana made significant observations regarding the position of the Muslims in India.

Justice Munir asked Mawdudi what would be his attitude if, according to his logic, a Hindu majority govern-ment came to power in India and the Muslims were treated as untouch-ables. The Maulana replied, "If a Hin-du Government based on Hindu law. came into being in India and the law of Manu became the law of the land as result of which the Muslims were treated as untouchables and were not given any share in the government-not only that, they did not even get citizenship rights—I would have no objections,"

One recalls, in this context, that the late Guru Golwalkar had castigated the framers of India's constitution because they had given equal rights to Hindus and Muslims. The Jamaat toodisapproved of the secular character of India's constitution. Explaining the position, the Jamaat chief, Abul Lais Aslahi, stated in his presidential address in the 1960 Delhi session: "We have a basic difference with the constitution of India because in it the place which should have been given to God, has been given to the people. That, in our opinion, is the root of all

The point is not only that the Jamaat's ideas run parallel to those of the RSS, but that they create an atmosphere in which the meeting ground between the two major communities of the nation shrinks. It has: been established by experience that national unity and progress is possible only if all equally participate in the common struggle for achieving secular goals like full employment and better living standards. The Jamaat decries this secular approach as Godless materialism, the creed of the devil.

The Jamaat spokesmen always insist that they are interested only in the furtherance of Islam and are not communal. In doing so they put a different meaning on the word, perhaps in a bid to confuse people. The Jamaat prescription for communal harmony totally refutes this claim. The formula, as given in its Marathi journal Marg Deep (December 25, 1964), reads: "If we want to have sound communal. harmony in India, there should be separate and strong organisation of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, etc. No one should try to steal the members of one another. Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be achieved unless the Hindus and the Muslims are separately united under strong com-munal organisations. Every religious community should have a separate political organisation.

When such ideas be thrown in a community would it ever feel easy in the midst of an overwhelming majority of those who do not belong to the same faith? The Jamuat thrives on this feeling of unease, on a feeling that the standard-bearers of the true faith are besieged by those who have to be shown the light-if need be, by force!

NY misery that befalls the Mus-Alims in a secular state comes handy to the Jamaat to buttress the argument against secularism. That reminds me of an episode in Ahmedabad. After the riots the Jamaat sent a relief team to the city. The team was facing difficulties because the local Muslims, as also the administration, did not cooperate with them. Subhadra Joshi was camping there in those ra Joshi was camping there in those days. The team approached her form help and she, not knowing anything about their views, put them in touch with local workers, who were doing with local workers, who were doing with local workers and localities. A relief work in different localities. A few days later some of these workers .

ame and combiamen to not kind of people have you introduced to us? They go and do distribute relief but along with that they also spread the message 'You have tasted the fruit of secularism Don't you think you would be much better off if there

were Hindu Raj?

That is the way they promote harmony-by undermining secularism The Muslims are told that their life and property can be safe only if they agree to become second-class citizens of a theocratic Hindu state. Such propaganda surely would not either create self-confidence in the community or foster goodwill towards the other community What it can breed is a sense of despair and search for desperate re-

It is noteworthy that the influence of the Jamaat has grown, at least in India, in direct proportion to the increase in the incidence of communal violence. Few knew it existed till the first wave of riots in free India between 1961 and 1964. After the riots in Jabalpur, the bewildered people began to look around for ways of counteracting the menace which, it was realised with great trepidation, had not died despite partition and the supreme sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Congress Parliamentary Party set up a committee under the chairmanship of A. P. Jain to probe into the Madhya Pradesh incidents and make recommendations for curbing com-

MUNAUSIII. THE Jam committee tecont mended that communal organisations (they mentioned the RSS in particular) should be banned. Subhadra Joshi, who was then a Congress MP, and had spent several months in the riot-affected areas, set up an organisation (All India Sampradayikta Virodhi Committee) to educate public opinion about the nature and operation of groups and organisations responsible for generating communal hatred, and the threat they posed to the development of the nation. She and her committee have been of the view that if the secular-minded people campaign unitedly and prepare public opinion, the edge of communalism can be blunted.

Mawdudi and the Jamaat

THE Jamaat-e-Islami believes in Hukumat-i-Ilahaiya, the sovereignty of God Allah must not only be recognised as the creator of the universe, but also be accepted politically as sovereign. The Islamic state that the Jamaat seeks to establish is an all powerful monolithic edifice using state power to enforce Islamic mores and morali-

ties on the society

The Jamaar was founded by Saiyyad Abul Ala Mawdudi (born 25 September 1903) in 1941, eighteen months after the Lahore resolution of the All India Muslim League He came from a middleclass Muslim family which traces its descent to Khwaja Outub Uddin Mawdud Chisti, whose most famous disciple was Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti Mawdudi's father, Saiyyad Ahmed Hasan Mawdudi, was an advocate practising at Meerut be fore he shifted to Hyderabad

Abul Ala Mawdudi has been cal led the "most systematic thinker of modern Islam", never attended an Islamic religious institution, and in fact left school without completing even the alim course for the maul vi He did not go to an English school either, although he was pri vately taught, among other subjects, English language and litera ture, modern disciplines and all classical subjects in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages, at home But his education was interrupted by his father's death. He had to go out to earn a living. His first job was in journalism

Initially Mawdudi was a great admirer of the Khilafat movement, and a believer in secular politics, But the Hindu-Muslim riots which followed the Khilafat movement changed his thinking, and he began believing that Hindus and Muslims could never stay together as equals. He now became angry at some of the questions that used to symbolise Hindu-Muslim brotherhood: he now wondered how the Muslims could let themselves go so far as to bring a Hindu swami to mount a mukabbar (rostrum) in their own

holy mosque

"What was uppermost in my mind," he wrote in an article in Tarjuman al-Quran, his monthly journal, "was to keep alive in the Muslims a sense of their separate entity and prevent their absorption into a non-Muslim community. Earlier in his book Al-Jihad fil Islam he advocated a Jihad for the defence of Islam, its honour and for the Muslims as a whole. According to him, the real object of jihad was to depose kufr from the seat of authority

With this objective in mind, Mawdudi settled at Gurdaspur in Punjab on an endowment of eighty acres containing a mosque and some buildings which were to become the Darul Islam Academy He decided to set up his own organisation for Muslims the Jamaat-e-Islami. The first conference of the Jamaat was called on 26 August 1941 in Islamia Park, Lahore in which 75 persons participated Mawdudi himself presided over the meeting, in which a constitution

was approved;

The first constitution of the Jamaat had eleven articles. Article 1 demanded from the Jamaat mem. bers faith in one God and in Mohammed as his Prophet. Article 2 set forth the goal as the establishment of Hukumat-i-Ilahaiya. Article 3 stipulated that membership was open to any person who accepted the kalima. The next five articles laid down a detailed code of conduct in social, economic and political spheres of a member's life. One of them required a member to abstain from professions dealing in interest, alcohol, dance, music, gambling, bribery and such other un-Islamic acts. Another demanded that none of its members should

accept posts like governor, minister or judge which involved claims of sovereignty over a territory Yet another required the members to give up membership of a legislature which did not accept Quran and Sunnah as the source of laws

Article 9 stated that women could be admitted to Jamaat. However their activities had to remain confined within the limits of their family and acquaintances Women were asked to disobey their husbands or parents if the latter were unIslamic Article 10 provided for the post of the Amir, the suprune head of the organisation. Obedience to the Amir was compulsorv. The last article expected the members to reform their own lives and at the same time invite others to recognise the sovereignty of god

Expectedly, Mawdudi was elected the Amir. But, within fourteen months he faced the first revolt. According to Mawdudi: "the poison of differences and divisions, misunderstandings and grudges spread among the members" The differences related mainly to the life style of Mawdudi. The dissidents felt that he was not following what he had been preaching This led Mawdudi to summon a meeting of his council, the Mailis-1-Shura in Delhi in October 1942, where the dissidents found themselves in minority. As a result, four of them, Maulana Manzur Numanı, editor, al-Furqan, Bareilly (who ranked next to Mawdudi), Maulana Saiyyad Muhammad Jafar of Kapurthala, Qamaruddin Khan (one of most active organisers) and Ata Ullah of Patuakhali, left the Jamaat.

The dissent was so deep that Mawdudi had to supersede several important units in Punjab, UP and Bihar. More stringent conditions were laid down for the admission of the members, including a period of probation. On the eve of partition, the membership was 625, out of which 240 were in India and 385 in

Pakistan.

The Muslims were so deeply disturbed by the events at Jabaipur that even those who were not in favour of separate Muslim organisations of a political nature, like Maulana Hifzurrehman and Dr Z. A. Ahmad, felt impelled to call an all party conference of the Muslims to discuss the problem. The conference was held in Delhi in 1961. The sponsors of that conference had kept out the communal parties, and had made acceptance of secularism as a precondition for participation. It could not therefore become the beginning of a separate organisation or party of the Muslims.

This development was distasteful to the Jamaat, which saw in the post-Jabalpur atmosphere an opportunity to steer the course of Muslim thinking towards a separatist direction. As is their practice, they did not bother about what the non-Muslims were thinking or doing for safeguarding secular values and protecting the rights of the minorities. But they were bitterly critical of the participants of the Delhi conference The Majlis-e-Shoora of the Jamaat declared that they did not represent Muslims, but the parties which did not have the interests of the Muslims at heart. The resolution characterised the conference as an attempt to divide the Muslims and résolved to continue efforts for holding another conference or convention on the lines of its own

Then, riots occurred in Calcutta, Rourkela and Jamshedpur which further disturbed the Muslims. That came as a shot in the arm for the Jamaat. It was able to persuade a freedom fighter like Dr Syed Mahmud to sponsor a convention of Muslim organisations Dr Mahmud, at that time, had not thought of starting any new organisation but during the convention a resolution for setting up a permanent committee, the Muslim Mailis-e-Mushawarat, was passed It was put up by the Muslim League and supported by the Jamaat-e-Islami. The hesitation of people like Dr Mahmud was overcome by an assurance that the committee would not take up any political activity, and that it would confine its activities only to persuading non-Muslims to sympathetically understand the problems of Muslims, and to discussing the social problems

How the Majlis-e-Mushawarat was manipulated and stampeded into taking political postures is a long story which has been told with anguish and frustration by Dr Syed Mahmud in an autobiographical account Roodade-Chaman and by a prominent Urdu journalist Jameel Mehdi through a series of articles in his paper, Assem. Both came to the painful conclusion that the separate political grouping of the Muslims resulted in the weakening of that section in the Congress which was committed to secularism and had been striving for the solution of the problems of Muslims. It also created a blacklash among Hindu masses so that, for the first time in free India,

Little To Broke Br

the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (the political front of the RSS) was in a position to get into seats of power after the 1967 elections, the first after the formation of the Mushawarat.

I have recalled this episode from recent history because it shows (1) that the Jamaat is always keen on promoting a separate party of the Mushims; (2) that it takes advantage of the misery of the community, not to help it develop better understanding with other countrymen but to push it into a shell of isolation; (3) the impact of its exertions leads to strengthening of the communal elements among the majority community and the weakening of secular forces; and (4) that it inveigles unsuspecting people into positions which they later rue and regret.

It is important and necessary to know the Jamaat's ideological position, its subtlety of operation and the impact it has had on relations between communities, because in the current atmosphere in the country the Jamaat is making efforts to carry the process of communal polarisation further. For example, after the tragic incidents of Moradabad sedulous attempts have been made, and with a certain measure of success, by the Jamaat to invigorate the process of what may be called Muslim consolidation

The first step it took was to invite Muslim leaders belonging to different political parties on one platform and issue a joint statement on August 14, the day after the Moradabad tragedy. On the face of it, this was an innocent gesture of protest over a manifestly inhuman action of the police. There was no doubt that a gruesome massacre had been perpetrated, but there was no reason to feel that non-Muslims would not be disturbed by what had happened in Moradabad. Why then a protest statement only on behalf of the Muslim leaders, and not on behalf of simply prominent leaders and citizens? The action initiated by the Jamaat made it look like a concern of the Muslim alone, and made them sitting targets of those who wanted to attack the community and who, immediately thereafter, did launch a massive onslaught, with disastrous results not only for the morale of the community but also for the process of national integration.

When it came to forming an intercommunity delegation to visit Moradabad for a spot study, the Jamaat was able to find among Hindus only a representative of the RSS's latest front, the Bharatiya Janata Party. It was clearly a manifestation of the belief that "Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be achieved unless the Hindus and Muslims are separately united under strong communal organisations."

What was the outcome of the visit? They stated that the Moradabad incident was not of a communal nature, that the two communities did not clash, and that none of the communal organisations was to blame. The statement of the Jamaat-Mushawarat-

sponsored delegation was signed by all those who were its members, including the BJP representative. It was considered by the non-communal Good Samaritans a triumph of sanity because mutual mudslinging and recrimination had been avoided.

Their joy was, however shortlived. They were soon to realise that the two poles of the communal divide had escaped clean and the communities as a whole had come in for castigtaion. Quick on the heels of the statement propounding the 'non-communal' thesis, came the banging pronouncements of a BJP general secretary, M. M. Joshi, as also of the RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras, that it was a revolt of the Muslims against the government. And pat came the counter-thesis (rather, supplementary thesis) of the Jamaat, through the Radiance weekly, that the PAC acted against the Muslims because it was a Hindu force.

Don't the two fit each other like ball and socket? It is quite possible that neither of the two had a hand in what happened at Moradabad's idgah :. on August 13. For that matter, none of the incidents which in the past has been known to ignite a communal flare-up can be traced to any of these, or any other organisation In this regard the observation of Justice Madon in his report on the 1969 riots in Maharashtra is worth recalling. He wrote: "Communal tension does not spring up overnight. It is built up over a period of time, suckled on communal propaganda, nursed on communal incidents and fed on rumours, until men's hearts are filled with hatred and their

thoughts turn to violence."

Can anybody be convinced that with its ideological position and social practice the Jamaat-e-Islami has not played an active role in deepening the communal cleavage and promoting polarisation? When the need is that members of different communities should be brought closer to clear misunderstandings, the Jamaat has insinuated separatism in the name of Muslim-baiting among the Hindus. Rather than looking for foreign hands, it would be better to have a hard and square look at this conspiracy within our national life, the conspiracy in communalising politics in which the Jamaat-e-Islami and the RSS act as partners.

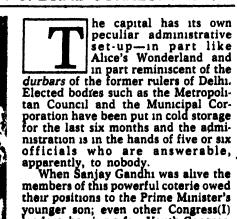
Exposure of the Jamaat and the RSS by itself is, of course, not enough to ensure national integration. Something more and something positive needs to be done to see that the Muslims do not nurse a feeling of grievance and the non-Muslims do not, look upon them with suspicion But failure to do that should not mean closing the eyes to the activities of those who make the task more difficult with every passing day.

The author is the editor of Secular Democracy and has spent a lifetime studying and researching communalism and communal organisations.

Jagmohan-Bhinder Misrule

is Jagmohan a Shah Jehan or a Muhammad Bin Tughlak?

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT



When Sanjay Gandhi was alive the members of this powerful coterie owed their positions to the Prime Minister's younger son; even other Congress(I) leaders, barring a few Youth Congress(I) favourites such as Jagdish Tytler and Sajjan Kumar, were reduced to nonentities. "Lt. Governor Jagmohan was the virtual president of the Delhi Congress(I) and Police Commissioner Bhinder its general secretary," admitted a local leader. But, with Sanjay's death his special appointees have begun to feel threatened (Earlier they had been so sure of themselves that at one function the Police Commissioner refused to stand up on the arrival of the Home Minister.)

Congressmen who had kept their resentment in check earlier, for obvious reasons, now feel emboldened to vent their feelings and question the manner in which the city is being run. At a recent local Congress(I) meeting the grumbles came out into the open. One man demanded that Bhinder and Jagmohan be denied access to 1, Safdarjung Road. Another commented that while he was a loyal soldier of Mrs Gandhi he was not supposed to bend



Above Lt Governor lagmohan and below, police chief P S Bhinder



down to every police officer; several noted the downfall of Congress(I)'s popularity as a result of the bunglings on the law and order and prices front

by Bhinder and Jagmohan.

Bhinder and Jagmohan hardly take after the usual faceless bureaucrats. Their names have become household words and are probably better known than many Delhi politicians'. In addition to the notoriety the two earned from their Emergency exploits, Delhi AIR and Doordarshan today keep featuring them regularly on program-mes and interviews.

Jagmohan, who was appointed Lt. Governor in February, fancies himself to be a modern day Shah Jehan, in view of his work in housing construction with the Delhi Development Authority. When Municipal Commissioner J. N. Singh once made the comparison in a speech, the administration's publicity department was quick to pick out the simile and release it to the mass media. Jagmohan's detractors feel that if he must have kingly pretensions, he could more accurately be compared to Bahadur Shah Zafar who presided over the liquidation of the Mughal empire. Opposition politicians have predictably nicknamed him Muhammad Bin Tughlak in view of some of the muddles he has created in Delhi.

Within days of the Congress(I) government taking over, the familiar faces of the Emergency began to reappear, one by one, in Delhi. Unlike in 1975 when they might have had the powers, but not the official status, this time they were promoted to the top posts, blithely superseding scores of policemen and IAS officers. The first to arrive was P. S. Bhinder, followed by P. N. Behl who took over his old position in the New Delhi Municipal Committee. Then came Jagmohan and V. S. Ailwadi, who took over Jagmohan's old job as Vice Chairman of the DDA. Even G. S. Srivastav, a staunch believer in the utilisation of goods manufactured by Maruti, was back as head of the Delhi Transport Corporation. It was a regular old boy's reunion, the only missing persons seemed to be Begum Ruksana and Navin Chawla. The former is too busy, back as she is to running her jewellery boutique, to look after a city, and the latter seems to have fallen out of favour.

History may repeat itself all over the world, but in Delhi the rate of repetition is much more tapid than elsewhere and Delhiites have this constant feeling of deja vu about the

happenings in their city.

DELHI ADMINISTRATION

From his days with the DDA, Jagmohan has risen from the provincial services to the tank of an IAS officer. He did earn a justified reputation for dynamism and getting things done. But running one department is rather different from taking on an entire administration, especially when all de-

The sugar bungle



66 SUGAR available to the public in the open (market) has disappeared, and if one manages to get it through contacts one can have it only at Rs 9 per kg...On Janmasthami, sugar was sold for Rs 13 a kg," say recently issued Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) handouts which explain Delhi's acute sugar crisis as a result of the Delhi Administration's incompetence, lack of foresight, and undue favouritism to wholesale traders

According to the central government's sugar policy, all states were to distribute 35 per cent of the sugar at a fixed rate from 1 September 1980. For September, Delhi was allotted 70,000 quintals of sugar bought from various mills in UP at Rs 450 per quintal. Allowing for excise, octroi and transport charges of Rs 83, Rs 11 and Rs six per quintal respectively, the sugar costs Rs 550 per quintal to the wholesaler. The wholesaler sells it for Rs 600 per quintal to the retail er who in turn sells it to the consumer for Rs 6.10 per kg. This arrangement allows for disparate profit margins of Rs 50 and Rs 10 per quintal to the whokesaler and retailer respectively. The net total profit of the wholesalers on 70,000 quintals of sugar in September would thus be about Rs 30 lakhseven after government deductions. Considering that their ordinary profit margins are no more than Rs two to three per quintal, the sugar price hike and scarcity are a windfall for sugar millowners.

As for the sugar distribution

network, it is ridiculously lopsided. although 200 official distribution centres have been opened all over Delhi-a fact the Administration persistently informs the public about over the mass media—about 30 lakh people who form more than half the population of the Union Territory have been left uncovered.

The Administration argues that the sugar price has been fixed in accordance with the central government guidelines. But did the central government fix a profit of Rs 50 per quintal for wholesale traders? Also, how does the Administration explain the fact that sugar is available at Rs 5.70 a kg in Haryana and Punjab and the same price prevails in farflung hilly areas, where the price should obviously be higher due to additional transport charges?

The Administration claims that the sugar price was fixed by taking into account the prices of both mill and imported sugar. Since the government had to pay dearly for the imported sugar, it has had to recover its losses from the wholesalers, and hence the high price of sugar in the open market. But this argument does not hold good too: even after recovering its losses to the tune of Rs four lakhs the wholesalers would still be left with a huge profit of Rs 31 lakhs on 70,000 quintals. And even if, for the sake of argument, the sugar price had been hiked to recoup government losses, why must the people suffer for the government's negligence or incompetence?



A victim of lawlessness in Delhi

cisions have to be made by him. Officers in the Delhi secretariat, some of whom were far senior to Jagmohan, have preferred to take no decisions rather than get into trouble and be branded Janata men, particularly with constant reshuffles and plum positions being divided only among a few favourities. "It is, one thing to be a good captain of the ship, and quite another to be admiral of the fleet," observed a senior Delhi bureaucrat. He felt that Jagmohan's biggest weakness was his tendency to poke his nose

into everything.

Within days of Jagmohan taking over, he began to act in a highly partisan fashion. He carried on a running battle against his own administration, as all the Executive Councillors happened to be Bharatiya Janata Party men. Nobody was surprised when the Metropolitan Council was dissolved shortly afterwards. Jagmohan's younger brother, the principal of an obscure college, was made Dean of Colleges of Delhi University. Strangest of all was his preoccupation with trying to demolish the extension of the Indian Express newspaper building. He called a series of Press conferences, soon after taking over, to discuss, not the problems of the Union territory of Delhi, but only the alleged irregularities in the Express building's construction. Express owner Ram Nath Goenka was served a notice for demolition, but Goenka took the matter to court and obtained a stay order. Jagmohan was said to have lost his first big battle.

In between the Express tussle and often appearing in court in connection with defamation suits he had filed, Jagmohan was busy visiting various sites and conducting surprise checks on his officers. This resulted in several summary suspensions. When the Jamuna waters rose and a small flood hit Delhi, the entire administrative machinery was pressed into action. Jagmohan later patted himself for a job well done, since nobody else thought of congratulating him; it was, after all, a minor flood. When Sanjay Gandhi died, Jagmohan was personally at the spot, supervising the construction of the cremation pandal, minor details normally left to juniors.

He was less successful, however, in

fighting the battles that mattered. Prices skyrocketted and though the Lt. Governor talked of reimplementing the Emergency scheme of affixing price tags, nobody seemed to take any notice. Cement practically disappeared and construction work in Delhi came to a halt. On the coal front the situation was even worse. As BJP politicians were quick to point out, while Delhi received 3,100 wagons of coal during the first three months of this year when the BJP Executive Council was responsible for the civil supplies, the supply plummetted to 650 wagons for June, July and August when Jagmohan was in complete control. The sugar mess is only the last of a series of failures on the price and distribution front.

His Emergency experiences and appearances before the various enquiry commissions seem to have taught Jagmohan nothing. The DDA, of which Jagmohan is the chairman, replayed its Emergency role when some 6,000 jhuggi dwellers of Tighripur camp were once again re-settled in the middle of the monsoon to alternative sites where no amenities had been

provided

POLICE

On the law and order front the performance has been equally unimpressive. The induction of Bhinder as Police Commissioner, superseding over 200 IPS officers raised fears about his strongarm tactics and partisanship, especially when he began filling all the key posts with his chosen friends, including his co-accused in the Sunder murder case. But even his critics felt, while doubting the methods he would employ, that he might improve Delhi's rapidly deteriorating law and order situation.

Apparently the dacoits and robbers of Delhi were not to be intimidated by Bhinder's strongman image. In less than a month of his takeover there were a series of dacoities and holdups in Ashok Vihar and Lawrence Road. Two crimes which really aroused the capital were the guesome murder of a kidnapped college student, Gautam Jaisinghania and the shooting of the Nirankari Baba. Neither of the two cases has been solved so far.

While Bhinder was away in Moscow for the Olympics (he claimed that he had gone to study traffic conditions and security arrangements) the law and order situation in Delhi went from bad to worse: a spate of dacoities and robberies in populous colonies; five deaths from drinking hooch and the hoochmaker was allowed to escape by the police; and finally death in police custody of a man who had been arrested led to demonstrations outside police stations.

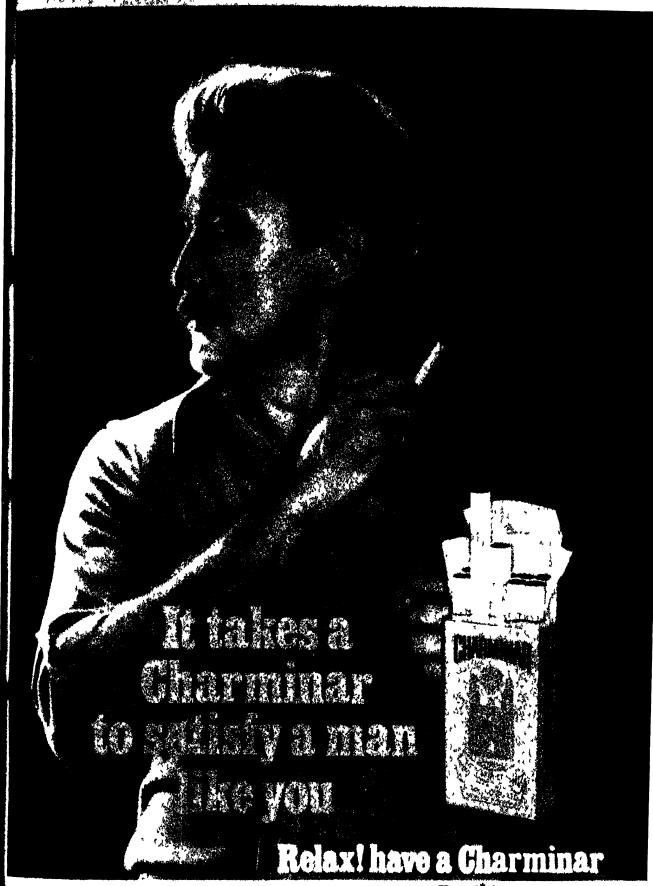
Bhinder returned from his Moscow visit to set things right. He produced statistics to show that crime in Delhi had gone down except for murder and petty crime. Unfortunately Delhiites were not in a mood to listen. A. B. Vajpayee, the only non-Congress (I) MP from Delhi, observed: "Just as hungry people's bellies are not going to be filled by figures showing an increase in foodgrain production, so Delhi citizens, seeing crime all around, are not going to believe it when told that lawlessness is on the wane." Newspapers noted that the police semed more interested in manipulating crime statistics than fighting crime itself. Many instances of major crimes which were not reported in the daily crime bulletin could be provided, as well as cases of crimes being under-played. "When crime got out of hand during the Janata raj I took off my gold mangal sutra. I put it back when Bhinder arrived. Now I have removed it once more," commented a lady doctor.

Delhi Police public relations department was hardly helped by the revelation that 300 constables for the Delhi force had been recruited in two days from Bhinder's wife's Lok Sabha constituency of Gurudaspur in Punjab. Most of the recruits had compaigned for Mrs Bhinder in the election. There were no written tests or medical checkups for the recruits. Those who had passed an all India police entrance examination, on the other hand, continued to remain on the waiting list as far as the Delhi police was concerned.

NDMC (New Delhi Municipal Committee)

NDMC administrator P. N. Behl, an IAS officer, is well qualified in terms of seniority to head the civic body. Despite this, he seems the most diffident of the lot. He has virtually renounced many of his powers in favour of Arjun Das, the one-time motor mechanic of Maruti Limited. Although Das holds no official position (the Municipal Committee was superseded within days of Bhel's takeover) he considers himself boss of the civic body. Officials of both the NDMC and the Delhi administration are sent to his house to receive orders. Sometimes he sends memos to them for getting work done.

Arjun Das conducts official inspections of NDMC schools whenever he



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pleases. Even when the NDMC insecticide-spraying was done in Das's onetime metropolitan council constituency, the spraying van was preceded by a jeep. Das was in the jeep. Repeated announcements were made over the vehicle's PA system that the spraying was being carried out courtesy Arjun

Partisanship is so blatant in the NDMC that on occasions invitations for the inauguration of NDMC schools have actually been made in the name of the local Congress (I) president and not the NDMC. Even in Sanjay Gandhi's time, there were rumours that Das's influence at 1, Safdarjung Road was on the decline Behl apparently was too meek to check out the truth. So Das with his loud and overbearing manners continues to terrify Delhi's officialdom

When he took over the NDMC from S C Chhabra, the former president, Behl announced that he had no time for Chhabra's fanciful schemes for beautifying the city In fact, he said he would be removing some of Chhabra's more grotesque structures Newspap ers mevitably started talking about a "de beautification" programme which lett the embarrassed Behl denying everything

CORPORATION

J N Singh, Delhi Muncipal Com missioner, was appointed before the Congress (I) came to power But the fact that he is the brother in law of Rao Birendra Singh has perhaps helped him stay on in a post normally held by an IAS officer and not one from the corporation hierarchy Singh knows how to keep his boss, Jagmohan, happy with constant praise. Not only has he described Jagmohan as the Shah Jehan of modern Delhi but once in a speech he quoted from Shakespeare to point dramatically at Jagmohan and remark: "He is the

Singh's most disastrous venture has been his takeover of the Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking (DESU) after the general manager, N. S. Vasant, was removed. Singh held a special Press conference to announce that with himself in complete control, Delhi's electricity system would im-

But, since then the city has been plagued by even more power breakdowns than before. The daily break-downs are described euphemistically as load-sheddings, though no schedule is followed. Power cuts occur at all hours of the day. Singh whose office is in the Town Hall, miles away from the DESU headquarters has little idea about what is happening. And with the top position vacant, the chief engineers and three additional engineers spend much of their energies conspiring for the top job. Even in September, the power breakdowns continue. This is something unusual for Delhi.

The Municipal Corporation, with the BJP in a majority, was superseded

this year for financial bungling, but money matters in the civic body are still in a mess. Civic contractors have not been paid for 1979. This year's civic expenditure for April, May and June was the lowest in the last 22 years. The Commissioner is apparently afraid to take any decision, including

the decision on the contractor for construction of the 100 million gallons water plant in Shahdara.

The lack of proper guidance in the Corporation is symbolised by the civic body's Independence Day celebration s. They were held at sundown instead of sunrise!

First month of Janeta rule

Eve of the presenation of Charan Singh's budget

Completion of two years of Janata rule, one month after the presenta-

Resignation of Janata Ministry,

take-over by Lok Dal-Congress(U)

Eve of the presentation of R. Venk-

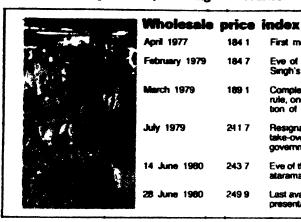
Last available figure, ten days after

presentation of the budget

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Delhi at its worst

Mrs Tripta Mukherjee, a housewife in Delhi for 10 years, speaks to Saumitra Banerjee about high prices and lawlessness.

What do you think about the Q law and order situation in Delhi?

A: I personally feel, though I have not had an unfortunate en-counter yet, the law and order situation has deteriorated markedly. Everyone I know feels extremely, insecure. What I have never felt before I feel now. Now in the evening while watching TV if someone knocks at the door or presses the doorbell, we think twice before opening the door. We have to ask who it is first and only after we are

satisfied, do we open the door.

Q: What do you attribute this lawlessness to?

A: I think the police is responsi-ble. Of course, the police repre-sents the government and therefore sents the government and therefore the government is responsible too. I don't know what hes gone wrong with the police, but they don't seem to be functioning.

Q: Do your skink there has been a steep rise in Isulestance since January this year?

A: I don't know, but at the time of the chance from the Isaata to

of the change from the Janeta to the Congress (I) the situation became chaotic.

Q: How much has the price rise affected you?

A: I personally feel the pinch more than I felt it anytime before. I feel prices have gone up. No matter what I go to buy: sugar, dal, veget-ables, the lot. Now if I go shopping and I am carrying about Rs 100. I

spend the entire amount within a couple of minutes and without having bought anything much. This is too much for middle-class people like us. We have to think twice before we decide to have good food The problem is more with children. You need to give them good nutritious food. How can we afford to do that? Things are so very expensive. Things have never been like this before. If my child tells me to bake something for him, I cannot do it. It's an awful feeling. The problem does not end there. It is not only that things are expensive, there is a shortage of commodities too. You try and get sugar, gas, kerosene in the open market and see the amount of problems you face in procuring them. It leads to embarrassing situations too. Some days ago my relatives had come to visit us. I had to go out and buy some things for them. As it is living in Delhi is expensive; now to top it all the prices of things have gone up as

well.

Or Do you think the present government is responsible for this?

A: When an organisation is not working properly, who do you blause Dhylously the management. It is the same him. When things are not right with the country, the blame should go to the government. Why is it that we cannot buy now what we could buy before? I think there is total mismanagement in the country. We cannot procure the bare necessities. It is so unfair And to top it all salaries are not being to top it all salaries are not being

increased in proportion to the rise

in prices. The result is that we have to suffer.



Acelam Jain's Dowry Death

On 7 September, a 17-year-old Marwari housewife, Neelam Jain fell down from the 12th floor of a multistoreyed building in South Calcutta and died. The case was promptly handed over to the detective department of Calcutta police who arrested Neelam's 24-year-old husband and her mother-in-law on charges of murder. This tragic death has sent shock waves through Calcutta's Marwari community. On 9 September, Neelam's mysterious death even figured in the West Bengal Assembly. S.N.M. ABDI reports.

T 7 40 in the morning on 7 September, Shanti Nepa li, a prostitute, walked into the Park street police station in south Calcutta She was tense and excited, as she blurted out her message "A young woman fell down from a Camac street building (Manasarowar) and is lying on the pavement Perhaps there is some life left in her Please save her. "Even as assistant sub-inspector Ramnath Mazumdar's hand shot out for the register to record Shanti's statement, sub-inspector, Mihir K Gupta was on his feet and quickly left for the spot (a few minutes' walk away) Shanti had mentioned Gupta's hurry was self-explanatory a dying statement would prove invaluable if it turned out to be a case of homicide





Between 7 20 and 7 30 am Neelam Jaın, a 17-year-old Marwari housewife, fell from the 12th floor of Manasarowar, a multistoreyed building on Camac street which houses dozens of ownership flats Surinder Jha, the durwan on duty at the northern gate, later told the police, "I was looking in the direction of Park street, when I heard a thud. I turned around and saw Mrs Jam lying on the pavement." Jha also told the police that modesty prevented him from going immediately to Neelam's rescue, as her sari had come up leaving her lower half uncovered, and her blouse was torn, exposing part of her breasts. Jha waited for a woman to first cover Neelam's exposed parts. Shanti Nepali, who was around, rearranged Neelam's sari. Then she promptly walked to the thana and informed the police.

When sub-inspector Mihir Gupta

reached Manasarowar, he learnt that Neelam's body had been already taken to the SSKM hospital by her husband, Birendra Jain (24), and his younger brother Ravindra Jain (22). What was interesting was that there was not a drop of blood on the spot, where Neelam Jain had fallen on the road. Why?

At the hospital Neelam Jain was declared dead and her body was sent for post mortem. The records show that the body was brought to the hospital at 7.30 am. (A car can cover the distance between Manasarowar and the SSKM hospital in less than five minutes).

After speaking to the building's caretaker and the two durwans, police officer Gupta took the lift for the sixth floor, where the Jains stay. In the large hall he found Birendra and Ravindra Jain, who had in the mean

time returned from the hospital, their father, Chimanlal Jain, and mother, Santosh Gupta noticed that there was no trace of grief on their faces, and their conversation betrayed panic and nervousness "It's a case of suicide," they told the police officer A puzzled Gupta heard their story "There are no flats on the 12th floor, just an open terrace where Neelam went this morning to feed the pigeons. She must have jumped down from the terrace and ended her life There is nothing more that we know

Gupta decided to inform his senior officers In about an hour, the deputy commissioner, detective department (DCDD) Kamalesh Roy, the assistant commissioner (for intelligence), detective department (ACDD-I) Tapan Chakraborty, and the commissioner of police, Nirupam Som, were on the spot Forensic experts were also summoned immediately When the terrace was inspected, the police could not find anything-either a tin container or a paper bag-which Neelam could have possibly used for carrying pi-geon-feed The police, however, found two small heaps of broken bangles and a pair of high-heeled sandals

Suspecting foul play, the police began to search the Jains' flat And they found five silver bricks each weighing 30 kg and 670 grams Evalu-

Born in a Marwari family, 17-yearold Neelam Jain grew up in her elder brother's house as her parents died early Sri Kishan Madhugarhia, her brother, and his wife, Premlata, gave her parental love and looked after her She was sent to Marwari Balika Vidyalaya where she studied till the tenth standard, before her marriage to Birendra Jain, a wealthy business-man's son on 27 April this year, cut short her studies Her marriage cost Madhugarhia a good deal of money The reception was held in great style at Calcutta's five star Grand Hotel. and expensive presents were given to the groom But on that day also began the tragic friction the groom's family thought the dowry to be insufficient, and wanted much more

When I met Kishan Madhugarhia on 12 September, four days after Neelam's death, he said "We had given Neelam a mother's love and I thought that after marrying Birendra Jain, she would live happily This did not happen Soon after, the couple returned from their honeymoon in Kashmir, hell was let loose on my beloved sister Neelam was constantly harassed for the insufficient dowry she received She was still in her teens, a child For every little mistake she made, she was beaten severely by either her husband or her mother-in-





Childhood pictures Neelam Jain is seen third and tourth from left

ated at five lakhs, this hoard of silver was found in a special compartment built into a bedstead Before leaving the flat, the police arrested the two brothers and their mother for interrogation in connection with the suspected murder of Neelam Jain The police also registered a case of murder against the three, and the investigation was handed over to the detective department of Calcutta police Till the time of writing, magistrates have rejected their pleas for bail.

WHO was Neelam Jain, and how did she die? Are her in-laws responsible for her death? Was it a case of suicide or murder? Was Neelam driven by her in-laws to such a state that she preferred death to a life of tension and humiliation? Neelam's tragic life can provide some indications

law She showed me the scars they had left on her forehead Once her thumb was battered with a pair of pincers I did not protest, thinking that protests might only have an adverse effect. On a couple of occasions when I did protest, Neelam was beaten up severely for complaining to me
"Despite their wealth, the Jains

regularly demanded gifts; they would order Neelam to convey such messages to me I did everything to ensure Neelam's happiness in that awful home. Only a few days before her death, I gave my sister a bank draft for Rs 22,000. Nothing seemed to have appeased the Jains. My sister was treated like a servant Despite the fact that they had two servants, she was sent to fetch the family's rations When she died, she was wearing a cheap cotton sari, the variety house-

Reactions toNeelam's death



On 9 September, Neelam Jain's mysterious death was mentioned in the West Bengal Assembly Suniti Chattaraj, a Congress(1) MLA, drew the Speaker's attention to the circumstances leading to Neelam's death

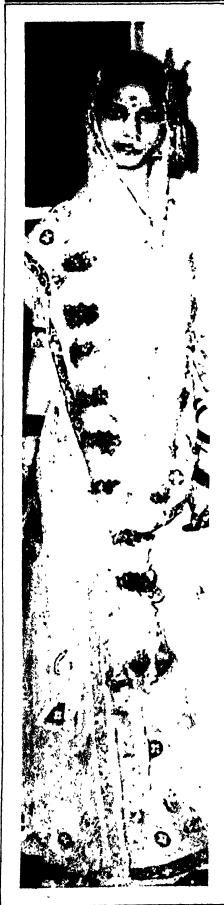
On the same day, about 400 Marwarı youth took out a procession in Burrabazar in protest against Neelam Jain's death Their slogans were "Dahej Partha Band Karo" (Stop the dowry system) and "Neelam ke hatyaron ko saza do" (Punish those who killed Neelam) Later, the processionists met Neelam's elder brother Sri Kishan Madhugarhia and offered their condolonces Since 8 September dozens of women have visted Madhugarhia's Central Avenue residence in North Calcutta to express their grief over Neelam's tragic death

A bandh was also observed in Burrabazar to protest against Neelam's death Shops pulled down their shutters from 10 a.m to 130 p m This bandh was organised by Phulchand Khatik, a leader of hawkers in Burrabazar area On 13 September, the West Bengal Provincial Marwari Federation took out a procession in Calcutta to condemn the dowry system Some representatives of the Federation met the Home Secretary and submitted a memorandum

A group of Marwari ladies also submitted a memorandum to Jyoti Basu demanding punishment for Neelam Jain's "murderers" On the same day an angry group of Marwaris burnt effigies of Birendra Jain and his mother Santosh Jain in

Burrabazar

It is clear that Neelam's death has shocked the entire Marwari community in Calcutta In the last so many years, Marwaris have never taken such a strong and determined stand on any issue Today Neelam's name is on every Marwari



How did Neelam Jain die?

THE police do not think that Neelam Jain leapt to her death as her husband and his family mem bers claim. They had told the police that Neelam, after taking her bath in the morning, climbed the stairs to the terrace (the lift was not working because of power shortage). They said she had taken some vegetables out of the refrigerator, and some gram from a can kept in a corner on the corridor in front of the apartment, to feed birds, just as she did every day

But on the terrace the police found no trace of either birdpecked vegetables or the gram They also looked for the container in which Neelam might have had carried the gram. There was none. Where was it then, asked the police The explanation offered was that Neelam might have carried the gram in a paperbag Then where was that paperbag? Well, said the tamily, the paper might have blown out of the terrace in the breeze Perhaps But the police had quite a few other reasons to suspect this to be more than a case of suicide Why was there no blood on the pavement where Neelam had fallen? And, why were there bloodstains on a curtain in the house, and in the bathroom? Forensic experts are already on the job to trace the source of those bloodstains

The post-mortem report, in the meanwhile, appears to have made the police even more sceptical of the suicide theory. The report clearly states that the death was due to injuries which were 'antimortem' in nature-which means she died before her fall Bones had been splintered at different places of the body. This, according to experts, is a sure sign of a severe beating The scratches on her back and the pelvic region also indicated a struggle When Birendra, Ravindra and Santosh Jain were produced in the court on 8 September, the chief-metropolitan magistrate, Mr Monotosh Roy, refused them bail and observed. "On perusal of police papers, I find prima facie that it is a case of deliberate, calculated murder of a young lady of an affluent family "

Meanwhile, a "suicide" note said to have been written by Neelam has mysteriously surfaced. When the police searched the Jain apartment on 7 September it was not there. And if it was, the police did not find it But a couple of days later the Jain family started claim-

ing that Neelam had indeed left a note saying that she had committed suicide Why then did the police not find it earlier? Neelam's father-inlaw Chimanial says that Birendra had actually found the note tucked away in a corner of a drawer in his bedroom before police came to the apartment to investigate But in the excitement over the death he just forgot about it Later, he says, Birendra left the note inside a book on the bookshelf Birendra remembered this in court "There he signalled (to) me, and told (me) all about it," says Chimanial who then retrieved the note

The police, however, is not inclined to believe this. Their argument is that if Birendra had really found a suicide note he would have placed it before the police at the first opportunity instead of concealing it in the bookshelf. That would certainly have saved them a lot of trouble.

The Jain family which has been accused of torturing and murdering its daughter-in-law, is extremely rich Their family business is selling saris, and they have ten such shops in Calcutta's crowded, dirty and enormously busy and exceedingly rich Burrabazar Neelam Jain's death has led to an unpara-Ileled outcry among the very conservative Marwari community of Calcutta. It has been a shocking eyeopener, she was an unfortunate who paid the ultimate price for a problem which is endemic among the community Daughters-in-law are regularly harassed by their mothers in law and husbands who, despite their wealth, are constantly in search of more money from their wives' families.

Now Calcutta's Marwaris, in particular the youth, have publicly demonstrated in favour of Neelam Jain and demanded an end to this cruel dowry system It sounds almost unbelievable to those who know Burrabazar, but angry crowds in fact shut down that bazaar for one day in protest against Neelam's death. Young women in other families, who were being tortured as Neelam was, are suddenly getting better treatment: no in-laws want to risk a suicide in the family anymore. True, Neelam Jain's martyrdom may not make a revolutionary impact on the mores that dominate Calcutta's Marwari society. But it certainly has had the kind of dramatic impact which will go a long way to make life better for those like her who are still alive.



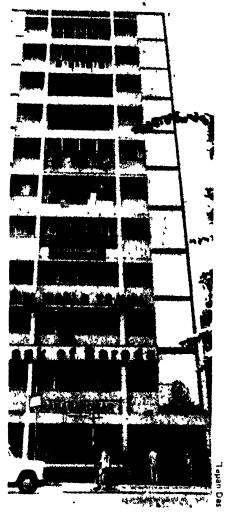
Left to right Santosh Jain, Neelam, Birendra and Chimanlal Jain

maids generally wear. Their cruelty and greed knew no bounds."

Kishan Madhugarhia is sure that his sister was tortured by the Jains because Neelam's dowry did not come up to their expectations. Recalling an incident that occurred on raksha bandhan day (26 August), he said that when he arrived at the Jains' apart ment to get his raakhi, he found Neelam sullen and sour "I was expect ing she would come running, but she did not. When the Madhugarhias were leaving Neelam followed them to the lift and told Premlata, her sister-in law that she had swallowed a couple of mercury tablets Kishan and Premlate promptly informed the Jain family about this and left Subsequently, Neelam was taken to the Union Nursing Home where she was administered an antidote and also underwent a pregnancy test which said that she was not carrying Premlata, however, maintains that Neelam was carrying a three month-old foetus when she died Benumbed by the tragedy, Madhugarhia said with tears in his eyes "Maybe they wouldn't have hurt my sister if I was incher and met all the demands of the boy's family silently \

Chimanlal Jain, Birendra's father, spoke to me reluctantly "When Neelam died, I was not at home. I had gone to Victoria Memorial for a walk By the time I returned from my morning stroll, her body had already been taken to SSKM hospital Neelam was arrogant, she rarely obeyed her mother-in-law's orders She always did what she liked Her brother's wife instigated her to disobey us How are we to blame? She ended her life of her own accord. Now my wife and two sons are in the police lock-up at Lalbazar. The warden sent back the food we sent for them. Neelam was the curse of our

family."



Manasarowar huilding where the Jains stay on the sixth floor. Neelam fell down from the 12th floor terrace

Serfdom for life

Fifty-year-old Mrs Shakuntala Chintamani is the general secretary of the Digambar Jain Mahila Parishad, a Calcutta-based organisation which has campaigned against the downy system and for better education among Marwari women. S. N. M. ABDI spoke to her in the context of Neelam Jain's death. Excerpts:

Q. What are your reactions to Neelam Jain's death?

A: Neelam's death has shocked the Marwari community. We have learnt that her in-laws were not satisfied with the dowry she received at the time of marriage. We have therefore requested the police to conduct a proper enquiry and punish the culprits. Neelam's mother-in-law was a member of our organisation.

Q. Are dowry-deaths common

among Marwaris?

A: The system of dowry has the Marwari community in its grip. Of late, the situation has only worsened. Brides are not killed every day, but the culture of mental torture and harassment is widespread. Even after a handsome dowry is paid, it is common for the boy's family to demand gifts and presents and the girl's family has no option but to meet these demands. In fact, the girl's family is expected to give presents to the boy at every festival. During summer, the boy's family expects mangoes from the girl's family! Serfdom for life, you may call it.

Q. For instance, if a middleclass Marwari wants to get his daughter married how much do you think he has to pay as dowry?

A: The least that anyone pays these days is Rs 50,000. Actually, it is settled by negotiations between the two parties. You are expected to pay as much as you can "afford." Among richer sections of the Marwari community, incredible sums are paid as dowries.

Q: How did you marry your own daughters?

A: My sons have taken the vow not to accept dowries Similarly, my daughters have vowed that they will not marry anyone who deman ded a dowry in fact, 20 years ago i refused to give my eldest daughter's hand to a nephew of an important politician because they in sisted on dowry

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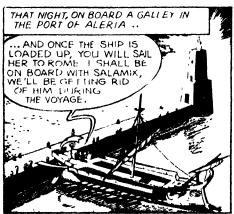
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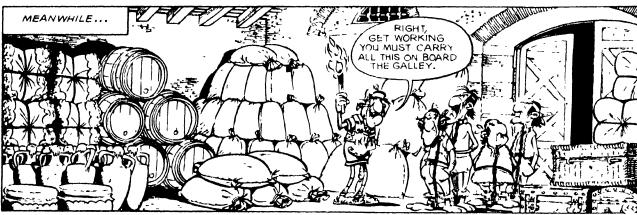
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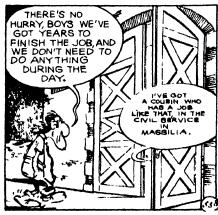














The myth of management educatio

The purblind leading the gullible

By MANISH NANDY

spectre is haunting the groves of academe the spectre of management education In 1957 = Andhra University started a two year post graduate programme leading to the MBA de gree, in the following 20 years analo gous programmes sprouted in 40 major institutions. The number is steadily on the increase, with institutes of management universities, commerce colleges and other institu tions jumping eagerly onto the band wagon. The cavalcade of manage ment education marches trium phantly on

Why? Because 'management suddenly is the most prestigious aftair in the world of work Where does this prestige derive from? In our acutely unemployment ridden society it derives from the specious claim to a surefire recipe for success, a secure, lucrative job The naive alone will imagine the stam pede for management education as prompted by the collective discov ery of a glorious cure all discipline, it is triggered rather by the competitive scramble to grasp the magic formula that ostensibly guarantees entry to the Valhalla of lilywhite

collar employment

In the post independence year, as the ignoming of wearing the English man's clothes or working in the English company gradually waned, the educated youth started seeing the glory of a so called officer's job in Shell or ICI But most of them knew that job to be beyond reach, "contacts" were the only way Now, serendipitously, there was another way It had been decreed that there were no underdeveloped countries but only undermanaged ones (that remark alone should entitle Drucker to Nabokov's sobriquet for Freud, "a



Viennese quack"), and if one could pick up the management knowhow quickly in two years, one would also be able to pick the plums among the corporate jobs. And so the gold rush was on

Someone with a modicum of concern for the country's economy or the country's youth ought to point out that there is a vast fraud in all this At the individual level, an MBA degree is hardly the passport to a sinecure that it is trumpeted to be A false mystique born of scarcity value may still attach to the alumni of one or two management institutes, but by and large the news of a new graduating class of MBAs means little more than a yawn to most corporate recruiters

Three years ago I was on the selection committee of a leading institute of management and, when I stopped getting exasperated with the casual unconcern of the institute's faculty who were co-

interviewers (they knew it was a process of elimination rather than selection1), I was shocked to discov er that two thirds of the candidates were from the leading institutes of engineering and technology who had persuaded themselves that working on the shopfloor or at the drawing board was beneath them since a cushier option was available Even more shocking was the realisation that fully nine-tenths of the crowd were from distinctly affluent fami lies, members of the elite who simply aspired to a super elite status Those people did not need an MBA to get good jobs, they would get good jobs anyway, because of their background or their contacts, and lend further mystique to the lure of

From society's point of view, management education represents an infinitely greater fraud. The protagonists of management, to start with, have certainly oversold the

discipline. From the management of industrial organisations, they have started talking of the management of industry itself, and by the same token, of the management of agriculture and the management of education. This certainly entails a ludicrous semantic confusion, for the management of agriculture is tantamount to agriculture itself just as the management of education is no more or less than education itself But it also reveals the extent to which the misguided are trying to over-extend a limited dicipline

Some parts of the discipline-a technique like network analysis, for example—have ready applicability over a fairly wide range of situations On the other hand, some other parts-motivational analysis is an instance—are not at all readily applicable and can hardly be used atter one has carefully adapted it to the special organisational, social and environmental factors. To hear the pundits speack zealously of the "management science", as if it were a precise body of scientific knowledge, is sickening for a real-life manager who has seen the infinite complexity of organisational reality which no theoretical framework can ever encompass

But that is not a point easily communicated to the pedagogues who teach management education in our institutions. Over 90 per cent of the management educators in our institutes and universities have no management experience worth the name, they come to their task. armed only with a degree in management, economics or psychology, or even literature or geography. Even among the remaining ten per cent, the frustrated accountant or the industrial dropout is the rule rather than the exception Predictably, the backdrop of their teaching is a never-never organisation with eager-tobe advised directors, waiting to-beguided managers, foolish-butamenable supervisors, muchmisused-but-still-warm-hearted workers, and of course the eagerlyawaited-knights-in-shining-armour, the MBA change-agents. The values they preach and the theories they expound on the basis of their wellintended texts are therefore foreign', not only to this country but to the real world of work itself.

The disastrous impact of such teaching is best seen in the experience of people who hire the alumni. In a whole decade ending in the seventies, in talking to my personnel colleagues in different organisations, I never heard of a single MBA who had worked any length of time successfully as a maintenance engineer or a field salesperson. Whether these jobs matched their capabilities or not, they certainly

did not measure up to their superior expectations. In other words, their special education had disabled them for the bulk of the most critical jobs in production and marketing, the two critical areas for a developing economy. Every corporate employer finds the mangement graduates from the major institutes bright but insufferable, prima donnas convinced of their superiority and incapable of understanding or cooperating with their colleagues. Since their brightness was undoubted even before they entered management institutes, only their insufferability seems to be their later acquisi-

Admittedly, they acquire also some knowledge and skills which could be of use to an organisation But which organisation? A report of the All India Management Association in 1975 pointedly stated the sad truth already well known to many "The management graduates seem to be employed in large numbers by the Western-oriented private sector" In other works, all professional pretensions notwithstanding, our change-agents hide beneath their shining armour the black mufti of the village moneylender they want the best return for their investment in a conveted course. It is the same old story of seeking a well-heeled job with a foreign company, only with a fresh veneer Naturally, the public sector companies, government establishments or the medium and small organistations, which often offer the greatest professional challenges, haven't a chance in staking a claim to these new managers' skills.

Yet, to supply these Crown Princes to affluent multinational corporations, the average tax payer has to cough up Rs 50,000 per student, according to a conservative estimate by the director of an institute of managment. That amount is enough to give a hundred supervisors and senior clerks, in some of our most important offices, stores, factories, hospitals, colleges and workshops, a valuable exposure to the managerial skills required by an organisation.

How did we get saddled with such white elephants? American academicians Hill, Haynes and Baumgartel, who presided over the birth of our institutes of management, describe in their book how American models were deliberately chosen for these institutes because no Indian models were available. (Understandably, these well-intentioned foreigners, in their total innocence about Indian industry or society never sought to develop an Indian model; less understandably, their Indian collaborators acquiesced in their plans with great alacrity). Commenting on this, the All India Management Association bitterly remarks: "Since the 'product' found a market, there was little effort to change the product and to develop an Indian model."

WHILE I administered the executive internship programmes of two major companies in the public and private sector, I checked the similar programmes of other organisations and invariably found a clear dichotomy. Organisations which had a planned and well-considered scheme for executive trainees almost always started the management graduates on a par or nearly so with the other trainees, utilised any special skills or proclivities they had but strictly restrained any special airs, and took special pains not to spoil them with additional concern or compensation It is the other organisations who had newly discovered the merits of modern management and were straining to project a progressive image, who strove furiously to one up the corporate Joneses by offering absurd terms and titles to fresh MBAs. Of course they later had problems of demotivation with their existing employees, which the MBAs promptly averted by job-hopping to other gullible employers, negotiating phenomenal terms on the basis of the terms they already had. Meanwhile they would have successfully played out their roles as "market leaders' in pegging up the pay of management graduates

The indefensible nature of the claim for highter pay for management graduates in the Indian context becomes apparent when one looks at the medical graduates. Even the supreme enthusiast for management will find it hard to argue that the doctor does a job less important. less complicated or less deserving of pay than the manager. Yet after a much longer and infinitely more vigorous period of study, the best medical graduate still has to undergo a barely-paid phase of internship. followed more often than not by a low-paid job in physical circumstances that would send most MBAs screaming to their placement officers. Considering the salaries of our finest neophyte doctors and enginers, the MBAs' extravagant expectations must be laughed out of courtunless one chooses to believe that, since the MBAs work in industry and participate in the process of wealth generation, they are entitled to have a hand in the till!

Management literature itself suggests no basis for the higher pay of MBAs. Texts on compensation rightly argue that a person's pay should be determined by the job and his performance, by what he does and how he does it. A degree is of course

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no guarantee of better performance and may only reflect a person's relative affluence, available leisure or family inducement. A manage ment degree, if it has any worth or rationale at all, must show its effect through the better performance of the person acquiring it and thus justify his claim to higher compensation it cannot and should not ipso facto be a ground for better pay In fact, when management graduates advance their spurious claim for special treatment at the starting point, it can only be interpreted as the symptom of a pathetic realisa tion that they have nothing all that special to offer an organisation

But there is a larger issue in a society that strives to be democratic and egalitarian What can be the justifications for inducting into an organisation a set of privileged per sons who are destined to hold the top positions and earn the top rupee? Why, contrariwise should not the same special treatment be accorded to the well educated em ployees who have long served the company? Who indeed decrees that faithful study of a course should enjoy such an extraordinary premium over faithful service to an organisation? Over the years we have known that opportunity and performance are interconnected given a major opportunity people have turned in an unexpected order of performance. We do not know, sadly do not often care to know, what superb managerial potential we are letting langusih in the ranks of our clerks and supervisors, for want of nurturing and opportunity But we do know that organisations that fatuously surround their MBAs with adulation and additional be nefits are setting the clock back on the democratic aspirations of their worktoice and are courting long term disaster

That disaster is implicit in the elitist system of management education we have erected in this country. The most prestigious dispensers of such education are institutions that demand two years of fulltime study and a high level of fees and expenses. Therefore by definition it is restricted to the more, prosperous sections of the community who can afford such expenditure as well as defer the day of earning beyond graduation. Systemically, it guarantees the conferring of super elite status on members of an elite group

Equally and more disastrously, it guarantees the exclusion of a group that, more than any other, is entitled to the advantageous exposure of management education. The selection process of most of our organisations is far from perfect, despite fairly recent efforts to improve their objectivity, but for years it has been

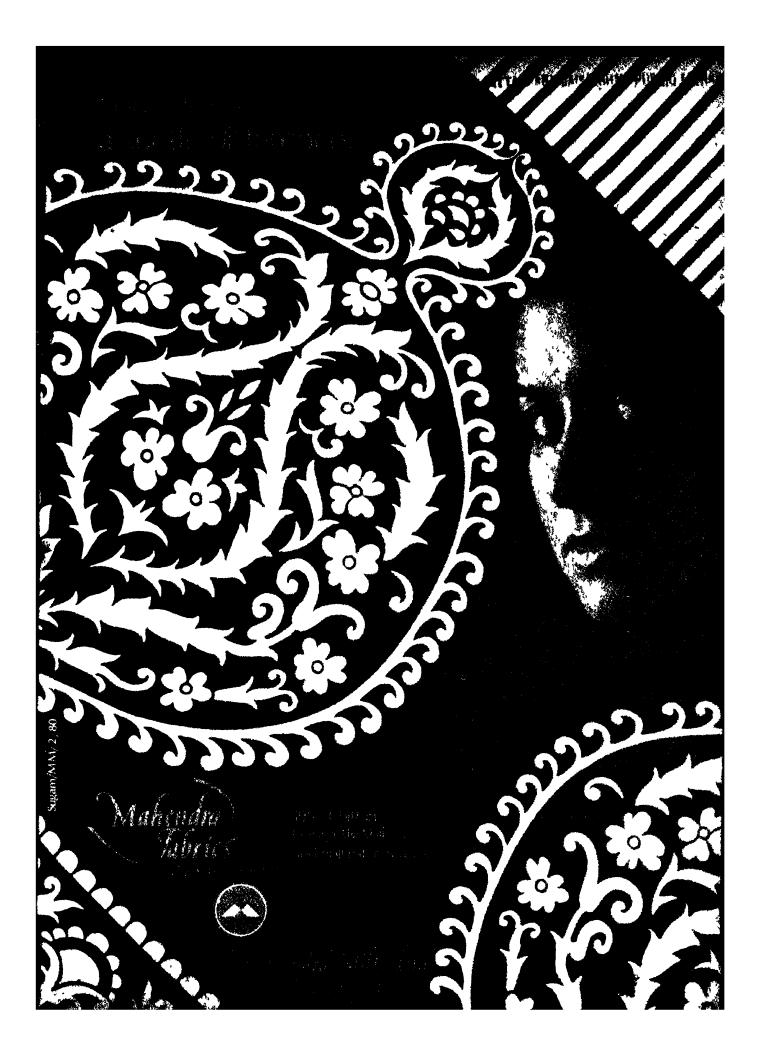
nepotistic, contact-based, outrageously and unashamedly subjective Our non-management ranks are therefore full of talented persons, educated and experienced, who have often survived and occassionally succeeded, without the slightest benefit of conceptual enlightenment, rotational exposure or organ isational/environmental support Their performance makes the wheels of our organisations move, vet their potential is shamelessly allowed to go to waste All talk of management development is sheer hypocrisy till these people are made the centrepiece of any a effort to upgrade organisational perform ance

How can that be accomplished? It can be achieved fairly simply by opening the doors of management education wide to all who need it and want to have it. If the leaders of the management movement, instead of scotfing at the smaller institutes of management, tried to learn from their experience, they would realise that wider and more effective dis semination of management kno whow demands the opportunity for employed people to learn while they earn and learn in convenient discountinous segments that can be applied in practice and tested against experience. It demands in other words a process of continuing education that runs alongside of one's worklife and is superior—not inferior—for that reason to traditional education because it illumines and builds on experience rather than anticipate all experi ence and build meanwhile in an utter vacuum

There will be no scramble for such education because it will be widely available, such education will not create class distinctions, because it will confer no differential advantages (except in performance which is in everybody's reach), such education will bring the benefits of additional knowledge to the bulk of our people who want it and crave to: it The last is the most important, because in the final analysis change agents produced by laboratory edu cation will not change our offices and factories, but common men and women, strengthened by a relevant combination of education and ex perience, will

Meanwhile, the least that can be said about the present system of management education is that it is limited and elitist. But in reality it is far worse it is a form of miseducation corrupting those who submit to it and destroying those who don't

The author was formerly associated with Dunlop India Ltd and Hindustan Copper He has worked with the Xerox organisation in the USA as a management expert and currently runs his own management consultancy service



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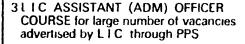
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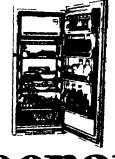


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Astrology and succession

T may sound unbelievable, but the fact is that one reason for the recent hectic activity in the opposition is an astrological forecast This forecast savs that Mrs Indira Gandhi may not be able to continue in power beyond 1980, and after that the central government will be run jointly by some senior leaders

Mrs Gandhi is in good health—mentally fit, physically strong and with all her faculties quite intact. In the normal course, she should continue at the helm of affairs at least till 1985. Yet it seems that most of the senior opposition lead ers, for whom astrologers are the only source of hope today, are almost sure that something is going to happen to Mrs Gandhi before the

year is out

Those opposition leaders who do not have much faith in astrological forecasts, are also seriously pondering over the likely new pattern of political alignments in the country since Sanjay's sudden death Their reasoning is that if something bappens to Mrs Gandhi tomorrow, there is no one in her Party who can hold it together for more than six months. There will then be a serious bid for power at the centre by different combinations, and they do not want to be caught napping at that moment.

Mrs Gandhi occupies a unique position in the country today Nev er in the recent past has India's politics been so dependent on one person No one in her Party can be considered a successor, and even in the opposition there is no one who can step into her shoes immediate ly A government in Delhi will have to be a combination of different persons, Parties and forces Con gress(1) men will not dare make anv moves to win political allies as long as she is there, they will only act if the situation arises. Till then work ing out permutations and combina tions will be entirely the preoc cupation of opposition leaders

In the national opposition today there are three main forces—the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the communists (CPM and CPI) and Mr Charan Singh (the man) No strong opposition alignment can be tormed by excluding any two of them Among these three, Mr Charan Singh has the best advantage as his political position is the most flexible He can join hands with either the BJP or the communists As far as the BJP and the communists are concerned, any immediate alliance between them is unlikely



By BARUN SENGUPTA

Maybe Mrs Gandhi will outlive all present aspirants and successfully clear the decks for Rajiv's coronation.

But just an alliance of any two of these three main forces will not be enough To make a strong bid for power after Mrs Gandhi's depar ture, other smaller forces will also have to be drawn in-at least those who cannot be branded either as communalists or communists forces like the Janata (JP) The Janata (JP) led by Mr Chandra Shekhar is not a major political force today, but because of its ambiguous position and because of the presence of some prominent leaders in it, the Party can still play a role in national politics. It cannot add to anybody's strength very much, but it can definitely give credibility to an alliance That is why both Mr Madhu Limave and the communists are keen on getting its support

But the Janata (JP) will not join any alliance in which Mr Charan Singh occupies the chair, and Mr Charan Singh cannot join any con

If a combination has
to run the
government after
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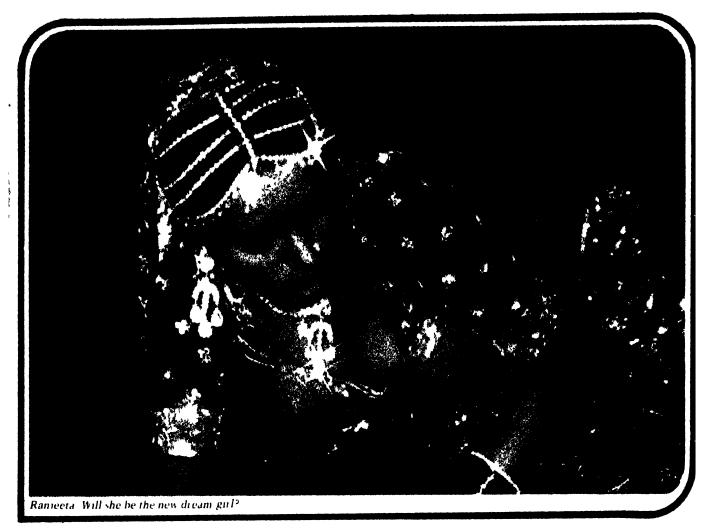
glomeration in which he is not offered the throne Mr Raj Narain and Mr H N Bahuguna are keen to take the maximum advantage of this contradiction Mr Charan Singh has declared both of them untouchables for the moment and so they are trying to teach him a lesson Both of them are trying to form a political alliance minus Mr Charan Singh The question is, can any powerful alliance be formed in India today by excluding both the BJP and Mr Charan Singh? Mr Bahuguna thinks that this can be formed once Mrs Gandhi is absent from the scene His idea is to prepare the ground, through personal contacts, and then move at light ning speed once the opportunity arises. He wants to outwit others by sheer organisation and speed

But will senior leaders agree to hand over the gaddi to Bahuguna? Charan Singh or Babuji or Urs may agree to serve under Morarii Desai as a last resort, but they will never accept Bahuguna as their leader The same is the situation with Chandra Shekhar He may aspire for the highest chair, but will others agree to offer it to him? If a com bination has to run the government after Mrs Gandhi, the leadership is bound to go to a very senior (and possibly senile) person. It cannot go to a middle aged chalu leader or a well known communist or a com munalist straightaway

So, if something happens to Mrs Gandhi tomorrow, the contest for the PM's job is bound to remain confined to three men—Morarji De sai, Charan Singh and Y B Chavan Of course, for a short while, Kama lapati Tripathi might get a chance to sit on that coveted chair

Morarji Desai and Y B Chavan can expect the support of a large number of former and present Con gressmen For Charan Singh, of course, that will not be easy And if the communists try to block Morar 11 Desai or Y B Chavan's way, then it will not be surprising even if the BJP supports the combination of the past and present Congressmen and other sundry elements The ultimate battle in India for captur ing power will of course be between the BJP and the communists, in the absence of Mrs Gandhi The others will have to join one of these two sides

But who knows what is there in store for us Maybe Mrs Gandhi will outlive all the present aspirants and successfully clear the decks tor Rajiv's coronation Astrologers have gone wrong more often than not.



HARDLY had the storm of controversy around an anti Rav statement made by Nargis Dutt, MP in the Rajva Sabha simmered down when Nargis retuined to Bombay, a thin, weak shell of her former self, and was admitted to hos pital with a suspected attack of Jaundice. The Bombay doc tors discovered some kind of obstruction in the bile duct and hurriedly referred her to a hospital in America Sunil Dutt accompanied her to New York where at the time of writing, she is awaiting surgery

Sund Dutt, who was busy with the completion of his son's first film, Rocky has had to postpone the film's release. As soon as the operation is over the will be returning to complete the work.

SPF AKING of con troversies quite a thing was made of the posters of Rocky depicting Sunjay Dutt and a scantily dressed Tina spread out on a motor bike! If you think that's impossible you should have seen the posters before they were pulled down. However, this is not the first time that a motorbike has served as the lover's couch, a German hard porn film has a couple of scenes where three girls on three motorbikes are being capoled (and much more!) by three young boy.

HAVE you noticed how young stars like Ran jeeta, Shabana and Poonam Dhillon, come to parties looking like sedate old frumps, in saris and their hair either hanging loose? The real vin tage brand names like Nutan, Simi and now (God help!) Shashikala arrive at parties with short, lacquered hair or some weird hairstyle

OD' That girl Tammanna opens her mouth with such unbecoming confidence that you almost miss the foot

she puts in it every time During an on the spot inter view with Tabassum on TV she was asked a number of questions, which she answered with an immediate "dekhive" but none of her "answers" really answered the questions, which, know ing Tabassum were neither too difficult not too original One such question stands out Why do you think the old time actors lived and died as actors never trying out other fields of the media? Taman na's answer "You see, the old time actors never came from good homes They were not educated and did not come from the good, cultured homes that we stars of today come from!" Readers can fi gure out this one

DID you know that
Bhupendia, that superb
singer, who has tuined many
of Gulzar's lyrics into haunt
mg melodies was once turned
down by producer J Om Pra-

kash, on the grounds that Bhupendra followed the west ern style and that there was a touch of pop in his music Just because he plays the guitar so well! And this producer needed a semi-classical singer, if the music director and the lyricist were any thing to go by

VER since Sanjees E Kumai returned from America where Suraag was being shot and brought back rumours that he was being wooed by American *Bai bara* Terzi, who lived with him and cooked for him, have you noticed the renewed efforts of Sulakshana Pandit and Javshiee T at trying to woo him back? Sulakshana by the way, has let herself run into a lot of tat She has very tew films on her hands and a very elusive target which is the cause of her love sickness And as for Javshiee, her khaane ka dabba turns Sanjeev on, more than herself!



"People say that I'm made for rough roles, but I hope they change their mind after seing Tillu Mullu." Madhavi, his heroine also hopes that this film will click: her first Tamil release did not do well at the box-office. But the future looks very promising. Apart from Tillu Mullu, she has another good starrer, Raja Parvai, with Kamalahasan as her hero.

TIFTEEN years ago Saradawn, a struggling Telugu actress picked up a couple of Malayalam films and made it big in Kerala. She reigned supreme for nearly a decade and also made a lot of money.

And now Sujatha, a Keralite, has become one of the top actresses in Andhra.

A SOAP manufacturing firm asked Menaka, the popular newcomer to act in a couple of ad films. The actress replied: "I don't use

your soap. I use only Liril. So why should I bluff the public?" The ad agency man retorted: "You get married to' number of people in your films. Do you expect the put lic to believe that too?"

IRISH KARNAD must b thinking that he should have terminated his professional relationship with dire tor Basu Chattarjee after the success of Swami. Two of his subsequent films for Chattal jee, Ratnadeep and Man Pasand have flopped. And Sara Jahan seems to be in a limbo. Despite these setback Girish continues to get lucra tive offers as he was associated with Aasha, one of the biggest hits in recent years. But he doesn't regret having worked for Basu Chattariae as he finds the latter to be a very genial person. So he says.

PIOUSJI

WHEN Woody Allen's grim tale of divorce in an American film entitled Interiors was shown in Bangalore during the International Film Festival, some critics found Allen's study of the impact of divorce in the American milieu exaggerated. "Imagine a marriage lasting for so many years in America," quipped an ill-informed critic and added that Interiors was a fit subect for an Indian producer. Now one hears that a Telugu film is being extracted out of Interiors. Of course there'll be more masala in the desi version.

SEEMA and I. V. Sasi got an excellent wedding gift; as they were declared husband and wife in a Madras temple, messages came in from Kerala about the excellent box-office success of Meenu Sema's previous film with I. V. Sasi, Angadi, created a sensation in Kerala by smashing formidable records set by films like Thakara, Her Nights and Chemmeen.

L AST month it was Raj Babbar. And now it's Mithun Chakraborty. Rathi seems to be taking it all in good humour. Said the actress: "My name was linked, with Raj Babbar even before

we had gone through the second schedule of Triveni and now suddenly it's Mithu. At this rate, the next fortnight it will be Deepak Parashar...Some journalists have been so generous to me." She's yet to work with Mithun; the shooting of Sahas, their first film, will soon begin in Madras. In Madras she's known as Rathi but the credit titles of Hindi films will call he Rati Agnihotri. "Actually I used to write my name as Rati but then Tamil film producers introduced an "h" into my name," said the star.

CATHYAKALA'S hopesthat her first Tamisfilm Thani Maram will be a runaway hit didn't exactly materialise. She now has seasoned directors who are close to 'MGR. In one of the forthcoming films she's paired with newcomer M. G. C. Sukumar, MGR's nephew, whose first film was a terrible flop. Surely the new film starring Sukumar and Sathyakala will be a herome-oriented one.

DESPITE the sad boxoffice performance of
Johnny, Rajnikant considers
it to be one of his better films.
And he's also hoping that Tillu Mullu, remake of Gol Maal
will click. Said the actor:



Aligarh: Another tragic day

Why didn't the police stop the riots?

IT normally takes half an hour to proceed twenty vards down this road, it is so crowded, but today you have done it in a matter of minutes," the magistrate on duty near the main shopping centre of Aligarh told us Curfew-bound Aligarh was absolutely deserted Only police pickets could be seen, at short distances from each other Occasionally, a stray dog broke the awful monotony. Aligarh was still—and unreal. But beneath the stillness was tension communal tension. Only two days back, on 8 September, ten people had died and 18 had been injured.

Perennially disturbed Aligarh had become tense again on 17 August, following the Moradabad incident, when Muslims protested against the police But trouble had subsided, and life was returning to normal In the last fortnight, no 'incidents' had taken place. The army had been withdrawn, the day-curfew had been lifted, and even women were coming out to shop But on the evening of 7 September,

two journalists, Pawan Kumar Jain, a stringer of Nav Bharat Times and Samachar Bharati, and Jai Dutt Sharma, the editor of a local weekly, Shikwa Shikavat, were arrested under Section 153A of the IPC for incitement to communal violence The reason Jain had written a baseless report that 400 home guards were missing after the recent disturbances, and Sharma too had reported the same K K. Singh, the divisional Home Guards commandant, to whom the two newsmen had attributed the report, denied saying any such thing, and claimed that the entire report was false.

Jain, besides being a journalist, was also a businessman with considerable influence among the local Hindu traders. Once the news spread that Jain had been arrested, the local traders, on the night of 7 September, got together and decided, as a mark of protest, they would not open their shops the next day, and would ensure that the entire marketplace remained shut But on the morning of 8 Septem-

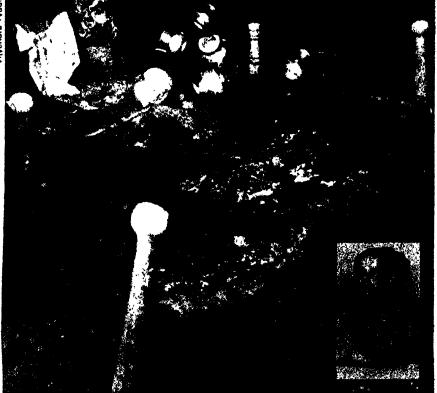
ber, not all the shopkeepers closed their shops, and the latter were forced to shut down. All this was going on right under the nose of the police, in Burra Bazar, Mohammed Ali Road and Manav Chowk.

By around 10.30 in the morning, a mob of a few hundred Hindus had gathered at Phoolchauraha, a marketplace. Suddenly at around 40.40 am. there was the sound of a powerful explosion, allegedly from the house of Vikar Hussain, a resident of Phoolchauraha. No one till now knows the origin of the sound: some say it was a handmade bomb going off, while others say it was a pistol shot. A search of Hussain's house conducted a day after the incident, has revealed nothing-no marks, and no signs of a blast But there was a massive sound, and this gave rise to the first rumour: that a Hindu youth, who had been standing next to Masjid Purani Kotwali (which adjoins Phoolchauraha) had been killed As the rumour spread, the mob started getting angry. The police, by now alerted, were urged by the crowd to take action against the Muslims who had 'killed' a Hindu youth. Sensing that the situation was getting out of hand, the police resorted to a lathi charge, and fired in the air.

But this did not disperse the mob. Instead it started moving from Phoolchauraha to Chauraha Abdul Karım and Dahiwala Gali. It was at Chauraha Abdul Karım that the first person. died. A Muslim rickshaw puller was stabbed to death An exchange of brickbats between Hindus and Muslims followed and shops were set.on fire. Two groups of Hindus attacked Muslim homes in Chahgarmaiah and Sarai Bairam Beg-largely Hindu areas, with pockets of Muslims living there The carnage began, and there was killing, looting and destruction. It carried on for about two hours At the end of it, nine Muslims had died and 18 were injured. The next day, a four-year-old girl succumbed to her injuries in hospital. A number of houses had been burnt and looted.

Badre Alam Chaudhuri, a resident of Chahgarmaiah said: "The mob first tried to attack our houses from the front. But the doors were sturdy and they could not break it open though they had hatchets with them. So they came around to the back door and attacked us from behind. They broke open the back door of one of the houses and from there they jumped the walls and entered the other houses. The people inside were trapped while the mob did whatever they wanted to, including killing." Mohammed Sharif, a Muslim businessman of Manay Chowk, took us around his ransacked house. He lives with his brother, Abdul Rashid, whose 28-yearold wife had been killed. The house had been totally ransacked and looted.

Ibrahim's house in ashes (Inset) Rajiv Ratan Shah, the present DM



A daughter in the family (who also died) was to have been married recently, and a lot of ornaments had been made for her marriage. Mohammed Sharif pointed to a safe which had been broken open and said. "We had everything inside there. Ornaments, money and important papers Now the ornaments are gone, the money is gone and the papers are burnt." Opposite Sharif's house is a small house The doors are missing and inside lies a burnt cot According to Mohiuddin, 80 year-old Ibrahim used to live there. The old man was tied to his cot and then set on fire.

What all Muslims agree about is the role of the PAC in the incident. They feel that the PAC encouraged the moters and refused to give protection

to those being attacked

Irlanullah Khan, the president of the Aligarh Muslim University Students' Union said, "The police were posted along the route and, in fact, they were going along with the mob But they did not do anything to prevent the mob from creating trouble. I think the PAC was largely responsible for all this They egged on the rioters In fact, as long as the PAC is around, there cannot be any long-lasting peace here "At a meeting of senior students on 9 September, a day after the incident. a resolution was passed saving "We demand immediate disarming of the PAC which is the root cause of trouble If the PAC remains on the street, trouble will erupt again "The students are not against the policethey are only against the PAC. Said Wasım Ahmed of the university, "We have been asking the government to post the BSF, the CRP and the army. Our only request is that the PAC should be withdrawn. They have been associated with too many brutalities on our community. Look at what happened in Moradabad. We have lost trust in them, as people who canprotect us."

According to Mujahid Sherwani, secretary of the UP Congress Minorities Forum, the PAC battalions now in Aligarh, are the same ones which had been deployed in Moradabad.

The administration is doing good and constructive work now, making sure that food supplies reach every place, especially in the curfew-bound areas (no Hindu or Muslim complained that they were facing difficulty in procuring food.) But it is the administration too which failed in anticipating and controlling the situation. According to a senior government official, the intelligence services had failed completely. Everyone was aware that tension prevailed in Aligarh and that only a spark was needed to ignite it (as someone commented, "In Aligarh even if two cyclists collide on the road, it becomes a communal issue".) Yet, though a mob had collected at Phoolchauraha, since early morning, the police failed to prevent them from going berserk. Why is it that when the armed police arrived, at a time when no damage had been done, the mob

could not be dispersed without any harm being done? A team of high state officials headed by the chief secretary, R. B. Saxena, has issued a statement saying that they have seen the situa-tion "as a collapse of the district administration "

The day after the incident, the district magistrate, Nagendra Singh and the special superintendent of police, Manzoor Ahmed, were transferred According to an official, one reason for the administration's failure was the lack of communication between the district magistrate and the Agra division commissioner, Deshraj Singh

The reminders of the carnage lie in Malikhan Singh hospital, where most of the people injured in the incident have been admitted. Sixty year-old

Jumman Mian lies on his bed with head injuries, four-year-old Pappu, with stab injuries in his abdomen, clutches the hand of the doctor who comes to examine him, and twentyfive-year-old Kaziuddin stares at the ceiling. The state government has decided to give Rs 5,000 to the families of those who have been killed The Prime Minister has decided to give Rs 3,000 each to the families of those who have been killed and Rs 1,000 each to the families of those who have been injured. But as Mohiuddin, who stays at Masjid Purani Kotwali asked: "If we give the government Rs 5,000, will it return our relatives who have been killed?"

SAUMITRA BANERJEE, Aligarh

Friends set the trend



Syed Hassan

HESE days when communal I feelings run high, mutual tolerance and understanding have become a rarity indeed. And yet, there exist some stray instances that go to prove that secularism is yet to become obsolete. Bansa is that little village in Madhya Pradesh where Satyavrata Sharma 61, a staunch Arya Samajist and his wife lived under the same roof with Syed Hassan and his wife, both devout Muslims, for over 30 years.

It all began in Amritsar, when Hassan and Sharma were about eight years old. Those were the days when communal frenzy and mutual distrust were the order of the day. But the friendship of the two boys continued unhindered. After high school they joined the Indian Navy and worked in the wireless and telegraph department for three years. During this time they were profoundly impressed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army. Hassan tried to blow off the wireless.

However, he was suspected and forced to abscond. Sharma, meanwhile, was sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment.

On his release Sharma began to search for Hassan who was then believed to be dead. After a long search Hassan was found in hiding in Amritsar. But by this time Shar-ma who had failed to return to his unit by the due date was declared a deserter and a warrant of arrest was issued for him. The two friends now moved from place to place trying to elude the warrant of arrest. Finally they reached Basna in Raipur district where Hassan's aunt lived. The remote village was very suitable for those trying to avoid getting arrested and both married and settled down soon after.

Sharma and Hassan had three rooms to themselves. One was used by the Sharmas, the other by the Hassans and the third was a common kitchen-cum-prayer room. The very strong bond of friendship as well as the deep respect that each had for the other's religious beliefs and practices enabled the two families to live together in complete harmony. Every day Mrs Sharma would cook the morning meal and partake the vegetarian food with her husband. Then she washed and cleaned the kitchen for Mrs Hassan. Both the families had no complaints against this system of having to queue for prayers and cooking.

With the passage of time the families grew and a change of residence became inevitable. Sharma decided to move to Raipur with his family. The parting was touching. But the bond remained unbroken and the Sharma-Hassan tradition has been passed on to successive generations as an example.

M. V. KHER, Raipur

Dull Doordarshan

On TV, it is the policy to bore

THE colour television controversy has pushed into the background the far more serious question of what can be done to improve the truly dismal fare dished out by most Indian television stations. As a viewer it is hard to think of anything more depressing than seeing the same old, abysmally dull programmes reproduced in colour

Delhi Doordarshan which would probably win hands down any competition for the dullest programmes possible, always has a string of explanations generally related to paucity of equip ment, lack of professionals and so on But if anyone is interested in sear ching for the real answer they should examine what happened to I S Johar's 22 one act plays dealing with social problems like dowry, black money religion, the generation gap and the treatment of harijans. The films were commissioned and shown by Bombay television and were then meant to be circulated nationwide but, unfortunately for them, Delhi was the next stop and as it turned out the last

The films were found to be too daring and only two were seen by Delhi audiences When Johar tried to pursue the matter he was told by officials that the films could lose them their jobs because they were too con troversial Boring programmes, it turned out are produced not by acci dent, but as a policy decision. A senior official told Johar, "We would rather stick to boring programmes because boredom doesn't lose people their When Johar pointed out that the films had been cleared by the Minister of Information & Broadcasting he was told that the Minister may have cleared them but he was certain ly not going to be left carrying the can, if objections were raised. When he continued to insist on the films being screened he was told that 12 of them (produced at a cost of about Rs 12,000 each) had simply disappeared. To quote Johar, There have been twelve kissa Kursi Kas Needless to say the other ten didn't get shown either Although I'm still negotiating with them I've almost given up hope of their being screened

The films were among the best that Johar has ever produced and he admit ted that he was particularly upset by what had happened because all of them dealt with relevant social problems "How can we expect to change anything in our society if we don't even dare discuss the problems openly?"

Johar had treated his subjects with a truly professional blend of humour and seriousness In Black Money, for instance (incidentally one of the two that was shown in Delhi), a girl's family waits for a prospective bridegroom and paity to arrive In



I S Johar

fact, they are also expecting an in come tax inspector and his party. When the prospective groom arrives he is given a long tale of woe about how the family can barely make ends meet. But when the income-tax inspector arrives he is shown jewels and enormous hidden wealth and told it is nothing compared to what has been stashed away in Switzerland. The film ends with the income tax inspector marrying the girl

The harijan problem has been dealt with seriously and is about a Thakur who kills a harijan for polluting his well by drawing water from it When questioned about it in court he confesses. He has done no wrong, he says, since it is his dharma'to kill a harijan who dares to pollute his well. The Thakur is sentenced to death While

waiting to be hanged he finds that the next cell is occupied by the son of the harijan he killed. The boy has beelocked up for killing the Thakur family in revenge. There is a dialogubet ween the two on the meaning a charma and the film ends with the Thakur undergoing a change of hear the gives the harijan a Gita that he ha meant to give his own son

Johar started making the films al out three years ago when I K Gujra was Minister of Information & Broad casting The films were called Joha Key Gauhar According to him, Guira objected to the title and said the should just say that the films wer made by I S Johar The objection t the title was taken to mean an objection to the title was taken to mean to the title was taken to tion to the films and the first obstacl to their being shown in Delhi arose Later when L K Advani was Informa tion & Broadcasting Minister, Joha got his approval for their screening But officials at the Delhi television station said that they did not darscreen them because if there were objections the Minister was not goin; to take the blame I S Johar late tried to get the Bombay TV station to screen the remaining ten films to journalist Although they agreed the films could not be found

According to Johar, the reason why Kamleshwar has been able to get away with the powerful human interes films he had produced on social problems is that he has not, in fact, attack ed the system "In my films I have questioned the fundamentals on which the system is based Kamleshwar had produced some very good tilms. However, I feel that the only way the standard of television programmes will improve is if more people like him are allowed to get involved." Johar, or the other hand, has been asked to stick

to making comedies!

TAVLEEN SINGH, Delhi

A questionable claim

And rewarded too

A more controversial and recent inst ance concerns the alleged publication of misleading data on wheat radiation mutation by the influential Indian agriculturist M S Swaminathan Swa minathan claimed that he had in creased the protein and lysine content of a strain of wheat by subjecting seeds of a parent strain to a combination of gamma radiation and ultra violet light. In this case, the issue is not so much whether Swaminathan deliberately fabricated his experi ments but rather whether he was less than vigilant in his attitude to the data after it had been discredited Swaminathan's supporters argued that any carelessness on his part was more than justified by the contribution he had made to the Green Revolution that brought about increased agricultural

yields in India His detractors main tained that such calculated unscrupu lousness was contrary to the ideals of science and completely inappropriate for a man in such a prestigious position—Bias in Scientific Research by Ian James-Roberts, 1979 Yearbook of Science & the Future (Encyclopedia Britannica)

This damning indictment of India's topmost agronomist, Dr M S Swaminathan in the world's most prestigious scientific yearbook has resurrected once again a controversy that has dogged his meteoric career for the past 13 years. The Times of India recently announced that all correspondence on the subject was closed after its Letters to the Editor column was swamped with letters on False Claims'. As on past occasions, however, 35-year-old Dr Monkombu Sambasi-

L. Andrewski

van Swaminathan emerged unscathed from the crises. While he was busy warding off the scathing criticism following the release of the Yearbook, Swaminathan was nominated to the Planning Commission on 4 April, 1980

However the controversy that continues to hound Swaminathan's chequered career originated in 1967 when Swaminathan claimed that he had developed a new strain of dwarf wheat Sharbati Sonora by subjecting the Mexican variety Sonora 64 received from CIMMYT, to gamma radiation and ultraviolet light. Dwarf wheat varieties at the time were the foundation of the green revolution. It was Dr Swaminathan's contention that the new amber-coloured strain possessed a protein and lysine content compared to milk, better baking qualities and an acceptable colour.

In an article in the Food Industries Journal, November 1967 he scaled down the lysine content to 4.61 per cent against the 7.8 per cent in milk The protein content of the new strain was recorded as 16.5% by him In contrast Sonora 64, according to him had a lysine content of 1.86 per cent and protein content of 14 per cent. For a country starved of protein it was a

revolutionary discovery. Soon after Dr Swaminathan's claims were internationally aired, Professors Edwin Mertz and Oliver Nelson of Purdue University who had developed a high lysine maize, investigated the Sharbati Sonora and discovered that its lysine percentage at 26 per cent was only marginally higher than the 25 per cent of Sonora 64 The CIMMYT, Mexico which had developed the parent strain Sonora 64 too, failed to duplicate Dr Swaminathan's findings The lysine content, according to them, varied between 2.7 per cent to 2.89 per cent in Sharbati Sonora against 2.83 per cent in Sonora 64 Another test at the University of Nebraska, USA, revealed that the Sharbati Sonora had a lysine content slightly lower than Sonora 64. Within India, Dr Swaminathan's claims were refuted by two scientists of his own Institute, Dr Y P. Gupta and Dr T. S. Raman of the Biochemistry Division,

The authority on dwarf strains CIM-MYT News in the July-August issue, 1969, concluded that "in no case was there a signifiant difference between the normal variety and its mutation. They placed the lysine percentage of both varieties at approximately 2.9 per cent and the protein content between 14.25 per cent and 14.6 per cent with the mutation strain accounting for the lower percentage. This is not the end of the controversy. The republication of Dr Swaminathan's original paper in the January 1971 issue of the Pergamon journal Plant Foods for Human Nutrition flared up. In this the lysine content of Sharbati Sonora was placed at two and a half times that in the Sonora 64. This has led the renowed agronomist Dr Erna Bennet to assert that "the claims for Sharbati Sonora have all being demonstrated to be

'false." In August 1971, Dr 'Swaminathan was awarded the \$10,000 Ramon Magsaysay award with the citation: "Swaminathan recently developed a dwarf wheat variety, Sharbati Sonora with amber grain containing 16.5 per cent of protein and 3 per cent of lysine. This is now elevating the deficiency of essential amino acids in the Indian diet so harmful particularly to brain development in young children." The last statement was disputed as the Sonora varieties were being phased out at the time as they were susceptible to rust and rust-resistant strains had been developed by CIMMYT. The Sharbati Sonora was never sown even in India and Dr Borlaug observed that it had not played any significant role in the country's green revolution Dr Swaminathan's critics demanded that the Magsaysay award to him be withheld until the dispute over his claims was resolved

The controversy arose following the suicide of a 36-year-old scientist Vinod H Shah in May 1972 in the IARI over what he felt were discriminatory promotion policies In his suicide note to the IARI Director, Dr M S Swaminathan, Shah charged that a "lot of unscientific data are collected and

passed on to you to fit in your line of

The suicide provoked an uproar in the Press and Parliament and culminated in the constitution of an Enquiry Committee into ICAR affairs headed. by Mr P. B. Gajendragadkar, former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Among its terms of reference were allegations of spurious claims by the ICAR including the Sharbati Sonora. In its voluminous report the committee concluded that the claim of Dr Swaminathan is "not substantiated". The Committee censored Dr Swaminathan for his failure to verify his claims on lysine content with the National Institute of Nutrition and Nutrition Research Laboratory despite a recommendation to this effect at the All India Wheat Workshop held in Indore in August 1969. It concluded that "Dr Swaminathan has not been sufficiently careful in his references to the lysine content of Sharbati Sonora,' after having the strain analysed in the laboratories itself. In 1974 the prestigious journal New Scientist indicted Dr Swamınathan in an article entitled "Top Food Scientist Published False Data" under the byline of the world famous agronomist, Joseph Hanlon. In

More than 120,000 transfers!

When Madhya Pradessh Chief Minister Arjun Singh admitted, under pressure from the young opposition MLA Ramashankar Singh, that in his brief spell of power he had already ordered the transfer of 49,658 government employees (not for better administration but as political favours), it created a stir. The full truth happens to be even more shocking, according to our sources. Investigation has revealed that more than 120,000 people have actually been 'ransferred by the new Congress(I) government. This is a list of the transfers, department wise.

| | 426. 27. | Public works (Engineering) Local self-government Law (except courts) Irrigation Housing Labour & Employment Planning & Statistics Information & Publicity Language PWD Tourism & Archaeology Town, village & capital projects Rehabilitation Printing | | Number of | 26,027 122 9,020 9,107 7,320 9,301 2,328 2,222 4,511 3,229 3,105 3,729 1,122 2,020 324 8,003 1,203 9,229 713 1,103 203 6,225 524 1,332 105 1,317 | |
|----------------|-------------|--|-------|-----------|---|--|
| Total 1,20,008 | | The second secon | Total | 1. | | |

the same journal another renowned agronomist Dr R. A Silow demanded: "Can the United Nations system afford to risk to have sitting on the highest level advisory bodies a scientist who has so extensively published so much non-valid science in those very fields?" (At the time Dr Swaminathan was serving on several UN bodies.)

On May 18, 1977, Dr Swaminathan, in the wake of entrenched criticism and accusations of perpetuating a deliberate fraud confessed to the Statesman that he had committed an analytical error in estimating the lysine content of Sharbati Sonora Dr Swaminathan revealed that he was writing to the Magsaysay Award Committee to delete the reference to his mutation strain from the citation Thus the dispute on the actual lysine content in the two varieties was resolved.

It is suspected that the first erroneous lysine estimates occurred because IARI's newly established analytical lab was a novice to the complex test. Dr Normal Borlaug and Glenn Anderson of CIMMYT observed: "The erroneous high lysine values reported were the result of inexperienced chemists employing a new unfamiliar analytical method for amino acid determination. It was a technical error and did not in any way imply scientific dishonesty." Sir Joseph Hutchinson, FRS agreed saying that the "newly established analytical laboratory had difficulty

with the complex test."

Once the false claims were aired, however, nobody was prepared to own up. Dr Nelson felt: "After trumpeting the triumph of nuclear energy applied to plant improvement no one was willing to admit that the report was erroneous." And it is here that Dr Swaminathan is on very slippery ground. For this he has only his legion of supporters to blame. Dr Y. P. Gupta who disputed the Sharbati Sonora claim as early as October 1968 has accused the head of his division altering the lysine content of Sonora 64 from 3.26 per cent to 2.26 per cent so that the "Sharbati Sonora might appear in a more favourable light." It is also contended by his detractors that had Dr Swaminathan made a bonafide error there should either have been an increasing or a decreasing trend in the lysine content indicated by the machine. What actually happened was that when the machine indicated a substantially higher content in the case of Sharbati Sonora it revealed a markedly lower percentage in Sonora 64. CIMMYT has also established that the new strain is not a radiation mutation but a single gene mutant of Sonora 64 different only in colour which often occurs naturally.

On Dr Swaminathan's behalf it is contended that the 1971 research monograph of the IARI entitled "Recent Research on the Improvement of Protein and Nutritive Properties of Food and Feed Plants" had corrected the lysine content of Sharbati Sonora to 2.57-2.75 per cent. However, his

detractors maintain that this in no way was an acknowledgement from Dr Swammathan himself. Rather he persisted in quoting different lysine values as is reflected in the observations made by the Gajendragadkar Committee which examine the monograph and other evidence as well. Dr Swaminathan maintains that the British journal which republished his original paper in January 1971 did-so without his knowledge. However, his charge is refuted by the publication which claims that its records indicate that the paper was received from him in April 1970. Nor can he explain his failure to have the new strain analysed in nutrition labs as advised by the Indore workshop. Dr Swaminathan's

critics point out that some years ago he had made the "fantastic claim" that his multiple cropping programme would create 17.5 million new jobs and that he could double rice production. Neither materialised. Earlier he had boasted on an 82 quintal per hectare bajra yield against the prevailing 20 quintals. This too was demonstrated as false. The Sharbati Sonora controversy continues to dog his career. The insertion of his name in the 1979 yearbook quoted earlier, says Dr Bhai Mahavir. one of his most persistent critics, has put on "permanent international re-cord, the fraudulent research claims of Dr M. S. Swaminathan."

ACHAL MEHRA, Delhi

A unique veteran returns

INDER KUMAR GUJRAL, who, I for a political appointee, has per formed the unique feat of representing four successive governments, will finally retire as our ambassador to the USSR later this year. Sent by Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1975 as ambassador with Cabinet rank, he retained both his job and his rank under the Morarii Desai. Charan Singh and the new Mrs

Gandhi governments.

Beginning his political life as an activist of all leftist All-India Students Federation, Mr Gujral went up the various rungs of the ladder to become the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting when Emergency was declared. He could not last very long there; he was shifted to the less arduous job of Minister for Planning before Mrs Gandhi sent him to Moscow as the right man to replace the highly successful D. P. Dhar, who had unfortunately passed away in early June., 1975.

Mr Guiral's success in his new ob can be measured by the fact

that so government wanted to change like. And he is leaving his post in Moscow only beckuse he is due to retire in the normal course. Mr Guirakwas one of those political appointeds whose status was pro-tected by the designation of a Cabinet rank. Before him D. P. Phar too had this status. But with his departure, there may not be any more ambassadors with such a status. Recent key appointments, for instance, of Mr V. M. Syed Mohammad High Commissioner in London and Gardial Singh Dhillon (High Commissioner in Ottawa)

dia. Both are former Ministers, and Mr Dhillon has also been the Speaker of the Lor Sabha. The Laure government had applicated two envoys with Calling rank. Mr N. L. Gorey in London and Mr Nant Pak

have not been given Cabinet status, and have only got the due rank of a secretary of the Government of in-

khivala in Washington (both, being political appointees, sent in their resignations when the political fortunes of their mentors took a nosedive).

Our new ambassador in Washington, Mr K. R. Narayanan has also been given a secretary's rank, A retired foreign service officer. Mr. Narayanan was the secretary (east) in the External Affairs Ministry before being sent to China as our ambassador in 1976. He had retired from there to join the Jawaharlai Nehru University. from where he was asked to return to the job of representing our country. Our envoy in Bonn, Professor A. M. Khusro, too enjoys a secretary's rank: there are nine other IFS officers in that rank at the moment. Three of them are posted at headquarters in Delhi: foreign secretary R. D. Sathe, secretary (east) Eric Gonsalves and secretary teconomic relations) Ramesh Bhandari, h addition our ambassadors in these cities have the privilege: M. K. Rasgotra in Paris: V. K. Ahuja in Tokyo: Gurbachan Singh in Bernet. Mrs. Rukmini Menon in Lagor: Miss. C. B. Murhanama at The Hagus and K. C. Delel in Vienna

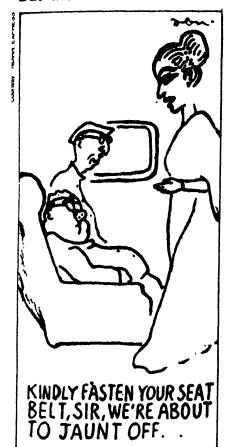
K. C. Dalai in Vienna.

There has been an old problems about non-IFS people being smide umbassadors, particularly in the sensitive or glamorous gapitals of the world IFS personalities withous any training in the area of diskers. any training to the arts of diploma a up by a non-IFS person means one post less available for the regular, cadre. Perhaps it was this that has prompted senior officials in the prompted senior officials in the foreign service to suggest the name of Mr Victime Akuja for the introcurant job in Mescow Mr Akuja cufrently in Tokyo, is senior entight, has had experience in our Moscosi this pin and admits the star Marchy.

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A costly jaunt

But the VIPs needed "education"



K Advani, the BJP MP was on the Inaugural flight which left Bombay on 6 September for Osaka, Kobe, Kyoto, Tokyo and Hong Kong. The Boeing 747 flight was an inaugural one and left Bombay nine months after it had started operating Flight AI-309 had a host of VIPs on board-Ministers, MPs, officials and newsmen, all tiying to Japan and Hong Kong, as invitees of Air India The Ministers on the flight were A. P. Sharma, Minister for Toursim and Civil Aviation and Bhishma Narain Singh, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs. Among the 34 MPs, most of them from the Congress(I), were Pattabhi Rama Rao, Shiv Prasad Sahu, D. P. Jadeja and Mohammad Yusuf. Among the many MPs who tepresented the other Parties other than Mr L. K. Advani were: D. P. Yadav (Congress-U), M. Soundarajan (AlaDMK), Chhotey Singh Yadav (Lok Dal) and Dr Farookh Abdullah (National Conference).

The flight had become controversial even before it left. First, under the International Air Transport Association (IATA) rules an airline is allowed to host such a tour provided it is an inaugral flight undertaken within six months of starting the flight. Air India, however, had started the flight nine months ago. An Air India official ex-

plained "We have special permission to undertake this flight from the IATA. So it is not that we have gone against the rules It is a perfectly legitimate flight"

The second point of controversy centres around the cost involved The Prime Minister had recently issued a statement urging economy in government expenditure The cost of the trip was about Rs 50 crores. "Could Air India afford to undertake this trip?" said an Air India official who chose to remain anonymous. "We are an international airline and we have to compete with other airlines. We see it more from the point of view of business . publicity is extremely important for us, and in this field where an aircraft involves a vast sum of money. It is only natural that in any gimmick we adopt, the cost will also be proportionately more. So the cost cannot be seen out of context. The trip might involve an expense of lakhs of rupees but if it is studied then one sees that is not so expensive. It has to be done. Besides, it is education for the people and we also want to buy goodwill.

But, defending the inclusion of MPs on the controversial flight, the same official said: "People fail to realise that we are doing business. MPs have considerable power and can influence decision So it is only right for us to have included them Again we included MPs literally, from all Parties. It is true that the list of invitees has led to some heartburning, but Air India did not prepare the list. It was made by the Ministry. All we did was to organise the trip—see that people got on board and got off."

A rude surprise awaited the group when they returned to India two days before their arrival, the Bombay High Court admitted a writ petition by Madhu Mehta and Anupam Mehta against Air India and the Union of India making it obligatory for the invitees on the flight to pay their fares and expenses. Said Mr Muthukumaran (Congress-I), one of the group "I don't understand why this trip has become the centre of such a controversy...Of course, when I heard about it (the writ petition), I did not get excited, nor did the other passengers. I suppose one must accept such things. Besides, those who went on the trip thought it necessary and educative It helped us to see the functioning of other airlines and find out how other people in other countries live. In Japan, we even travelled by the bullet train.

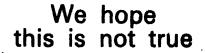
Besides sightseeing and education, much else was involved. As the Boeing taxied down Delhi airport at 2.10 am on 12 September, little did the Customs officials realise the amount of work that was in store for them. One VIP carrying two video units, a TV and

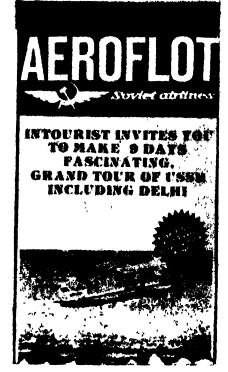
a two-in-one tried to brush past the Customs enclosure, and was curtly stopped. There were others too, with similar merchandise. How did they get to buy these articles in the first place? The invitees, whose boarding and lodging were paid for, were entitled to only incidental allowances in foreign exchange, and obviously exceeded their budgets.

Airline's authorities, however, explain the controversy differently. "This is a routine affair. It just so happens that some journalists who were not included in the trip are being plainly malicious..." retorted an Air India official.

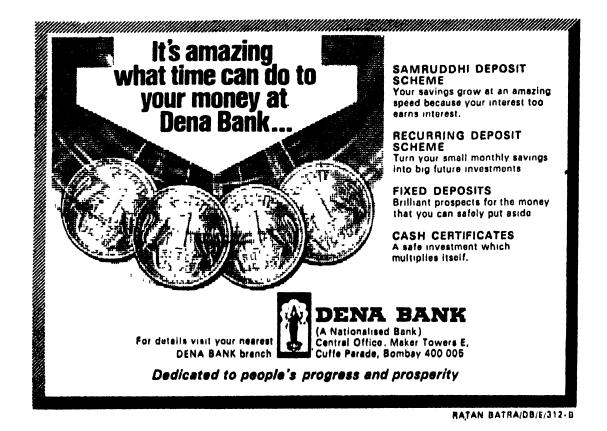
Incidentally, three separate groups unconnected with the controversial trip had left the country to study the progress made by our foreign missions in the use of Hindi and about a quarter of these VIPs did not themselves have a working knowledge of Hindi.

SAUMITRA BANERJEE. Delhi





We mean, we hope that this is only a mistake in language made by the marketing department of Aeroflot (the Soviet airline) and not a prescient image of the future. The last thing we would like to see is Delhi on the itinerary of a "grand tour of USSR", no matter how many T-shirts we got in return. We found this advertisement in the Far Eastern Economic Review, in Derek Davies' column, Travellers' Tales. He had seen the advertisement in the Malaysian newspaper, The Star.



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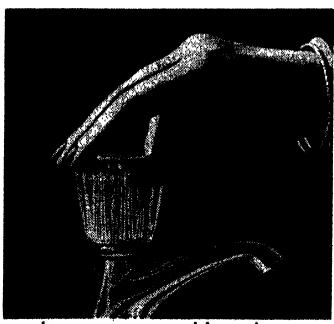
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Filmmakers: a shackled lot

HE government of India's promised bill to amend the Cinematograph Act, 1952 should be judged not so much by the extent to which it enables liberal guidelines to be framed under it but whether it at all fulfils the assurances given by the government to the Supreme Court ten years ago to set up an independent tribunal to hear appeals against the censors' orders. The travails of Mr K. A. Abbas over his film Naxalites provide one more illustration of the need for such a tribunal.

The act simply does not provide for any independent tribunal to hear appeals against the censors' verdict or against the government's ban. Against a decision of the Board of Film Censors an appeal lies to the government alone—from Caesar to Caesar. Under the act the government alone appoints members of the board. They examine and pass films for public exhibition. The board is bound to hear the applicant before refusing the certificate, directing cuts in the film, or sanctioning it for exhibition restricted to adults.

Appeals against the board's decision lie to the central government which enjoys "revisional" powers besides the appellate power. It can interfere with a matter pending before the board and pass orders. It can cancel a certificate already granted or make it one restricted for exhibition to adults only. The only restriction on these powers is that the party affected must be heard. It is an inadequate safeguard.

The act provides that a film shall not be certified for public exhibition if "it is against the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, or morality, or involves defamation or contempt of court or is likely to incite the Commission of any offence." Subject to these broad heads, the act empowers the government of India to lay down principles for the guidance of the board. A set of four "General Principles" and an elaborate code entitled "Application of General Principles" were promulgated in 1960.

These guidelines were amended on 7 January 1978 and 27 January 1979. They leave much to be desired. Among the taboos are "scenes which have the effect of justifying or glorifying drinking." The censors are asked to be vigilant lest "friendly relations with foreign States are strained" and to see that "public order is not endangered." The guidelines provide: "The board of film censors shall also ensure



By A. G. NOORANI

that the film (i) is judged in its entirety from the point of view of its overall impact and (ii) is examined in the light of contemporary standards of the country and the people to which the film relates."

In 1970 Mr K. A. Abbas challenged in the Supreme Court the validity of the guidelines as they then existed on the ground that they violated his fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression. He also urged that there must be a reasonable time limit fixed for the decision of the authorities censoring the film and that the appeal should lie to a court or to an independent tribunal and not to the central government.

The court ruled that the fundamental right to freedom of speech and expression tovered cinnematograph films. The other two points were accepted by the government. It assured the Supreme Court through the Solicitor-General that it "would set on foot legislation to effectuate them at the earliest possible opportunity." Since the petitioner felt satisfied with this assurance, the court "did not go into the matter. We express our satisfaction that the central government will cease to perform crucialfunctions through one of its Secretaries in this sensitive field involving the fundamental right of speech and expression. Experts sitting as a Tribunal and deciding matters quasi-judicially inspire more confidence than a Secretary and therefore it is better that the appeal should lie to a court or tribunal," the Supreme Court re-

This decade-old assurance must be fulfilled. It bears recalling that the court sustained the constitutional validity of the act only because of the government's assurances. In 1973 Mr Justice P. M. Mukhi of the Bombay High Court held that if the act "does not provide for a built-in safeguard in the form of an appeal to a court or a suitably qualified and independent tribunal from an order that may be passed by the Central Government under section 6 of the act, then the very absence of such a provision clearly makes the procedural provision in relation to the powers contained in section 6 of the act unreasonable."

The act was extensively amended in 1974. To the grounds for refusal of a certificate already listed was added one more: if the film "presents or is likely to present an erroneous distorted or misleading image of the social, cultural or political institutions of India or any part thereof."

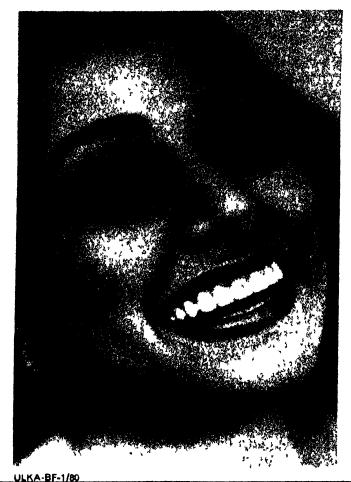
Four appellate tribunals were also provided for each zone consisting of three members—nominated from persons "familiar" with the country's institutions, or who have "special knowledge of its various regions" or of "films and their impact on society," or who have at least a decade's experience in legal service or practice.

But, despite the tribunal's decision, the government was to be free to decide as it thought fit after the mere formality of a hearing to the affected party. In doing so, it was entitled to refuse to "disclose any fact which it considers to be against public interest to disclose." Thus, the executive was to be a revisional authority over a quasi-judicial body.

body.

These amendments were to come into force on 1 July 1975. The proclamation of Emergency five days earlier induced second thoughts. The 1974 amendments were never put into effect. In May 1977, Mr L. K. Advani, the then Minister for Information and Broadcasting, said that the Janata government was examining the question of constituting an appellate tribunal. Nothing came of it, not even a notification to bring the 1974 amendments into force

Section 96 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1973 confers on "any person having any interest" in a book or newspaper against which an order of forfeiture has been made the right to apply to a special bench of at least three judges of the High Court. Such an expeditious and effective remedy should be available to the film producer as well.



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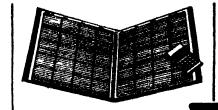


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This week the Sun, Saturn and Jupiter are conjoined in Virgo, Mars, Uranus and Mercury are conjoined in Libra, Neptune alone is in Scorpio, Ketu is in Capricorn, Rahu and Venus are in Cancer. The moon will be moving through Gemini and Cancer from Taurus.



ARIES (March 21 — April 20)This week your outlook changes completely for the better Some people might attempt to deceive you, but

your courage and enterprise will come to your rescue. You will stand to benefit from either a secret association or information or even by travel. The time is particularly favourable for business expansion and speculative investment. Let your intuitions be your guide. Good dates: 28.29 and 4. Lucky numbers. 1.3 and 9. Favourable directions. South and West.



TAURUS (April 21 — May 22)A relative will prove most helpful to you this week Yet you are advised to guard against deception

Also take care of your relationship with your employer or anyone in authority Children in particular will make good progress this week Others are advised to pursue correspondence and matrimonial negotiations. Women in general will advance your interests and even help you in your efforts. Look after your nealth Good dates 29 and 30 Lucky numbers 3 5 and 6 Favourable direction.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21) This week begins with a sudden stroke of good fortune. However the last three days may prove diffi-

cult and you are advised to guard against over-optimism and deception. You may also be threatened with a law-suit Exercise tact and forbearance. If favouring influences come your way, try and take full advantage of them. Follow your hunches and, if necessary, undertake the journey you had planned earlier God detas. 28, 30 and 1 Lucky numbers. 3, 6 and 8 Favourable direction; North-west



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) You will have several opportunities to expand professional activities and improve financial condi-

tions this week Do not antagonise your employers or those in authority Pay attention to business details A happy romance or event is also in store for you You might have to undertake a journey You may also receive a letter from a very old friend which will bring good tidings Good dates: 29, 30 and 2. Litely sumbars: 2, 4 and 8. Favourable direction: West.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) You are advised against making important changes in both personal and professional matters. Paying

heed to this, you will have a moderately good week Financially you will be content An advancement or promotion will crown you by the end of the week The time is also favourable for love and matrimonial affairs Pay attention to business details **Good sates**, 23, 28 and 29 Lucky numbers 3, 5 and 7 Favourable direction South-east



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22)This is a week of quiet and steady rather than spectacular progress You are advised

not to try and hasten matters relating to your profession or business. You will benefit from elders and property matters. A happy romance is also foreseen. Pay heed to the advice of an old friend or an elder relative. Health of a family member might be the source of anxiety to you Guard against extravagance. **Good dates** 28, 29 and 30 **Lucky numbers** 2, 3, 7 and 10 **Favourable directions**. North and South-west.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22) Professional and financial matters are not well signified this week Partners and spouses will

play an exceptionally big part in your life At least one good opportunity will come your way and you are advised to take full advantage of it Your domestic life will be happy apart from a few minor quarrels with some elder relatives. On the professional front, however, you might suffer quite a few reverses Good dates 1, 3 and 4 Lucky numbers. 2, 4 and 8 Favourable directions: South and West



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21)You will make steady and occasionally rapid progress this week You will gain from property

or insurance matters or at least have the opportunity to do so Love and domestic affairs are also well signified. You are advised to conserve your gains, push your activities to the utmost and depend, to a certain extent, on your intuitions. Check your emotions Good dates: 28, 2 and 4 Lucky numbers: 4, 7 and 10 Favourable direction: North-west.



SAGITTARIUS (November 22

— December 22)This week
your prospects are excellent, provided you follow
the advice of elders Your

energy and enterprise will take you far But you are advised to exercise tact in property matters and affairs related to members of the fairer sex. A happy romance or domestic event will bring you lasting joy. An important new friendship will develop **Good dates**: 29, 1 and 2 Lucky numbers: 2 9 and 11 Favourable direction: South



CAPRICORN (December 23 — January 20) After a minor setback in professional and financial affairs, you will be crowned with success to-

wards the end of this week Your problems will gradually cease to worry you Give due importance to professional details Keep a close watch on your purse and avoid extravagance Your domestic front will be happy Conserve your energies and resources for the weeks ahead Good dates 1 2 and 4 Lucky numbers 3, 6 and 9 Favourable direction West



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19) Your business will continue to prosper this week However your domestic front will not be

too happy You will face opposition from elders. Handle sticky situations with tact and reasoning. Keep up your correspondence with friends and business partners. If possible, postpone plans for drastic changes in both domestic and professional life. Children will prove a great source of joy to you. Good dates. 28, 3 and 4. Lucky numbers. 1, 10 and 11. Favourable direction: North-west.



PISCES (February 20 — March 20)This is a good week for you Business and financial affairs make steady progress Your

prospects are very favourable. You will gain through a secret matter or information. You are advised to please your employers or those in authority. Love and domestic bliss are also well signified. You might have to undertake an unexpected journey. Good dates 29 and 3. Lusty numbers: 7 and 8. Favourable directions: East and North

M. B. RAMAN

THE WORLD

Good, hard work

Indians abroad continue to make waves wherever they may be The latest is a scientist in USA's General Motors Dr M S Rashid, a Velloreborn metallurgical scientist working in the research department of the company His has been an unique achievement, and the company has acknowledged it not merely privately but also in a special advertising campaign which was printed in exclusive media like the New York Review of Books

American car manufacturers, worried by energy crisis, in search of cars which will



give better mileage per gal-lon, have been in search of a more malleable steel which could enable them to design lighter cars without sacrificing size. Dr Rashid has discovered the GM980X, or the "wonder steel". The metal has the same strength as highstrength low-alloy steels, but has more ductility General Motors has hailed this as a major breakthrough in steel technology. And Dr Rashid will continue his work in this field. "We're hard at work to find an even stronger and more ductile steel to meet the needs of the future

Disturbing frequency

On 20 August when the Polish strike was beginning to reach a climax, western broadcasts to the Soviet Un ton were suddenly jammed The BBC's Russian service VOA, Washington D C and Deutsche Welle Cologne sut tered heavy and continuous jamming by a combination of low powered and longdistance transmitters—an operation that is costing the USSR £ 60 million a year. The jamming consists in putting out domestic Soviet broadcasts on or nearly on the same frequencies to create what western engineers call "fog"---disturbance enough to make the stations unintelligible But results, as one of the BBC's pop music listeners in Russia proved, are never cent per cent. The enthusiastic listener telephoned the BBC when the music programme was on the air to say he was getting them loud and clear

Cowslaughter banned—in Egypt

Actually, not only cows, but all livestock President Anwar Sadat banned the sale of fresh and frozen meat in his Muslim country early this month in anger against the traders who had taken meat prices to what he thought were extreme heights, he called it a "criminal" increase. It sounds a thoroughly novel kind of economics, a step up from Marie Antoinette's ifthey-can't-get-bread-let-themeat-cake solution to the world's problems If they can't afford meat, let's stop its sale by executive order The impact of this decision has not been adverse for Mr Sadat Egypt's poor, who could not see a piece of meat on their plates in any case, a quite happy that the rich will also have to survive on vegetables for a while.

Now would Mrs Gandhi like to know how to bring down the prices of sugar?



A pilot venture

When the Japanese decide to develop an industry with national zeal watch out And watching out is precisely what American and European aerospace industries are doing after Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Miti) set its eves on aeroplanes—something it has never tried before. Already the Americans—once un assailable giants in the field with McDonnel Douglas in the piston-engined era and Boeing in the jet age—look like they are slipping

Europe's Aerospace Industrie was second place to Boeing in sales orders for widebodied arricraft in 1979, and the Japanese are being courted with collaboration-proposals galore-from Boeing the French Dassault, European Aerospace Industrie and the Dutch Lokker Considering that the American aerospace industry depends almost wholly on private tinance, unlike officially financed Euro pean and Japanese industries, it has obvious limitations-that might cost it deal.

Strong sex

Women are not weak, physically at least. Not our views but Dr Elizabeth Ferris The weaker sex were generally considered to be so because of cultural and social restrictions placed on women before puberty There was also the other reason a comparison is always made between "relatively active males and relatively sedentary females" In fact, the recent Olympics have proved that women's records in swimming and running were being created at a much faster pace than men.

Briefly

Zia (West)

Pakistan, under the great and glorious leadership of Fundamentalist Zia-ul-Haq, continues its march towards authoritarian brutality Perhaps bored now by flogging (which was once treated as a public spectacle), and searching for gorier methods of entertainment, General Zia has ordered that thieves will have their hands cut. Zulfigar Alı Bhutto's daughter Benazir, undergoing her test of will and commitment at the moment, has called Zia's government not merely treacherous, but has also accused it of giving Islam a bad name by its misdeeds in the name of Islam. It is a credible charge

Zia (East)

While the Pakistani Press. ignoring the beam in its own eve, has been hysterically pointing at the mote in India's, the Bangladeshi Press has behaved with remarkable restraint in its coverage of Moradabad and related disturb-ances The point of course is that the Press in both the countries is controlled by the government, and the piper's tune is clearly audible in the columns of the newspapers The initial dispatches on Moradabad were censored to the bone in Bangladesh by the government, and later reporting too kept nastiness to the minimum Does this mean something? Yes, it means something

Gang war

Why is the trial of China's Gang of Four, led by the late Mao's wife Jiang Qing (formerly written Chiang Ching) being delayed? The Chinese authorities are nervous about what the lady, once one of the most powerful persons in China, will say for the record. Ideally, the present authorities would like her to give some evidence which would help the present administration further chip away at the reputation of the founder of modern China, but his wife not merely threatens to remain loyal to her husband and his ideology, but also to severely lash out at the present government. Government like cooperative witnesses.

1 15

LIVING

Funny business

Among other things, Bangaore boasts of a Humour Club d well The purpose of this club is to relieve its members of the pressing problems of everyday life. Ihis year on Independence Day, Humour Club organised a two hour long session of tomfoolery to celebrate the occasion. The star performer that evening was Vikatan Ganeshan who is better known in Bangalore as the 'man with 6,000 voices" Vikatan mesmerised the audi ence with his 'stereophonic' sounds Then there was the meredible cop-D H Rajan of Bangalore's police force-who presented the mukha seena (music of the nose) with the help of popular filmi tunes There were a host of other tokers as well. But the only item which was relevant to the occasion was a speech on (andhiji's honesty by a tour year old girl And that of course wasn't funny

Homecoming

The Ivory Merchant team is planning a celluloid thril let And the news has leaked out. The film will be set in British India the lead players according to sources close to the producers, will be Amitibh Bachchan and (believe it or not) Julie Christie Julie thristic is not quite unfamilit with British India She was to in the Chukua (Assam) in 11—the time of the Indeudence movement The Iver Merchant film is expected to be launched in 1982.

Amin Choudhury claims to be the first Indian to have made a full length feature film—Kashish— in the USA And that is not his only achievement After 23 years in the USA, Amin now figures in Marqui's Who's Who and a host of other directories, having served as editor, cameraman and director in as many as 15 feature films and documentaries Plus he has made a number of ad films for such blue-chip companies as Matsasushita, Gillette and Datsun If Amin's credentials are not strikingly similar to Krishna Shah's, both of them at least have international

Nocturnal act



The Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA), after much intra-rivalry (Sunday, 4 May) has finally managed a face saving production Sufaid Kundali, which opened at the Prithvi Theatre Workshop in Bombay recently, is the Hindi version of Brecht's Caucasian Chalk Circle Directed by M S Sathyu, the play also marks the return of Shabana Azmı into the ranks of IPTA According to Sheela Barse, Sufaid Kundalı has been a big hit in the city On 1-September—the day of its sixth show—the demand for tickets was so great that after completing one performance at 11 30 pm, the IPTA people decided on a second show So, an hour later, the curtains were raised again The midnight performance ended at 3 am and was withessed by a capacity house

The marathon man

Peter brancis Montes (91) is perhaps the world's oldest tennis player And he still plays the game at the lawns of Agra's Company Bagh Montes, a former chief super intendent of Felegraphs, was born on 18 March, 1888, in Jabalpur, where his father was employed as an engine driver in the Railways

King Gustaav, the fifth king of Sweden—which is also, the home of King Bjorn Borg—was as much in love with tennis as Peter Montes But Gustaav played the game only till the age of 90 Montes has thus surpassed the king's record And in doing so he now has some of the most fascinating memories the encounters with the then tennis queen.

Elizabeth Ryan, and with such luminaries as Big Tilden, Bunny Austin, Jean Borotra and Henri Cochet—all the matches being played in Agra where the celebrities had come to see the Taj In 1936, at the age of 48, Montes bag ged the singles' title at the Agra Open He still remem bers his success with pride After retiring in 1943, Montes-like many other Anglo-Indians-chose to mi grate to England But soon he was back in India, unable to adjust to alien conditions He now lives with his second wife in a decaying portion of the Queen Empress Library in Agra He is keen to play the game till his 100th year and, after that, in heaven



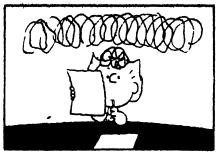
Yankee doodle

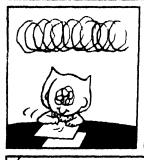


indencies Yet Amin's opin of Shah is far from com-ientary "I started on "limentary "I started on Kashish long before Shah made all that noise about Shalunar Shah believed that Indian audiences were dumb and would see any film which was splashed in the media," Amin told Ashish Rajadhyaksha in Bombay recently Kashish, according to Amin, is the first Indian film with "a genuine mix between the art and the commercial" It deals with the problems of Indians in the USA and stars the local Bombay flop, Navin Nischol, and an unknown US actress, Chris MacLeod

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BUXAR. A title suit has been filed in the court of Second Munsif, Buxar, against Rohtash Industries, Dalmianagar to restrain the defendent Rohtash Industries not to paste the photo of Hanumanjee on the tin of Hanuman Vanaspati Mr Kashinath Mishra, TTE, Buxar, who has filed the title suit said that he was worshipper of Hanuman. The tin containing Vanaspati was used afterwards in various filthy works, he added—The Indian Nation (Surya Deo, Patna)

HARDOI A dispute over the parentage of an infant here has literally left the local hospital authorities holding the baby It all started when Mrs Maya Devi of Tondona village, near here, gave birth to a daughter on August 28 in the espital She reported to the police that her child was missing. Police investiga-tions revealed that Mrs Bala Devi Gupta. admitted to the same hospital on August 31 allegedly with labour pains, had disappeared. The police raided Bala Devi's house and recovered a baby which, she claimed, was hers even as the hospital authorities maintained that she was not even pregnant. The child was later handed over to the hospital authorities and the dispute goes on with both the women claiming the child-The Times of India (N Gopalkrishnan, Jabalpur)

BANGALORE. The fear of monkey and mosquito menace led to the cancellation of the proposed two-day weekend stay of the Commonwealth heads of government in Mysore. The dignitaries were scheduled to stay at the famous Lalit Mahal Palace hotel for informal parleys. The Karnataka Chief Minister, Mr R. Gundu Rao, told newsmen that the stay

was cancelled "because of the fear of mosquito and monkey menace at the hotel." Mr Gundu Rao cited an incident of a monkey sneaking into the suite of the Singapore Prime Minister at the hotel sometime ago. The state government had promised full security and other measures, but this was not enough, the Chief Minister added—The Indian Express (Arivind Sand, Calcutta)

SHAHABAD: Hajappa Dawalappa had reason to remember the fable of the Good Samaritan on his way home. Alighting from the Poona-Raichur passenger train he slipped in the rain and fell into a ditch, breaking his leg in the process. Over a dozen people passed but none heeded his call for help. Half an hour later two lepers on their way home heard him and went to his aid. Although their deformed limbs prevented them from lifting him easily they took him to their hut and sheltered the unconscious Dawalappa through the night The next morning Dawalappa was surprised at his surroundings upon which the helpful lepers told him how he got there. They then carried him to the railway station on their shoulders. At the station Dawalappa's friends were grateful to find him safe but took him to the Government Hospital at Gulbarga with a mere word of thanks to the lepers-The Indian Express (Prabhakar Pattar, Bangalore)

MADRAS. The Education Minister, Mr C. Aranganayagam, said that he noticed liquor being sold in a corner of a corporation school building in the city during his visit to a school The Minister, who disclosed this while distribut. ing the prizes to the best students of the corporation schools for their performance in the SSLC and XII standard examination, urged the parents and residents of the areas in which corporation schools were located to be vigilant about such misuse of school premises by anti-social elements If the parents and residents were vigilant it would not be necessary to have watchmen for corporation schools He pointed out that watchmen were reluctant to work in schools located in remote areas because they were afraid of anti-social elements—The Hindu (B. K Laldas, Madras)

idia abroad

LONDON. Immigrant organisations in the United Kingdom are demanding the right to be taught in mother tongue. The demand was first raised and has been carried on by Mrs Ranjana Ash, daughter of the late professor Siddhant of Lucknow University. She has succeeded in getting all prominent immigrant

organisations' support The organisations have decided that Mr Syed Mohammad, the newly designated High Commissioner of India will be welcomed here next month with a performance of a Hindi play. A playwright from Delhi is already here for the purpose—The Hindustan Times

I am duty-bound to reunite the opposition Parties which once constituted the Janata—Raj Narain

I have always championed the cause of good men being in politics and Rajiv Gandhi is welcome as long as he remains good—Piloo Mody

We have been fighting among ourselves It is not unusual in an organisation in which people with divergent views are active—Kamlapati Tripathi in *India Today*

Merely because some Marxist Ministers are in power does not mean that the bureaucrats will change their ways ... I don't think that corruption in West Bengal is any less than what is prevalent in most other states—Ashok Mitra, West Bengal Finance Minister interviewed in Business India

Its (Lok Sabha's) performance is so jaunty that it evokes little respect. The people have come to associate it more with noise than work—Kuldip Nayar

I am the most vocal member in Parliament—Maniram Bagri, Lok Dal MP

The opposition creates trouble in the House only because they want to be noticed by the Press-Madhavarao Scindia, MP, quoted in Surya

I know that it is difficult to get laurels from the Press—Agriculture Minister Rao Birendra Singh

We have become a land of fanatics. It has become fun to kill people—Vijayalakshm Pandit

Some youth who have communal and casteist attitudes have joined it (the police force)—Zail Singh.

When Mrs Gandhi saw it (the TV film on Moradabad)—chopped, reedited and screened—the pig had disappeared and she reportedly remarked: "Where is the pig?"—The Indian Express

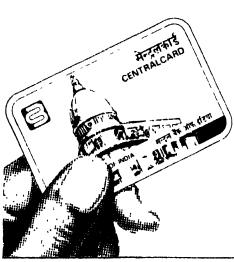
It won't be no contest. It won't be close. I'll eat him (Larry Holmes) up, chew him up and spit him out—Muhammad Ali

As a man, I might not crush my wife's talent because I respect the artiste in her. But as a husband, I would definitely emphasise that she has to be a housewife—Gulzar interviewed in Super

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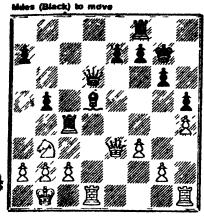
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chess



Tseshkovsky (White)

The Dragon is still alive and kicking No suggestion that St George didn t do his job properly merely a comment on one of the sharpest and most controversial variations of the Sicilian Defence. It has over the years had its theoretical ups and downs but with a little loyalty and a lot of help (sometimes seeming to border upon artificial resuscita tion) champions of the Dragon's cause such as Miles Mestel and Sosonko have man aged to pull the poor beast out of some larly tight situations. So nowadays the defence is not only lively sharp and aggressive but also playable. Playable that is unless Karpov happens to be sitting on the other side of the board. The world champ-ion has accumulated a terrific score from the white side of this opening, punishing inybody and everybody who dares to play it against him. But Karpov apart the Dragon has been scoring well against strong opposition of late and Tony Miles used it to particularly good effect in the Interzonal.

Dragon enthusiasts will therefore be pleased to know that Tony in collaboration with the young American player Eric Moskow has produced the Sicilian Dragon Yugoelav Attack (Batsford £6 95 paper bark £4 95) in the Batsford algebraic chess openings series Obviously a theoretical treatise on a specialist opening co written by a if not the world expert on that line will have great attraction for anybody interested in Dragon theory Moreover it is for an openings book unusually readable

I give one of Miles s most recent succes ses with the Dragon an excellent advertise ment for the opening White Tseshkovsky Black Miles

White Isestikuvany
Riga 1979

1 P-K4 P-QB4, 2 N-KB3, P-Q3, 3
P-Q4, PxP, 4 NxP, N-KB3, 5 N-QB3, P-KN3 6 B-K3, B-N2, 7 P-B3, O-O, 8 O-Q2, N-B3, 9 B-QB4, B-Q2, 10
P-KR4, R-B1, 11 B-N3, P-KR4!? This

the Miles/Mestel speciality preventing the Miles/Mestel speciality preventing the white sacrifice with P-R5 12 O-O-O, N-K4, 13 K-N1 A safe positional continuation The most critical move here is 13 B-N5 13 , N-B5, 14 Bx N, R x B, 15 N-N3, Q-B2, 16 B-Q4, B-B3 Theory in its infinite. infinite wisdom recommends this as stronger than 16 B-K3 but I must Confess that the latter looks more plausible
17 Q—K2, P—QN4, 18 P—K5, N—Q4!
Stronger than 18 PxP 19 BxP Stronger than 18 PxP 19 BxP followed by N Q2 when the black rook

would be in difficulties

18 PxP, QxP; 20. NxN, BxN; 21 BxB,
KxB, 22 Q-K3 Eyeing the QRP but is it a
good pawn to eye? (DIAGRAM)

22. ___P-K3! 23. QxRP, R-R5, 24 . P.K3! 23. Q x RP, R-R5, 24

Q--K3, KR--QR1, 25 P--QR3, Q--N6, It is easy to forget that White also has kingside

Weathresses 26 M—B5, RxKRP, 27 RxR, QxR, 28 N—Q7, R—Q1, 29 Q—K5, K—R3! The Black king is very safe here 30 P—KB4, BxP, 31 R—Q2, B—B3, 32

-B5, P—B3, Of course not the immediate RxR?? 33 Q—R8 mate Q—K3, CxR, 34 QxR, Q—R6, Re signs A little early you may think but after the forced exchange of queens (35 K-R2 O-Q4+) Black's kingside pawns are quite instoppable. A deceptively simple game

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge



Alan Sontag's book Power Precision (Faber £6 50) has an excellent formula the author describes his fortunes from round to round when winning the Cavendish Invitation Pairs linking the narrative to chapters

on the Precision system

The personality writing, as Sontag describes the opponents who come to his table is hirst-class. All who know Britain s Irving Rose will recognise the quality of this line irving is impish street smart, looks like Howdy Doody

This is how Sontag describes a pert-score deal from the second session

| Deale: East N–S vulnerable | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|---|---------|--|--|--|
| ▲ A 109742 | N | | Q J 8 6 | | | |
| ♥ K 3 | WE | | Q964 | | | |
| • 9 7 | ์ ร | | A J 10 | | | |
| 4 Q 10 5 | | + | 8 3 | | | |
| | J 10 5 | | | | | |
| | K6432 | | | | | |
| 4 | 6 A J 6 4 2 | | | | | |

| SOUTH Sontag | WEST | NORTH | EAST |
|-----------------|---------|----------|-----------|
| SURING | Woolsey | Weichsel | HOOKINSON |
| _ | | - | No |
| No | 24 | No | No |
| 2NT | No | 3 🛖 | 34 |
| No | No | No | |

My void in spades made it attractive to reopen the bidding. The choice was been doubling and going to 2NT If I had not been a passed hand I would have been forced to double because 2NT would have shown a strong hand with a stopper in spades. I elected to bid 2NT for two reasons first, I was not eager to defend Two Spades doubled, second. I wanted Pater (Weichsel) to bid one of my five-card suits 2NT asked Peter to bid a minor in addition when Robinson passed the Two Spade opening, he hitched' meaning that he hesitated This indicated to me he had a spade fit and would not allow us to buy the hand at the

"We would have made Three Clubs. They could not make Three Spades We scored about 80 IMPs on this hand. A hitch in time cost nine Sorry that was my contribution

ce at Bridge, the book that established Hugh Kelsey's reputation, has been added to the list of Faber Paperbacks

TERENCE REESE

stamps



This 15-cents stamp is one of six that have been issued by the United Nations to publi cise the 1980s as the Decade for Women Two of the stamps are priced in American cents for use on mail posted at the UN headquarters in New York two are in Swiss centimes for use at the Palais des Nations Geneva and the other two are in Austrian schillings for use at the new offices in the Donaupark Vienna The stamps have been designed by Pakistani and West German artists and have been printed in England by The House of Questa Souvenir cards repro ducing the stamp designs and the usual first day covers have also been prepared C W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- What is the Venus necklace?
- 2 What were the laws of Eshunna?
- How is caramel obtained?
- What is a clepsydra or water clock?
- What is rurare?
- 6 Who was the first physician who distinguished measles from smallpox?
- 7 Where would you find vitreous humor?
- 8 What would you be doing if you were murmuring a judge?
- 9 In which sport would the egg position be adopted?
- 10 What is Start Point?

Dadmouth England

ot a place near 10 It is the name

6 In Alpine sking

ferm was prevalent in old Scots law 8 Stander or defame the judge. The

1 in the eye it is a felly like substance Zakariyya al Hazi or Hhazes (860 925) 6 A Persian Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn ican Indian hunters

5 Arrow poison used by South Amer in order to measure the passing of time of water from a storage tank is monitored 4 An instrument in which the discharge little water

3 By heating sugar to 180 C with a Rayhdad with Babylonian laws

2 Legal rules on two tablets found near Hormosita banksii

I it is a seaweed The Latin name is

VIRWERS



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NOT A PASSPORT

A II W young men walked into the Vigy in Bhayan annexe and deman ded passes from the Press facilities so from to cover the regional meet ing of Commonwealth heads of gov ernment. The officer asked them where they were from "Journalist wing of the Young Congress" they said Were they accredited to the Go erument of India, the officer inquired. We are from the ruling Party they replied Their tone appeared to indicate that the offic er had no business to ask such questions. He politely told them he had no powers to issue passes and asked the young men to see his superior who in turn sent them to the external affairs people. What the latter told them, one doesn't know but the young men did not get their passes. Apparently, mem bership of the Youth Congress does not always become a passport

FREE PUBLICITY

THE Delhi police under commis sioner Pritam Singh Bhinder seem to be bent on needling the prolok Dil weekly Aslı Bharat, whose copies were seized last month be cause the journal had published a photograph of pigs sniffing at corp ses which were still lying around 48 hours after the Moradabad riots Not satisfied with one raid and seizurc, Mr Bhinder's force is now scarching almost every newspaper vendor's stock for copies of the proscribed issue of the journal This after subsequent issues have come out. In the process, even those who did not know of Asli Bharat have come to know of it Sometimes cops do turn good Samaritans, though unwittingly it seems

GUIDANCE DENIED

ONE of the first things the Vish wanath Pratap Singh Ministry in Uttar Pradesh did soon after the Moradabad riots to ease communal tension was to scrap the enquiry panel headed by a retired chief justice of Allahabad High Court, Mr Verma which was going into the causes of the Aligarh riots of November, 1978 Would it not have been better for the enquiry to be completed and firm steps taken, on the basis of the report, to curb communal violence in Aligarh in the future? Violence in fact flared up again in Aligarh on 8 September leading to the transfer of the depu commissioner and superinten dent of police



GRIHASWAMY MISSING

THE Commonwealth regional heads of government meeting, which was held in New Delhi in the first week of September, exposed the differences between various personalities and organisations While all the heads of government, who had been put up in spacious suites in the Ashok and Maurya hotels, went to Rashtrapati Bhavan to spend an informal weekend on 6 September, President Neelam San jeeva Reddy left for the Bhadkal lake (near Delhi, in Haryana) with his wife on a two-day holiday Mrs Gandhi played host to the visiting dignitaries in the official residence of Mr Reddy One wonders why the President did not play host instead

In another instance, the differ ences between the staff of the Press Information Bureau of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry and the staff of the External Publicity Division of the Foreign Ministry came to the fore While the PIB is in charge of government publicity at home, the External Publicity Division is entrusted with a similar task abroad Internal publicity for the meeting was also put under the charge of an External Publicity Division officer and this caused heart burning among the PIB staff

DEVALUED PARTY

HOW many times has the main body of the ruling Party at the centre met since the Party came to power in January? It may be hard to believe, but the Congress(I) Par liamentary Party has met only thrice since then The first meeting was held soon after the Lok Sabha elections to elect Mrs Indira Gan dhi as the leader of the C(I)PP The second meeting was held before the budget session of Parliament, in May, to discuss the Party's strategy during the session Only about 25 of the nearly 450 members (in both Houses) attended the meeting which did not even have a proper quorum The third meeting was held to condole the death of Sanjay Gandhi It is the normal practice of the Parliamentary Party of any Par ty to periodically meet and thrash out problems and chalk out the strategy of the Party on the floors of the two Houses But the Parliamentary wing of the ruling Party today does not seem to attach much importance to such meetings. Perhaps in keeping with the new mood, the posts of deputy leaders of the Party in the two Houses have this year been filled up by nominations made by the PM, and not through elections, as is the normal practice.

D E. NIZAMUDDIN





THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OF THE

27.14



V. P. Singh

UP: The troubled heart of India

XCLUSIVE!

MOUNTBAINDING

loradabad Revisited



Enjoy walking in the rain. It'll soon be over. Time to rejoice, to harvest your efforts. The golden hint of autumn.

Tempting apples. Burnished trees Cricket teams coming out to play.

And crowds invoking blessings from the god of plenty.

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VOLUME 8 ISSUE 12 RUPEE QNE AN ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION

September 28, 1980



Did Nehru have an affair with Lady Edwina, the wife of India's last viceroy Lord Mountbatten? Did this special relationship prove helpful in arranging a smooth transfer of power? We publish exclusive extracts from Mountbatten's recent biography. Mount batten. Hero of our Time which throws light on the exact r ature of Nehru's relationship with Lady Edwina and narrates how Lord Mountbatten accomplished the historic transfer of power in the subcontinent

The President has correctly is UP India's most populous inalysed the Indian situation state being misruled? Is the when he says that the rich few present V P Singh ministry are benefitting at the expense of our poverty stricken masses detailed assessment of the RANJIT SAU looks at how value current situation in the state rious classes are fighting for plus an exclusive interview more in India Page 22 with the Chief Minister Page 24

the worst UP has ever had? A

From this week put News section takes on a new look. See for yoursell, Page 34



At Moradabad the PAC continues to terrorise Muslims. Why is nobody protesting against what happened in Moradabad? Why are politicians. Sarvodayites the Gandhi Peace Foundation Cilizens for Democracy and the upholders of civil liberties so quiet, asks SYED SHAHABUDDIN Page 18

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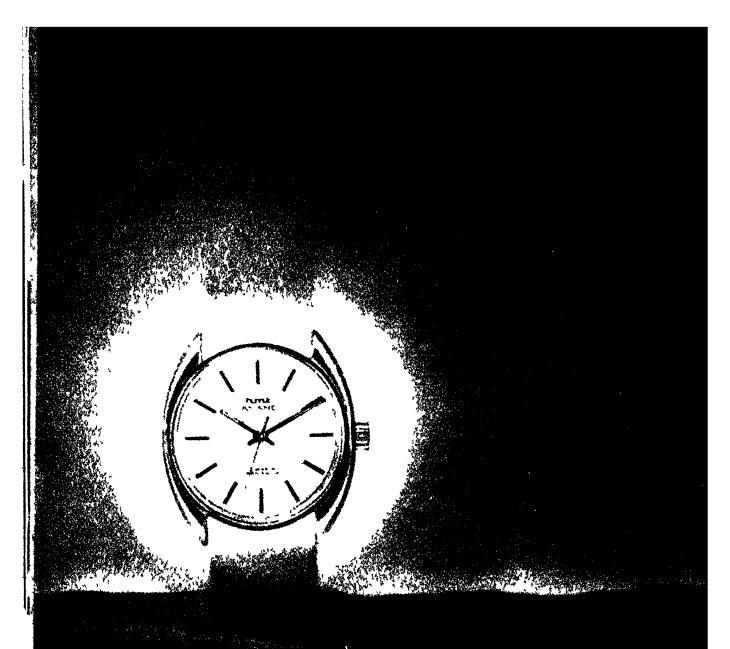
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HMT introduce The After Hours.

As the sun sets, it's time we turned to a very serious side of life: the question of taking it easy!

Lamare Feat, for the laws character in the laws of the factors operation HMI has a sometime HMI has a sometime HMI MINIOUSS.

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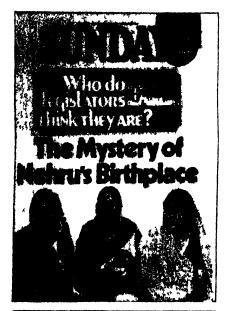
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If you've the inclination, we've the time!



of the How against a barriorn



Judge and saviour

Why did police inspector Arkhit Be hera treat the little child Nandi so barbarously ("Nandi's tale of torture," 31 August)? Justice Kunja Behari Panda took the right step by keeping the little girl in his custody and breaking the story of her plight Had he not chanced upon Nandi, the little girl would have fallen into the cruel hands of other exploiters K V Satish, Gulbarga Karnataka

A monarchy

Iread "Our callous rulers (24 August) by Chandra Shekhar It is true that "now there is little difference between a democratic rule and a personalised one in our country". The indispensable element of a democracy, a strong opposition, has been completely lost. In fact, we are more a constitutional monarchy in which the parliament is worthless," than "a secular socialist democratic republic Bishnu Prasad Dash, Cuitack

Mr Chandra Shekhar's article is moving Double standards in public life are dangerous for a country. I hanks to the machinations of so called democrats, Indian democracy is in peril. Our politicians' greed for power and office is almost inhuman.

Bhaskar, Hajipur Bihar

Room enough

Lis life was no song" (31 August) by Kishore Chatterjee is more of a comparison between the last days of Beethoven and Debabtata (George) Bis was The author frequently uses the word 'dirty' to describe the room in which the uncrowned king of Rabindrasangeet lived I had been to Georgeda'sone room flat on Rashbehari Avenue a couple of times, but never found it dirty or suffocating, although it was stacked with books, files, medicines etc. Pradip Choudhurs, Durgapur

Dishonourable members

Congratulations for publishing Mr Arun Shourie's explanation to the speaker of the Lok Sabha in response to the contempt charge against him ("Who do legislators think they are?" 31 August) As far as insults to the dignity and honour of Parliament and legislatures are concerned, MPs and MLAs are the worst oftenders Switching loyalties, hurling abuses and coming to blows with each other taking bribes and betraying voters' trust damages their reputation far more than any journalistic expose Legislators do not deserve any privileges unless they are true to their oaths

E P Menon, Bangalore

Mr Shourie presented a correct picture of our legislators and did a grand job of bringing to light their actions and attitudes

R Ranjan Asansol

The article is an eye opener to all citizens of India who blindly cast their votes in elections

M K Chattery, Calcutta

Any worthy citizen of India who has read Mr Shourie's article in the Indian Express (28 July 1980) "A furore a day" would have been ashamed to learn about the disorderly conduct of our legislators Instead of calling for a contempt notice against Mr Shourie Mr Arif Mohammad Khan should reform fellow legislators K R Krishnan, Bangalore

According to Harold Laski "A House that is in a continuous frenzy of excite ment is a House that is in a succession of crises, that is usually the index to the government in office that is on its way to the grave "Actually Parliamentary debates possess enormous importance What is written and said about them helps the voter to form an opinion about his representatives

M Atyab Siddiqui, Delhi

The media deserve an encouraging pat on the back for exposing the comic behaviour of legislators. Instead, Parlia mentarians charge the Press with "negative reporting."

J M Nair, Trichur, Kerala

Dirty game

If Calcutta soccer is always such a tense affair (Calcutta's deadly football madness '31 August) and if the crowds are so uncontrollable what sense is there in organising matches at the cost of precious lives, time, money and energy? Husain E. Beguwala, Bombay

I am surprised to see how fanatical Calcuttans can be about a game like soccer Ironically, though many players of both Mohun Bagan and Last Bengal change sides on the eve of every soccer season, the fans continue to blindly support their clubs

Debasish Ray, Vanvihar, Orissa

Every right thinking citizen would well come the idea of a total ban on soccer in Calcutta at least for a couple of years. Or else the three big clubs who are mainly responsible for this chaos should be banned from playing in Calcutta P. C. Bhattacharjee Bhilai

I personally believe that Dilip Palit and Bidesh Bose are not chiefly responsible for the casualties at Eden Gardens on 16 August, as they have been alleged to be It is the administration that is solely to blame, though it seldom takes responsibility for its failures and finds fault with others. Helmeted policemen at the ground were seen sitting idle, watching the game, while chaos prevailed. Also what use is there for the police if they cannot prevent spectators from entering the galleries with rods, bamboos, brick bats, crackers, iron chairs etc? Shibaprasad Dey, Calcutta

What was the police doing when a major flare-up started at 3 pm in the western stands? Why were tickets for the big match given at the Mohan Bagan ground only? Why were gate numbers 12 and 13 shut when the violence broke our in the stadium?

Prahac Guha, Chabua, Assam

Problem of choice

ECONOMICS, in spite of how Dr Sub gust), is and shall always be a matter of choices as when a housewife decides whether to buy six onions and two cab bages or four cabbages and one onion with the same amount of money Dr Swamy is being dishonest in separating choice from scarce resources by talking of economic policy as a problem of

The photographs with the cover story "The mystery of Nehru's birthplace" (Sunday, 31 August) should have been credited to "Imagemakers" and not kamal Sahai The error is regretted—Fditor

choices Only later does he refer to this problem as one arising due to scarce resources Economics is simply a question of how to make the best use of scarce resources

A K Pandya, Pyongyang, South Korea

THE late President V V Giri was reported to have said at the Arundale birth centenary celebration at Madras on 15 December 1978 that corruption has be come a common feature even among ministers and nothing could be done to check it at the government level Corruption is rampant at all levels of the administration only because the politicians who are running it are corrupt Nazir Ahmed, Bangalore

The villains: a few

Your argument that had the Muslims conspired against the police they would not have brought their children to the Idgah holds no water since I believe that all the 50 000 namazis cannot con spire against the police only a handful of communal elements started the trouble (, Raghava Rao Hyderabad

In your coverage of all riots communal otherwise, your conclusions have in citably differed from those of other newspapers and magazines. Are all others biased?

Arun K Khattri, Varanasi

Sheikh's hand

CRISIS in Kashmir' (17 August) by M. J. Akbar was timely and complete. One cannot deny that the Sheikh had some 'share" in the crisis. His speech at I al Chowk was a mere exewash

🐧 (R Purushothaman, Hyderabad

111 ASI refer to The Sheikh and cor uption (17 August) in which you have uide some observations about the dieged cases of corruption involving the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir You have also made some remarks about the Works Minister Mi G M Shah which can only be described as one sided ind unfortunate. To call Mr.G. M. Shah a disliked person' is a travesty of the ticts. Mr Shah, no doubt, is a son in law of Sheikh sahib, but he is not in politics and in the Ministry because of that He made his own contribution to the free dom struggle and has suffered imprison ment on many occasions for political cluses. Everybody in Kashmir is aware of the sacrifices of Mr Shah and the high position he has held in the Party. As such it is unjust to make insinuations against him on the ground that he happens to be son in law of Sheikh sahib Mi Shah lives in his own house, which is adjacent to Sheikh sahib's

Similarly the appointment of Mr Tariq Abdullah as Managing Director of the Tourism Corporation is no favour to him He is a young man of promise, having spent years in the west, and having acquired experience in various walks of life The State Tourism Corpora tion was in the red before his appoint ment and it was a burden on the exche quer I ver since he assumed charge of it. he has turned it into a profit carning organisation, which even his worst critics admit In the process no doubt, he had to get rid of some old deadwood and infuse fresh blood in the Corporation

About the charges of corruption igainst Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah which you have made reference to on the basis of the alleged memorandum of Mitza Afzal Beg to the Prime Minister, these are the same charges about which much hullabaloo was sought to be made during the Janata regime. These were replied to by the Chief Minister and the central government was satisfied with his replies. To level these charges again will serve no purpose They are only intended to be used as a political weapon

A G Rather, Public Relations Officer, Government of Jammu and Kashmir,

Calcutta

All men are brothers

I am religious Sikh Guru Gobind Singh taught us "Maans ki jaat sab eke pehchanbo" (Recognise the unity of the human race) Muslims have a right to air their grievances as any other Indian Why should there be discrimination against anyone? Guru Nanak taught us 'Àwal Allah noor upaya, kudrat ke saab bande ek noor te saab jag upaya, kaun bhale ko mande' (First God spread light, and everyone was born from nature. From one spot of light was created the universe. Who is good and who is bad2) The Moradabad tragedy was worse than Jalianwalla Bagh while the latter was a case of firing on a political meet ing mostly of adults, the former was a case of firing on a peaceful religious congregation which included a sizable number of innocent children

Balındar Kaur Sohr Jullundur Cantt Puniab

After reading your story, I actually broke down, unable to check my tears-and not because I am a Muslim Ahmed Sıraj Mohiuddin Farooqui, Pai bhani, Maharashtra

In spite of the atrocities on them, Muy lims were painted as the villains of Moradahad The reasons, as you have rightly said, are history and Pakistan MA Azız, Hyderabad

Most journalists reporting on Moradabad have written like PR men of the PACexcept you and Udayan Sharma in Ravivar. One famous journalist who went on a round of the city with the police was 'sorry' not to have witnessed any shooting Another discovered 'hidden hands' behind the trouble. This is the state of Indian journalism Luoz Ashrat, Bombay

Picture of protest

 ${f Y}$ our cover picture of the Muslim youth (Id. Dav of Death - 24 Au gust) with his blood snic ared face and clothes and the haunting stare of hel plessness, is a stunningly eloquent protest against the communalism that sub verts our law and order. It is also a sad commentary on the police's treatment of the docile

Joseph John Kottavam Kerala

We Indians are destroying our rich social and cultural heritige by indulging in communal riots

R B Chaudhur Bombay

We are proud to have journalists like Vijyendra Iyagi in a country where secularism is fast disappearing Hasibui Rahman Mallick Calcutta

The report indicates how detrly the authorities can publicise a police public clash as a communal riot P.K.Das Varanasi

Your report and some other reports have blasted the myth that Muslims went to the Idgah armed and opened fire on the police M A Ahad, Bhubaneswai

The barbarous, violent police attacks on innocent Muslims should put every Indian to shame K P Andavan, Salem

Lunnily, the country's ruling class has not reacted to the Moradabad incidents Amit Das, Alipuiduai, West Bengal

The secretary of the city unit of the Congress(I) rightly condemned the gov ernment for its inability to protect inno cent lives. Merely transferring officers cannot solve the problem. Where is the government that works? k k Kaul, Delhi

My heartfelt thanks to those men of the BSI and the army for their excellent service R M V N Ramakantha Rao, Bhu baneswai

That is him



B Nagi Reddy

PICTURE of the late B Narasimha Reddy the famous producer director and owner of Madras' Vauhini Studios appeared on page 36 of your 17 August rissue, wrongly captioned as "B Nagi Reddy" Mr Nagi Reddy, the former's brother, is now owner of the Vijasa and Vauhini Studios, a big time filmmaker and chairman of the Lirumala Tirupati Devasthanam trust board

T Naga Ravindia, Nellore

Rich voice

Anil Grover's tribute to Mohammad Rafi "Abhi na jao chhorh kar" (17 August) was marvellous and worth pre serving in a library Rafi's voice saw many films through to the box office V Laxman Rao, Bhilai

The more one listens to Rafi's songs, the more one feels he is alive K V Udaya Shankar Gauhati

Singers like Rafi come once in a mille nium to delight weary mortals Binov Sankar Deo, Bhubaneswar

An appropriate end to the article would have been a line from a Rafi number in Muqaddar ka Sikandar Zindagi to be wafa hai ek din thukravegi maut mehbooba hai apne saath le kar jayegi A. R. Arland, Hirakud, Orissa

Rafi was an institution in himself, he never felt the difference between reli gions and languages Jasvinder Singh, Delhi



You who carry rations for half a km-

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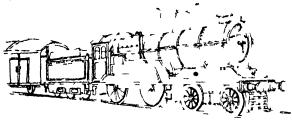
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imagine carrying grains across

| Price paid t farmer | 117 00 | Administrative overheads | 171 |
|---|--------------------|--|--------|
| Statutory and other charges like mandi purchase | | Storage handling, godown expenser, etc. | 5 92 |
| tax mandi iabour cost of gurry | | Interest on loans | 5 54 |
| bage ten polary striage etc on | | Total cost incurred by FCI | 161 05 |
| whilt (CI) has recontrol | ³ 0 r t | Cost charged by FCI from distributing agencies | 130 00 |
| Freight charges | 10 24 | CONSUMER SUBSIDY | 31 05 |





The Government

We begin a new weekly column in which we will report how the government really works.

Commerce proposes

The trade deficit for this financial year is expected to be a heavy Rs 3,000 crores, and only a serious export drive can help reduce this yawning gap. But the Union Cabinet is sitting lazily on a number of important proposals submitted by the Commerce Ministry over four months, ago to accord special facilities to export-oriented units. One of the proposals relates to the supply of duty-free imported raw materials and capital goods in order to make our exports more competitive in the international market Another proposal envisages clearance from MRTP strictures to expanding export-oriented units, so that managements do not have to run from pillar to post to get their permissions. Though exports have shown an increase in the first quarter of this financial year, 1980-81, they have fallen short of the target, partly due to the protectionist tendencies adopted by developed countries like the USA. The government of India obviously realises how important this problem is the Prime Minister herself heads a committee on exports. Unfortunately, the first meeting of this committee is yet to take place

Thank you, Gol

Sometimes the government does better publicity for a private sector firm than the latter can do for itself. This is what Haldor-Topsoe, the engineering consultant selected for the ammonia section of the Thal-Vaishet fertiliser project, discovered Word had been sent to some newspaper offices that this Danish firm would brief the press in Delhi on September 18 But on the morning of September 18 someone from the Danish embassy rang up to say that the Haldor-Topsoe executive would not be meeting newsmen as scheduled. Well, why should he? His job had already been done by the government the previous day A five-page explanation had been issued on behalf of the Petroleum, Chemicals and Fertiliser ministry about why Haldoi Topsoe and Pullmann-Kellogg (who had been made consultants for the ammonia plant at Hazira) had been chosen, overruling the earlier selection of C. F. Braun The national newspapers had already printed the explanation, and there was nothing left for Haldor-Topsoe to do except silently thank the government.

Train to Varanasi

The state of the Indian railways, it seems, isn't as healthy as its public relations officers would like us to believe. And despite the fact that its Minister-is Pandit Kamalapati Tripathi, the man who ran the trains on time during the Emergency. To begin with, the railways, whose functioning affects and reflects the state of the economy, carried three million tonnes less revenue earning traffic in the first five months of the current financial year (April to August) than it did in the corresponding period last year. Nor is that all. We learn that top railway officials are trying to keep the Railway Minister happy by either starting new trains for Varanasi, or diverting existing ones to touch that station. Varanasi 18 Mr Tripathi's hometown. Perhaps an indication of the state of the railways is available in the state of the Railway Board itself. Mr Menezes, the chairman, is on extension. Two members are on superannuation. A fourth is on sick leave. And a fifth is no longer alive.

Work to ageold rule

Eight months after coming to power, "the government that works" is making valiant efforts to show that it is serious about its election pledge. Since it is the bureaucracy which is the traditional unwilling horse two important steps have been taken to flog it to greater activity. The first step decreed by the Prime Minister is. to set aside one day in the week as a "meeting-less day" the logic being that civil servants spend too much time discussing what they will do instead of actually doing it. Further, another first step: 22-27 September was an "arrear clearance week" But this is how our mandarins worked during this week. First came the circular from the PM to the various Ministers setting out the idea. The Ministers discussed the idea with their secretaries and additional secretaries. That, the innocent would have thought, meant the end of discussions and the start of work with a bang But no Not, for example, in the Home Ministry There, an additional secretary called a meeting of joint secretaries and the latter naturally had to talk it over with the deputy secretaries. Thus were the first two days of the arrear clearance week spent in discussing the priorities

However, a list of priorities was eventually drawn up. The first place on the list went to the grievances received from the public and pending with the PM's petition officer. The petition officer while forwarding to the respective Ministries the petitions received by the PM naturally keeps a note of them. Reminders from there are no good for anybody's career. Second on the list were all pending parliamentary assurances, like questions that have not been replied to. Third on the list came matters, relating to communal harmony, complaints of atrocities on members of scheduled castes and tribes and public complaints against the police.

Painless Hindi

Rightly or wrongly the Janata government was considered to have a pro-Hindi bias. The present government, with the equal measure of support it draws from the north and the south, will probably consciously try to avoid that image; and nobody will try to construe the sending of parhamentary delegations round the world to assess the use of Hindi in Gol offices as actually doing something for Hindi. The maction-in-action is also on display to anyone entering the Press Information Bureau office in Shastri Bhavan. Up front is a notice board which has traditionally carried announcements in English informing newsmen of coming events. But a new notice board has recently been installed at the top of which 'Press Information Bureau' has been inscribed in Hindi. Presumably it will carry announcements in Hindi. But the board has been left blank for over two months.

Important "stenographer"

The long awaited Assam talks were not without their share of mystery. At the request of the agitation leaders, no officials were participating. Despite the political nature of the discussions, no member of the political department of the home ministry was present, even Mr H C. Sarin, adviser to the Assam governor, was kept out. But there was one senior officer who sat in on the talks. Mi S P. Bugla, establishment officer in the home ministry with the rank of a joint secretary. Since it was known that officials would not participate in the talks, curious pressmen asked Mr Bagla on the opening day what he was doing inside the closed room "I am attending it as a stenographer," was Mi Bagla's reply

NEHRUAND THE MOUNTBATTENS

By RICHARD HOUGH







When Lord Mountbatten came to India to arrange a smooth transfer of power, the task seemed impossible. Mountbatten's great asset was his personal rapport with Jawaharlal Nehru built up in no small measure through the strong affection Lady Edwina and Nehru had for each other, a relationship which Mountbatten never grudged. Many details of the precise nature of that relationship, allegedly an "affair", have been published in the most recent (barely weeks old) biography of India's last Viceroy and first Governor-General: Mountbatten, Hero of our Time (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, £8.50)

OT long before he died, Mountbatten said, "You can divide my life into two. During the first part of my life I was an ordinary conventional naval officer, trying not to be different in the sense of being royal, trying not to show myself off as being rich and ostentatious—like always using a small car to drive to the dockyard instead of my Rolls-Royce *Then we come to the period when I was pulled out and pushed one generation up. Dudley Pound, for instance, was twenty-four vears older and was a post-captain while I was a two-striper. From that time everything was new for me, and most of it for the first time for anyone.

"A lot of people today still think I gave away India, but .."

MOUNTBATTEN was forty-six and still looked ridiculously youthful. One morning, he was interrupted with a message from Downing Street. Please come and see me—signed Cle-



ment Attlee. It was not the first of its kind. Recently, his advice had been sought over Burma and about "the mess caused there by the Governor," as Mountbatten himself expressed it.

This time India was the main item on the agenda. With Attlee was Sir Stafford Cripps, an expert on the subject, who had recently led a mission to Delhi which had very nearly pulled off an agreement for the transfer of power. "I had kept in touch with what was going on," said Mountbatten, "and I was able to produce reasonably intelligent answers. Suddenly I began to have suspicions. We were talking about Wavell, who was having a very difficult time. I said, 'You're not by any chance talking about me relieving hay chance talking about me relieving no your life. And I'll give you my reasons. First, Wavell is a very honourable man. He may be taciturn but he's first class and if he can't succeed, no

*Not at first. This was something he learned, painfully.

one can.

"This, and all other reasons were swept away, so I started making condigions. I must choose my own staff, and there'd be a lot of them, and I'd want Wavell's too, and everyone must be allowed cars and to bring their wives. I wanted 'Pug' Ismay. I wanted complete control of the Honours List at the end, with no queries. I wanted my old York aircraft back, fitted out just as l liked it I wanted "

Was Mountbatten teasing them? Did he know that all the conditions he was likely to ask would be met? We can assume that he did. Then he tried two tough ones. First, he demanded that he could have his present appointment to the 1st Cruiser Squadron back again when he had finished in India as Viceroy, the highest appointment any British citizen could hold. Attlee said yes But Mountbatten insisted on Admiralty approval, now. So the First Lord (Lord Hall) and the First Sea Lord (Admiral Sir John Cunningham)

were called to Number 10.

Hall agreed at once. "Hey, not so fast!" said the Admiral "We had the gravest doubts about Dickie coming back after running SEAC, where he commanded fleets It was only allowed after a lot of hesitation. But to come back after being Viceroy of India—absolutely out of the question."

There was a brief pause Then Attlee spoke in his dry, sharp, eventoned voice. "I am not asking for your comments," he said to Cunningham. "I am giving you an order." After they left, there was another pause before Cripps spoke he would gladly go as Mountbatten's Chief of Staff if that would help. Mountbatten thought this a terrible idea, and that it would be read by the Indians as confirmation that Mountbatten was a mere regal figurehead. "It's very good of you, sir. But that is too great an honour," said Mountbatten.

Years later, Mountbatten insisted that he was being relentlessly cor-nered "I went on fighting." Next he brought up the King's name He would have to discuss it with him. Attlee said he had already squared George VI, and that he thought it was a marvellous idea. But, argued Mountbatten, the King had not yet heard his arguments against his appointment. The meeting broke up with nothing de-cided except that Mountbatten would see the King at once.

Mountbatten reminded George VI that there were hundreds of princely and native states The Government had treaty relations with them, the king had a special responsibility towards them. Then if there were civil war, and terrible massacres, the royal family would be directly associated, perhaps even held responsible for them, through himself, even if he was only a minor member of the royal

Mountbatten reported George VI as saying that it was precisely because of his rank that he approved, that the royal family still had a cachet in India, that Mountbatten should take a per-



Jinnah was as thin as a reed from the Ganges, narrow in face, his brown skin dry even in the hottest weather, his eyes bright and alert, missing nothing. He was a terrific dandy and displayed a wide range of perfectly cut suits, and a monocle completed the picture of some suntanned eccentric from a Michael Arlen novel.

sonal message from him to the princes. Mountbatten "You do know that the job is almost impossible?"

George VI. "It can be done."

Mountbatten "Only by a miracle. And look how bad it will be for you and the family if I fail."

George VI: "Ah, but look how good if you succeed!"

"And that was that!" said Mount-batten. "I went back to Attlee and said I thought the King was quite wrong, and produced my trump card. I asked innocently if the Secretary of State for India was above the Viceroy, and was told yes, but that he was only a spokesman for the Cabinet

"You mean I am going to have the Cabinet sitting on top of me all the time? This is ridiculous. The decisions must be mine and mine alone, on the spot "

Attlee replied, aghast, "But anything else would mean giving you plenipotentiary powers. We cannot possibly consider that."

Mountbatten claimed that at this point he rose from his chair. "For this relief, much thanks," he said, smiling. "You don't mean you're going,

Dickie?

"I'm going all right. I'm going back to the navy.

With hardly a second's pause, Attlee said, "All right, you can have plenipotentiary powers."

week after Mountbatten arrived Ain India, with a time limit of just fourteen months to hand over power, Nehru asked if by any chance Mountbatten had managed to get some spe cial dispensation. Mountbatten said

"Yes, as a matter of fact I did Why do you ask?" Nehru said, "Because you act entirely differently to any other Viceroy. You talk as if you are making the decisions.'

Between the time when the news of the appointment was made public and Mountbatten's departure, his enemies were inclined to say he had taken on the task for its grandeur and pomp, ceremonial and uniforms, and for the historical record, the great-grandson of Queen Victoria, proclaimed first Empress of India, giving away "the brightest jewel," a "socialist" viscount behaving traitorously to his class.

The statistics were truly alarming. Mountbatten was charged with securing the political freedom within a unified state of some 400 million people (one in five of the earth's population), 250 million Hindus, 90 million Moslems, 6 million Sikhs, and the rest made up of numerous sects and Buddhists and Christians and over 500 independent princes and maharajahs They spoke 23 languages and 200 dialects and were divided into some 3,000 castes, orginating in racial, trib al, occupational and territorial differences. In the past few years, millions had died of hunger and tens of thousands as a result of internecine riot. Some had fought against the Allies, many more had formed the main strength of Mountbatten's armies. Many princes and maharajahs did not welcome the end of British rule. The giant Congress Party, led by Nehru, wanted a united India within the Commonwealth. The Muslim leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, called out

from the Muslim League for a separate Pakistan The Muslims had been main ly loyal to Britain during the war and had provided by far the greater num ber of troops Congress helped to widen the division by opposing the war, and Nehru, Gandhi and some 60,000 of their followers were arrested Nothing much seemed to have changed since 1921 Mountbatten was taking on the political commit monf of a socialist Prime Minister and would be recognized everywhere as the King's cousin and representative Attlee himself "thought the odds were about six to four against success" Mountbatten's estimate of a thousand to one against seemed more realistic

Mountbatten's York aircraft took off from Northolt airport in north west London at first light on 20 March 1946 Besides Rear Admiral the Viscount and Viscountess Mountbatten and their daughter Pamela, there were on board their personal servants, Mount batten's senior ADC Lieutenant Commander Peter Howes who did so much of the hard work, and Captain 'Ronnie' Brockman, his private secret ary and for so many years before and after, sharer of private jokes, whom Mountbatten always found congenial company for lighter moments

As usual when Mountbatten travelled the luggage was prodigious in volume and quantity and even Edwina, normally the lightest of light travellers, was obliged as Vicereine to bring a wide range of possessions and clothes As on her honeymoon (and this year marked their silver wed ding), she brought with her much of her jewellery as well as a diamond tiara for the proclamation in Delhi Then there were all the documents and the two page definition of the terms of Mountbatten's mission, signed by the Prime Minister

Mountbatten had laid down a gruelling timetable for the tlight, which set the tempo he was evidently intending to sustain througout the mission, like the destroyer commander he was Most of the rest of his staff had left the previous day, at Ismay's insist ence, preterring a more relaxed flight, like the good (no, exceptional) army staff officer he was

MOUNTBATTEN's plane, because of its tight timetable, arrived only a few hours later, and the sixty three year old Field Marshal greeted his forty six year old naval successor

The next morning, Mountbatten and Edwina saw off the Wavells from the airport, an unusual and appreci ated gesture, and returned to work On 24 March, two years after Mountbat ten had taken Mandalay, he and Edwi na were sworn in as Viceroy and Vicereine, a function as grand as any swearing in ceremony, but for this last time with the single purpose of grant ing political freedom to 400 million people instead of ruling them

It was the nearest thing to a corona tion, though mercifully briefer trum pets sounding the prelude, the ADCs leading the Mountbattens, he solemn

The relationship that developed between the beautiful 45-year-old Englishwoman of such notable wealth and aristocracy, and the English-educated Hindu barrister from Allahabad had the most profound effect on the negotiations for the transfer of power.



and noble in the pale blue robe of the Grand Master of the Star of India over the full dress admiral's uniform, and wearing the dark blue ribbon of the Garter above the dazzling array of Grand Crosses, orders and decora tions, Edwina in gold brocade with her splendid tiara and more modest dis play of decorations. They moved to their thrones, cunningly lit red and gold with scarlet velvet hangings, and Sir Patrick Spens, the Lord Chief Jus tice of India administrated the oath "I Louis Francis Albert Victor Nicholas Mountbatten

Then, with the prior knowledge of only a few members of his staff, Mountbatten delivered a brief address, an unprecedented step "This is not a normal Viceroyalty on which I am embarking," Mountbatten began
"His Majesty's government are re
solved to transfer power by June
1948 I am under no illusion about the difficulty of my task I shall need the greatest goodwill of the greastest possible number, and I am asking India today for that goodwill

June 1948, fourteen months For thirty years a means acceptable to all parties had been searched for And now this young admiral told them the transfer would take place in fourteen months. The shock when the Indians

first heard this could only have beer more electric if he had added now that he had promised his family that he would be home in a year But even his staff did not know that

HE had spoken of goodwill, and it was the search for that goodwill that occupied Mountbatten's earliest days "Everything, absolutely every thing, was going to depend on personal relationships," said Mountbatten "This I had known from the beginning I knew Nehru, and there was plenty of goodwill there We liked one another and Nehru had always been one for rank and titles—a great snob and pro English, even if the English had put him in jail so often He was marvellous to look at-wonderful, very tall and handsome Above all, he and Edwina got on marvellously too That was a great help

In a country not at that time noted for the political influence of its women, the wives of those involved in the transfer negotiations played a strong part, and the leading role was, of course, played by Edwina herself, her leading man Jawaharlal Nehru, now widowed and lonely and needing

a woman in his life

Edwina charmed all the Indian leaders-and every Indian she met, for that matter, and they numbered

thousands Her blend of grace and authority, transparent kindness and in elest in everyone she spoke to, her Evident love of India and her people, played quite as big a part in the higotrations as Mountbatten himself in one formal and informal meeting

iter another

Whether in some riot-and strife mil town, the bodies lying rotting in ne streets among smashed glass and wrecked rickshaws and the litter of noting, with the temperature in the us and her hair soaking with sweat is the grieved or gave comfort, or in enctoy House, surrounded by the glit ret and riches of Imperial power, two hundred servants at her bidding, ucting with ease and charm as hostess to her guests, the Vicereine was in deed the graceful empress of the last months of British power Nothing was too much trouble for her, her patience and energy were inexhaustible, whether at home or at the numerous social occasions, from maharajahs' banquets to minor luncheon parties to which they would fly to all parts of

THL fact that a strong affair de veloped between her and Nehru, and so many people knew or suspected it in no way diminished her standing Rether the reverse, and the rela ionship that developed between the scautiful forty five year old English noman of such notable wealth and iristocracy, with a good stiffening of lewish blood in her veins, and the inglish educated. Hindu barrister 1011 Allahabad, leader of the Conuss Party and thirteen years older hin Edwina, had the most profound fict on the negotiations for the

inster of power

Gandhi, too fell under Edwina's spell and was soon calling her "my kar friend," although the nature of us love for her was utterly different iom Nehru's Gandhi was the first nget of Mountbatten's "search for roodwill" With the Mahatma on his ade he would, as he defined it, "be rill way home" "We didn't talk any business at all at our first meeting, and Mountbatten "It was just a per anal chat He was fascinated when I old him about my efforts to bring bout a meeting between him and the ince of Wales, when he was in prison n 1921 He talked about his early life, he development of his political beicfs and the non-violent independ nce movement. We were together lone for two hours, and when we ame out, the waiting reporters hought we must have been solving the litticulties of the transfer Actually, o hadn't mentioned them!"

But the one man who could drive ome the bolt and secure the lock of nited India was Jinnah "Jinnah was he Muslim League," said Mountbaten "He held the future of India in his ands. I tried the same technique with im, but it was almost impossible to farm him He had only one dream, nd that was a separate Muslim state mah was cold ("My God, he was

cold!" Mountbatten would exclaim), arrogant, vain, inflexible-all the characteristics that make negotiation virtually impossible Before a word could be said his appearance was suffi cient to depress anyone attempting to negotiate with him. He was as thin as a reed from the Ganges, narrow in face his brown skin dry even in the hottest weather, his eyes bright and alert missing nothing. He was a terrific dandy and displayed a wide range of perfectly cut suits and a monocle completed the picture of some suntanned eccentric from a Michael Arlen novel At morning meetings of Mountbatten's staff "the Dickie birds"-the subject of Jinnah was more often on the agen da than anyone else. In the end Mount batten claimed to have thawed him But everyone knew that the tempera ture change was that of one man's breath on a frosty dawn linnah was sevents, in poor health, and destined to live little longer than a year

"It was Jimpah, and the Mislim riots and massecres that convince l me of two things soon after my army al," Mountbatten said 'The first was that we had to be quick to find a solution. The second, that it was more important to be quick than to live an undivided India Government was los ing control. I decided that we had to be out not in fourteen months but in five

months

It was as if the subcontine it had been sown with politica racial time tused mines. As tast as Mountharren and Edwina sped about the country defusing them others were laid in their place. One of the worst problem areas was the North West Front cr

province On 28 April, the Mounthat tens flew to Peshawai. They were told that a crowd of Muslims rounbering around 75,000, was about to march on Covernment A use and the then mood was violent Mountbatten serced to meet and show himself to the demonstrators. At the list minute Edwina insisted on joining bitter the car The sound of chanting rising to crescendos, could be beard from a distance. The crowd was in a large park and its surrounding fields, stretching far into the distance. They eere crying "Pakistan Zindabad!" over and over again, and waving the iberal green flags of Pakistan Their numbered march was allo illegal and errain to lead to violence

The Mounthattens climbed up on to i railway embankment both of them looking informal in Chaki bush she is, and waved to the nearest or gill in the r wid the sound of their presence period like a right real fieldren. produk a ned see Godeen

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their proser see right in only
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Pungse common total roting alteach met a sir is burible as those in the so those in the proceedings two your earlier from a horrowing experience emotion to is well as physithe with temperatures up to 114

Nothing, it seemed, on I four those the happiness of August 15 with the read the thought that at this moment the man who had the contribution also fithern put together to win India her freedom fer no vall to rejoice. rather to mourn. "For Manatma Gander there was only one place to be at this moment-- in a noisome slum where he could bring a little peace and a infort where he could fast for his people's sins, and who ാ coeld mourn the India. united as well as free, for which is a like ked and prayed and schemed a iddicanied





Ine Warlis receive the Mountbattens at Palam

defices in the shade

chold do little to ease the mis admittly The indirect influence or re-dangerous and exhausting work ve confound however As soon as she required, prieved and distraught by where she had een, Mountbatten sent fer that ount her experiences to the fire ner the leader of the is and the most powerful ridio and the exhausted eved for Mother India at patten himself worked on I se anst Viceroy and admiral ocalist barrister and politician, Las with so much in common and er ally no jealousy on Mountbat " side of Nehru's relationship with in a On the contrary, he was proud ci ber tol

very show of reluctance, if it d that the only way to it it il beace and freedom for his t Acs to divide it

states a other conclusions can be I cabout this stage in Indian o powever the figures of the e 1 before and after the transnower are read, there can be no ing that it freedom for India was he ar intel in months and not years and parcition was absolutely inevita le then the Mountbattens between the a did a marvellous dual job in putcing together the new dual struc is s of powers in India

Tever 11 Mountbatten's career had I dan as uthurnce been more openliv cost Only Mountbatten himself and appreciated the extent of her my is brough a quarter century of univage, guiding him through the icky charmels of those early days in the Medic rianean, from healing the injured pride of fellow officers, to charming captains and C-in Cs, sup-I string him in those months at Com bined Ops dealing first with the monter layes, the eccentric special its and wild men that this HQ cuacted and the hard men of the carrices who disapproved of Mountbatten and all his works, above all impressing Churchill with the dipit and glitter of her mind so that the wat leader always saw Mountbatten as on half of an unique team

Nehru had capitulated A preat deal of choppy water lay ahead lut they had clawed their way off the lee shore of catastrophe "So there we were," said Mountbatten "We had all had dreams of a united India, handing over to a single government. Within weeks they were shattered and we had to make do with second best. But that was better than what I knew to be the alternative" By 3 June all seemed clear sailing There had been last minute hell from Jinnah and other problems But now the Mountbatten Plan had been agreed, and on the same day that the leaders met, Attlee announced what he claimed as com plete success to the House of Com mons

Four months earlier to the day, commenting on Mountbatten's

Nehru and Mountbatten were with so much in common, and certainly (there was) no jealousy on Mountbatien's side of Nehru's relationship with Edwina. On the contrary, he was proud of her role.

appointment the London Times pre dicted that if he orought with him no new mitiative no solution, it "may reinface he determination of the Cong' 55 Party and the Muslim League to beke no concessions to each other 12 id then under the threat of company on akdown, there would be a decision in favour of the claims of one and or the other " And now it had worl alloct exactly like that India was t ice partitioned and Jinnah had his

HINDU Inch formed the great cen Lan' are rof the subcontinent, and becau of the approximate lines of religious population distribution, Pal an war divided East and West with at any linking consider—the one ce acession finnah was forced to make This was the broad outline but there were many ragged ends, such as the provinces of Punjab and Bengal and Kasheur the legislative assemblies would acid with their future. The representatives of the Muslim districts and the others would vote separately in fevous of partition or against it, a imple majority being decisive. If the vote favoured partition then a bound ary commission would set up the fron tier line The North West Frontier, Sind and British Baluchistan would have a referendum on whether or not to join the Constituent Assembly or form their own

This was the essence of the Mount batten plan For all but a handful of veteran authorities on Indian politics,

Edwina with Gandhiji



Jinnah was cold ("My God, he was cold." Mountbatten would exclaim), arrogant, vain, inflexible—all the characteristics which make negotiation virtually impossible.

taces, religions, frontiers, hates and loves objectors were certain to be blinded by the complexity of the whole business. That, and the speed and decisiveness with which agreement had been reached, were its chief strength. Its weaknesses were to manifest themselves over decades and generations to come.

But, for the present, there were tew dissenting voices. Not only Attlee proclaimed that this was a success Millions of Hindus and Muslims regarded it as a triumph, and outside India some informed opinion and near ly all uninformed opinion considered that the Mountbatten Plan was "a good thing "But, of necessity because of the selfimposed time factor, the surgeon had no opportunity of sharpening his knife and the incisions of partition were coarse, leaving mil lions on the wrong side of boundary lines, and leaving the nawabs and rajahs, khans and maharajahs many ruling vast areas, in what Mountbatten truthfully described as "a pathetic

They still had to be dealt with "I knew some of them well, had played polo with them and they were my triends," said Mountbatten "But these were only a few out of five hundred, some of them rulers of only a small town or a few square miles, others of vast wealth controlling huge and rich treas. I saw some of them separately, and then summoned a full scale meeting of the Chamber of Princes and told.



Mountbatten with Gandhiji

them they had until 15 August to make up their minds whether they would remain independent or throw in their lot with one or other of the two new states. Some Mountbatten bullied, with others he used more subtle methods "He could," commented one observer, "not only talk the hind leg off a donkey but also the throne from under a prince"

A tremendous amount of other work remained to be done Mountbat ten had a much photographed calen dat in his office with a ring round 15 August, and every day a date would be deleted as a further emphasis of the urgency I riday 15 August 1947 was the most memorable day in Indian history, and one of the most significant in the mid twentieth century. The world's greatest imperial power was handing over voluntarily and (with some exceptions) gladly, a great sub continent and one in five of the world's population would now control

its own destiny. All over Pakistan and the new India, the speeches rang out and the new flags were unfurled. If anyone should question the goodwill that accompanied the exercise, an Indian or a Briton could point to the figure of the first Governor General tot Mountbatten had been asked to stay on in this role in free India, and had agreed, though for a few months only (He had hoped to be Governor General of Pakistan, too but linnah who had been granted almost every thing for which he had worked, would not have that)

The installation of Mountbatten as Governor General and now created an Earl, was as elaborate and stately as his installation as Viceroy barely five months earlier Messages of goodwill from the world's rulers were read out, Mountbatten made a speech of friendship and gratitude, followed by that of Dr Rajendra Prasad in Hindi and then in English "Let us gratefully acknowledge, while our achievement is in no small measure due to our own sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events, and last though not least it is the con summation and fulfilment of the his toric tradition and democratic ideals of the British race" That seemed to sav it all

Many more ceremonies and celebrations remained and nothing it seemed could tarnish the glitter and douse the happiness of that day-only perhaps the thought that at this no ment the man who had done more han all of them put together . 1 10 1761 her freedom felt no call to a rather to mourn "It was to country was free But more it was also torn asunder a id ! For Mahatma Gandhi the a v one place to be at this in the t noisome slum where he httle peace and comfo could fast for his people's sin track cold mount (&) ited as s. s.i as free for which re hou



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On the afternoon of 30 January 1948 Mountbatten received first the grave news that two men had been found with grenade ซากิก กระบบได้อยการ เป็นอาการ sed by Nehru, and that they เป็น วาการ แต่คุณตอกอื่นตรีดา ดาย Paine Minister. A few minutes later the nowes came over the car's radio that Mahatma had good free same one appalled conveys nothing " are Mounthall in "Twas numbed and utterly termical full independent has booked serene in death when f werd to be his to the see post providinad already spaneted but a more as to the seed, the was a Muslim was did not amount of the seed of the seeds a fool. You for me nothing the reseal of the transfer of dea of course. field in the win



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"No read he history" of the Irdian empirer on mer on mese sturing days on to each result have conceded independence with such grace and to power but India would have so gracefully acknowledged the debt."

But these were other feors to be paid the space of sall ongs of some to ease many uping the age Physical series with the series a scale with the control of the co great satisface in the control of lated according to the control of the control o shot, burned have a contorrured to ite in the per lope and are restricted and the management of the second of the seco World was a

of the Extensity office axis from a B. Carley allers of and they Se' 4 mus. med &

the corpses to the mortuary and then toming the hespitals tending the wounded as differentially their fears. Delli resembled a city of the dead, with no transport entering or leaving Somehow Gandhi appeared on the scene of horror, a frail little spindle legged saint whom Churchill nad once called a seditious Middle Temple lawyer now posing as a halfnaked fakir

In a few days it was his seventyeighth birthday "Send me only condo-lones," he said "There is nothing but anguish in my heart I cannot live while hatred and killing mar the atmosphere" He spoke, too, of the sufferings of the refugees "I have heard that a convoy of Hindus and Sikus 57 miles long is pouring into the makes now brain reel to think how this can be such a happening is unparain the history of the world and it " who sime hang my head in shame " In the midst of these scenes of anarchy and death across the sub-continent, with Edwina working as desperately as a effectively as she had during the

n South-Fast Asia. Mountisted the they should bor

THE Mountbattens were in India again a week later. Edwina went straight back to her relief work. Over and above the deaths by violence thousands were dying from exposure in the November winds in refugee camps in the Punjab. Two events fol lowed in swift succession, each mark ing symbolically the extremes under which the masses in India suffered The first was the Silver Jubilee of the Maharaja of Jaipur, as grand and glitteringly ostentatious and extravagant an affair as ever occurred in the days of the British Raj. In this land of extremes, the scene in Jappur contrasted grotesquely with those of riot, pillage, rape and murder that stalked the nation

In one more desperate attempt to stem the flow of violence and blood shed, in the New Year, Gandhi began a fast unto death and was soon so weak # that he had to be carried to prayer meetings Mountbatten visited him anxiously Mahatma was just able to whisper Roguishly he said, "It takes a fast to bring the mountain to

Mahomet '

Then, on the afternoon of 30 January 1948, Mountbatten returned to Delhi from a visit to Madras He arrived to receive first the grave news that two men had been found with grenades in a crowd being addressed by Nehru, and that they were certainly intended for the Prime Minister A few minutes later the news came over the car's radio that shots had been fired at Gandhi and that he had been hit three times Before a doctor could arrive Mahatma had died muttering, "Hey Rama!" "To say that I was appalled conveys nothing," said Mountbatten "I was numbed and utterly terrified His little pinched face looked serene in death when I went to his house, where a great crowd had already gathered

"Somone in the crowd shouted, 'It was a Muslim that did it!' I immediately shouted back, 'You're a fool You know nothing It was a Hindu'

'I had no idea, of course How could 17 But if it had been a Muslim, then civil war was inevitable and the carnage terrible Luckily I was right. It was a Hindu fanatic."

Four months later, the term of Mountbatten's office expired and he-4 and his family prepared to leave India It was a parting of two friends and warm were the words, glittering the ceremonies, generous the gifts on both sides Edwina in particular had forged a deeply loving relationship with the people to whom she had given so much of her time and energy and compassion.

Mountbatten was seen in the simple terms of a great and royal figure who had given them their freedom. The love for him endured all his life In Britain when he was murdered 32 years later, there was a day of mourning. In India, mourning was ordered for two weeks, and the feeling ran even deeper among all classes includ-

" who had grown up since the last days of the British Ray.

15

'Edwina did not believe in being discreet'

By KHUSHWANT SINGH

I HAD a few encounters with the Mountbattens and was twice ticked off by Pandit Nehru for letting his rendezvous with the Countess

get into the papers. It was the winter of 1947-48. Krishna Menon was our High Commissioner in London; I his Public Relations man. Krishna, who could be unbelievably rude to most people, could also be unbelievably fawning towards people who mattered He knew how enamoured the Nehrus and the Mountbattens were of each other and took great pains to cultivate the Earl and his Lady. He had a room set apart in India House with a copper plate bearing the legend "Countess Mountbatten of Burma". Since there was shortage of office space, I was put in that room with strict instructions to clear out at the slightest whisper of her Ladyship's arrival. She never graced it with her presence. Her husband, however, had to use it as a waiting room on one occasion. He had been misinformed about the time of a reception and turned up 15 minutes before he was expected. He liked making spectacular entries and was very much out of countenance when instead of being greeted by the High Commissioner and his aides (to the playing of national anthems and booming of gun salutes) he was escorted by a messenger to the office reserved for his wife. He was in the First Sea Lord's uniform, his chest ablaze with medals. He was in no mood to talk to me and brushed aside my attempts to engage him in conversation. Then I boldly asked him if the partition of India had not been a great blunder. He drew himself up to his regal height and replied as if he was addressing a vast multitude: "I do not care what people say about me today; I will be jedged at the bar of history." The statement was undoubtedly true but lacking in the modesty one associated with Englishmen of the upper classes. The blue blood that coursed in Lord Louis' veins was almost entirely German not English. A few months later he got the chance to display himself in the manner that suited his temperament. This was at the Canadian Trade Fair at Toronto. For reasons which transpired later, he had asked the Indian High Commission in Ottawa (where I was then serving) to provide him with escort. It was a bright sunny morning, Lord

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At the first Independence Day celebrations

Mountbatten was decked up in his shimmering, silver-white sharkskin uniform with gold epaulettes, gold and silver medals ablaze in the sunlight. He marched in front; four blacks (two of them including myself bearded and turbaned) behind him. Here was the last of the Viceroys of India with all that the British Empire had stood for in its sunnever-sets glory. Hallelujah!

My encounters with Nehru and Edwina were of a different sort. I was one of a handful of officers to receive Panditji on a bitingly cold winter night at London airport. At Krishna Menon's prodding, I introduced myself to the Prime Minister and asked him if he had any in-structions for me. "What, at this time of the night!" he snapped

"You can go home."

The next morning, I found a note on my table asking me to see the High Commissioner at once. "The old man is furious with you," Menon told me. "What have I done?" I pleaded. "Have you seen The Herald?" he asked and showed me a large photograph on the front page, depicting Panditji outside the Mountbatten's home, the door slightly ajaf with Lady Mountbatten in her night gown. The caption read: "Lady Mountbatten's mid-night visitor." Menon warned me to keep out of Panditji's sight for a couple of days.

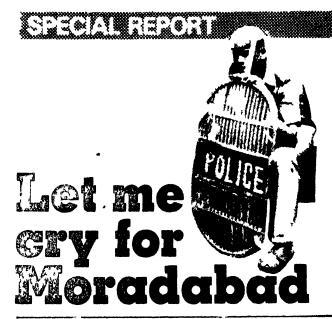
Three days later there was yet another picture in another paper showing Panditji and Lady Mountbatten dining together in a Greek restaurant. This time there was a note from M. O. Mathai, saying that Panditji wanted to see me. I went to Claridges hotel, expecting the worst. I entered Panditji's room. He demanded: "Who are you?" I reintroduced myself. "What do you

want?" he asked. "Sir, you sent for me. I am your press officer." He gave me a withering look and remarked. "You have strange notions

of publicity."

It was not for me to tell him that I had nothing to do with those pictures and that he should have been more discreet. However, a couple of times I saw Countess Edwina with Panditji, I could guess that Edwina did not believe in being discreet and probably never gave Panditji a chance of being so. She took his hand in hers in front of people it was as candid a gesture as it was affectionate. No more. Edwina had been known to have had many lovers-now named in Mountbatten's two biographies: Richard Hough's Mountbatten: Hero of our Time and Charles Smith's Fifty Years with Mountbatten. Amongst the lovers listed are a pianist, Paul Robson, the six-foot-seven-inch tall Negro singer, the Earl of Sefton and our own Panditji. According to the biographers, Lord Mountbatten, instead of feeling peeved as a cuckolded husband, actually clucked with pride at his wife's infidelities. As the holy book says, it is as difficult to know the ways of a man with a maid as it is to tell the ways of the eagle in the air, the way of a serpent on the rock and the way of a ship in the midst of the sea. But we can be pretty certain that the one price people in the public eye have to pay for their popularity is to deprive themselves of the right of leading private lives of their own. Every move they make is seen by thousands of people, every friendship exaggerated into an affair. I go along with Indira Gandhi when she dismisses L'affaire Nehru-Edwina as "ridiculous."

Courtesy Hindustan Times



By SYED SHAHABUDDIN, MP



HAVE just returned from a second visit to Moradabad, just over a month after the tragedy on Id I feel lost and helpless Have hearts turned into stones? How can man be so insensitive to pain, to suffering, to a human

tragedy of this extiaordinary dimension? You see fear and terror writ large on the faces of the people, you notice suspicion and distrust, they open out their hearts and then ask you not to take notice, not to do anything about it, least they face more beatings, more repression, more breaking of bones—maybe death! You see rows of people in a hospital ward, each with a broken limb, broken by the police, deliberately, calculatedly, coldly, each telling more or less the same story, of police breaking into a house, arresting

people, beating them up, throwing them into prison on

false, trumped-up charges

You hear of PAC looting shops and homes, you hear of PAC participating in an orgy of destruction, you hear of persons taken away and traceless, you hear of men and women who have turned mad with grief, of babies crying out for their missing fathers. You hear, till your senses refuse to take any more. And yet, since the authorities are against "them," they do not matter. And you know that it could be you, your children, your relations, your home, your shop, your place of worship, your mohalla—no matter who you are, what your status is, what your ideology is

And there is so little you can do, yes, you can speak to the local authorities, to the Home Minister, to the Prime Minister, write to them So what? Are they omniscient, omnipotent? How can they stem this tide of hate? How can they clear the air of this pollution? How can they take the

bug out of the system?

In the darkness that has descended upon this unhappy city, I see no light in this encircling gloom, no hope of redemption I feel as if the milk of human kindness has ceased to flow and the wells of human compassion have run

dry But have they?

The Jamshedpur tragedy of 1979, whose high point was the macabre roasting alive of a busload of women and children, was marked by a wave of sympathy for the victims, by objective and in depth analyses by the media, by generous public response to relief operations. There was sanity, compassion, hope in the public response—as if the blood had not been let in vain. The Moradabad tragedy, in many ways a watershed in the history of communal violence, symptomatic and symbolic of complete alienation between the police and the Muslim community, has failed to stir the hearts of the nation, to generate any such wave of sympathy

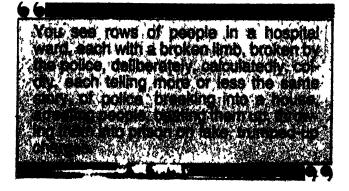
There is an eerie silence over the moral landscape, as if conscience has gone to sleep, as if the victims are not our flesh and blood, as if the bond of common nationhood has

broken down

Look at how the country reacted to the killing of the Chopra children Look at how our jurists and intellectuals protested at the drowning of the known criminal Sundar Look at how we reacted to the Baghpat incident And then look at Moradabad

Today, but for a few discordant voices—it is silence all around, acceptance of atrocities. The politician is silent; this is understandable, he has his constituency to look after. The Gandhi Peace Foundation is also silent, The Citizens for Democracy are silent, the Sarvodaya crowd is silent, Vinoba Bhave is silent, the civil liberty wallahs are silent, the intellectuals, the academicians, the jurists are silent, the students and the youth are silent. The believers in spiritualism, the fighters for human rights in Kampuchea and the liberation of Afghanistan are silent. There is no sense of outrage, no air of protest, no cry of repugnance, no rejection of brutality—why? Would Gandhi and JP have remained silent?

From the word go, the media presented a distorted picture—our great free press initially played into the hands



of the local police and magistracy, the normal source of information in such situations. But how could the police and the magistracy tell the truth when they are a party and, by all indications, the guilty party. You can't ask them to incriminate themselves and not to fabricate lies, not to try to cover up their crime. Hence the barrage of concocted rumours competently broadcast by the mass media. Later, more lies, to sustain the original lie. The sin was compounded a thousand-fold—churned out day in and day out, intensifying the image sought to be projected, strengthening it, giving it a lip of its own, a momentum which takes it out with the world beyond.

Yes, the propaganda was cleverly orchestrated, diabolically planned, but you must ask why it was lapped up by our discerning public, our elitist opinion makers. That is the

important question.

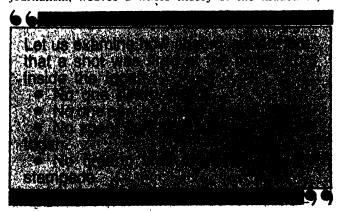
Because the seeds fell on a fertile ground and overnight sprouted into a crop of certitude. The people behind the stories, the "objective" analysis, the "factual" reports, the "unbiased" comments, were inclined to believe it, because there is an undercurrent of suspicion, distrust, even hatred and contempt for the Muslim—the end-product of our history, our education and our politics.

Liven the voices speaking up against the police atrocity are shy, half-hearted, apologetic. "We all know how terrible the police is but what can we do about him; we have to tolerate him." "The Muslim may indeed be a foreign agent but we ourselves are responsible for what he is." "He is a fanatic by birth and by faith, violence is his second nature, Arab money has gone to his head, a little chastening would have done him no harm, but the killing was not really necessary" "Tut, tut, we are not a violent people, why can't we change him by moral force?"

The image that has been projected is that the Muslim, unless he is contained and firmly handled and unless his nefarious conspiracies and designs are defeated, is just about to take over the country, with fire and sword, through simultaneous uprising in several parts of the country, with the help of Pakistani arms, Arab money and CIA agents. China must indeed be thankful that it is not brought in.

The public has come to believe not only that the Muslims of Moradabad had attacked the police at the Idgah and the police fired to save their lives, but that throughout Muslims have continued to snipe at the police from rooftops, that there shall be no peace until they are totally disarmed. The general public instinctively believes that "miscreants" means "Muslims", that if firearms have been seized, they must be from Muslim hands; that if arms dumps have been discovered, they must be in Muslim homes, that if Muslims have been ariested, they must have done some wrong, that if their bones are broken, they must have begun the violence

A responsible newspaper comes out with a screaming headline. "Moradabad has more arms than UK" and everybody believes it And the national press merrily publishes stories of 163 PAC jawans killed in Moradabad; of 400 Home Guards missing in Aligarh, of the Moradabad kotwali razed to the ground by Muslim mobs; of Pakistani agents arrested and interrogated. Organiser, the RSS mouthpiece, gives a name to the Muslims—"armed rebels" No one protests. Girilal Jain, the respected doyen of Indian journalism, weaves a whole theory of the hidden hand



There is an early silence over the moral landscape, as if conscience has gone to sleep, as if the victims are not our flesh and blood...The politician is silent...The Gandhi Peace Foundation is also silent; the Citizens for Democracy are silent; the Sarvodaya crowd is silent; Vinoba Bhave is silent, the civil libertywallahs are silent; the intellectuals, the academicians, the jurists are silent; the students and youth are silent. The believers in spiritualism, the fighters for human rights in Kampuchea and the liberation of Afghanistan are silent. Would Gandhi and JP have remained silent?

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around one single "fact"—which turns out to be a lie—and scores of letters applied his objectivity and his great service to the nation in weaving this plot

service to the nation in weaving this plot.

And what was that "fact?" That a shot was fired at the police from inside the Idgah. Let us examine how absurd this lie is—so absurd indeed that no one even mentions it

No one heard a shot

• No one saw a Muslim carry a firearm.

No spent cartridge was found in the Idgah
 No firearm was left behind in the stampede.

No house in front of the Idgah has a bullet mark.
No policeman received a bullet or a pellet injury

• And why should the group which had planned to attack the police choose the Idgah and the Id day? And why should it begin its operations, so chivalrously, with brickbats?

You must ask what was the purpose of this conspiracy. You are told, to pressurise Mrs Gandhi on Afghanistan, on Assam, on Kashmir, to weaken and destabilise the country; to slow down its progress And you nod your head in wise

agreement.

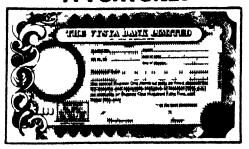
That the BJP joins in this song and dance about the "foreign hand" and "deep conspiracy" is no wonder After all, they are the self-appointed knights-errant of "national ism." But in Moradabad, about every Hindu I met believes it There is perfect polarisation, there are no Congressites, no Jawaharites Truly was I told by a respected citizen, a Hindu: "It is not the RSS but the RSS philosophy which is in the forefront."

But the fact is that out of 144 officially killed, 121 are Muslims, at least 75 per cent of the injured, of the 1,600 arrested, of the beaten up, are Muslims, nearly all shops looted, all houses searched or looted are Muslims' And the arms. In four weeks, the police have seized only 200 firearms, mostly unlicensed, and only four of them are of foreign makes! And yet the Muslim in Moradabad is on the warpath!

In a democratic society, peaceful protest against injustice is not only a right, it is a duty. Spontaneous protest took place throughout the country on the following Friday, 15 August, in a few places, they got out of hand and resulted in confrontation with the police and of course in massive reprisals. But can some isolated instances establish a pattern or design? Can it prove a nationwide conspiracy to attack the police?

By talking of conspiracies, so long as you do not name the parties to the conspiracy, you can keep everyone happy because everyone can identify it with his bete noire. The Muslim is happy that the government means the K. Hindu is happy that the Muslim League is me secularist is happy that the RSS-Jamaate-Isl has been finally unearthed; the communist the CIA has been caught red handed. And the our omnipotent saikar which cannot make its

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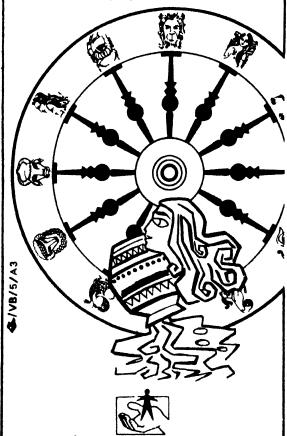
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| 111 | Prize | 10 | 000 | (1 prize) | | 10 000 |
| ١V | Prize | 5 (| 000 | (2 prizes) | | 10 000 |
| ٧ | Prize | 2 | 500 | (5 prizes) | | 12 500 |
| VI | Prize | 1 (| 000 | (15 prizes) | | 15 000 |
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in Delhi, promises to crush the conspirators and this strikes a responsive chord and the nation bursts into appliause

Of course, the government must keep everyone guessing and every one reasonably happy You may whisper in private about the atrocities of the PAC, but condemn it, disarm it, no, how can you? They would rise in revolt. It does not matter if the ultimate result is the widening of the emotional gap, a setback to national integration. But who cares?

The bogies we raise divert national attention from the task of economic development, from diagnosing failures and taking remedial action. It generates an air of complacency and self satisfaction, while 33 years after independence, 60 per cent of our people continue to live below the poverty line, like a sub human species, devoid of dignity and hope

Have the people become immune to violence, insensitive to human tragedy, neutral in the face of atrocities and massacre? It is not only that they begin to think that the Muslims of Moradabad, Aligarh, and Allahabad are getting what they deserve, and we need waste no tears over them But with repeated exposure, they become callous, apathetic spectators who accept injustice and tolerate inhumanity, in this land which produced Buddha and Gandhi Or maybe Gandhi alone understood us and tried to liberate us from ourselves Perhaps we are a violent people, a haidened people, having lived through centuries of violence

The real question is not how to save the Muslim community but how to save the nation from the undercurrent of hatred and violence which is consuming all our finer sensibilities. The real question is not what to do about Moradabad but how to save the country from this apathy to violence which will one day break it into pieces as surely as night follows the day.

Aren't we human beings before we are anything else? It there is any spark of humanity left in us, let us pool those little sparks to guide us through this moral wasteland. If we are still capable of tears, let us pool the tears we are vet to shed and then we shall see the tragedy in all its dimensions

A POLICE force should never lose its temper, or become vindictive, it should be objective in its assessment in moments of crisis and firm and controlled in its responses measured in the use of its power But what do you sav to a man with a gun when he favours a murderer a looter an aisonist When lust and violence grip his being, he can never be your defender the protector of your life and honour and property What do you do with him?

What is Mrs Gandhi up to? Has she lost her grip, her will, or is she playing deliberately to the gallery of Hindu chausinism? She is an astute politician and she knows which gallery to play to at which time. She is ruthless and amoral in her choice. She knows that when all else fails, when her government bogs down under the weight of its incompetence, when she defaults on delivery of the goods she has promised she can divert attention and harsh criticism only by touching hidden subliminal chords in the dark recesses of the Indian soul. What better than a combination of the enemy knocking at the door and the fifth column operating within so you have the deliberate policy of fomenting tension with the neighbours—this was foreseen—and now you have the 'rebellious' Muslim, a God send indeed! Together they provide a beautiful and effective scenario for staying in power

Mrs Gandhi wears many masks. The historian may well tind it difficult to recognise or delineate her real face. Even the contemporaries have to ask at times, "Will the real Mrs Gandhi step out?" Her forte is crisis management. She has polished brinkmanship into a fine art. Power is to her an end in itself and for power she will sup with the devil and, if necessary, don a saffron garb. A month after Moradabad, ask who has benefitted most? Moradabad has dominated the headline for weeks—displacing economic crises, price lise scarcity, breakdown of law and order, internal rival ines within the ruling party, the do nothingness of administration all forgotten or relegated to obscurity. Even Assam does not make headlines. What happened to the Gujarat agitation no one seems to remember. Mrs. Gandhi has managed to wring the last drop of political juice from this

The myth of population explosion

from Delhi a diam anport after a stint with the World Bank, told me, "I tell you, unless India cracks down on the population growth, there is no hope for our economic plans" I countered his revelation with another, "Unless India can control the monsoons, there is no hope for stable food production."

My expert friend was stunned. He argued with me that despite all the hocus-pocus on rain-making machines, monsoons cannot be controlled, and therefore the best alternative was a massive irrigation programme to remove the uncertainty of water supply that the monsoon represents. "Exactly!" I said triumphantly. Population growth in India cannot be controlled at will, despite all the hocuspocus on sterilisation, IUCDs etc, but the best alternative was a massive boost in the production of essential commodities and services.

By now my expert friend's knees began to wobble and his lips to quiver The brainwashing be had received about India's population growth in the air-conditioned comfort of the World Bank did not allow him to swallow something so radically different Lest I cause further brain concussion, I departed from the scene

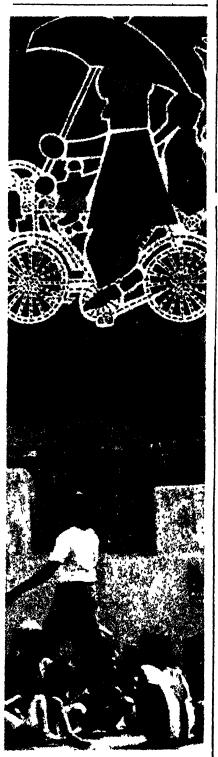
It has always amazed me how India, a nation of such intelligent souls, accepts everything uncritically that the West dishes out in the form of articulated nonsense-to suit their imperialist designs. For years we believed that the English were unwilling rulers of India, and had come for our benefit! Our intellectuals are so completely captive even today that it embarrasses me if someone calls me an intellectual. Indian intellectuals merely articulate for a domestic setting concepts of the safed chamrha (white skin). No deviation from these concepts permitted, but ingenuity and originality to sustain these concepts are lauded. For a free India we must build an intellectual base to demolish these concepts.

The "population problem" is one such Western concept that needs to be demolished. All talk of controlling drastically India's population is a conspiracy of white nations rooted in the fear that brown skins will swarm the world, greedily casting eyes on the uninhabited lands of Australia and Latin America.

Let me argue as an economist to sustain what I am saying in political terms. What is the most sophisticated economic argument for population control? That we need



By SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY



born resources in terms of hospitals, schools, colleges, factories, etc., to provide for that baby. If that baby was not born, we could use those resources to provide more for those already born. Hence population control.

Paradoxically, I agree with this reasoning! But the economist within me says that to prevent that baby from being born, I also require resources in terms of clinics, mobile vans, doctors, instruments, etc. So in terms of economic logic of using resources most efficiently, I must know which of the two alternatives requires more resources: to provide for the baby born or to prevent the baby from being born?

All my studies show that in the present conditions prevailing in the country, if it requires Rs X for the first alternative, then it requires Rs 2X (i.e. twice) for the second alternative. Good economics means making efficient choice between competing alternatives; therefore, to save resources, the government ought at present play to provide for the baby born only.

to provide for the baby born only.

However, I must add a number of qualifications to the above revolutionary theorem (which is embarrassingly similar to the old Marxist view).

Firstly, I am not advocating that more population is a 1 ood thing I am merely saying that preventing births in the present context of our development will require more resources than providing for it.

Secondly, the cost ramifications of the two alternatives may change, say 10 years from now. It may indeed become cheaper to prevent a birth than to provide for it.

Thirdly, we still plunk for family planning on non-economic grounds. For example, continuous childbearing erodes the freedom of the woman. Or, a huge population may contribute to environmental pollution But then we ought to honestly state so. I am for family planning, even if it means burning our resources, to liberate the Indian woman

Slowly the non-economic arguments are seeping into the Indian consciousness. Therefore India's birth rates have come down over the last 70 years—from 47 per thousand to 35 per thousand Family planning. walas want that decline to be even, more. To them I say: "Your only hope is to bring out the Durga in every woman." But can the country afford that? We have experimented with one Durga recently with disastrous consequences

'The haves thrive on the miseries of the have-nots'

N the eve of the thirtythird anniversary of Independence Day, the honble President of India in a nationwide broadcast

The rising prices and increasing disparities, making the rich much richer and the poor still poorer, are widening the gulf between the few haves thriving on the miseries of the have-nots, and the deprived masses left with little hope of any better life in the foreseeable future. This segment of the presidential speech seems to have three parts: first, the gulf between the few rich and the many poor is widening; second, the haves thrive on the miseries of the have-nots; and third, there is little hope of any better life for the deprived masses in the foreseeable future. The second proposition—the haves thrive on the miseries of the have-nots—is one of the most paradoxical iron laws of the economic life in India today.

A rich man's son hardly remains unemployed; a poor man's son rarely finds a job. Nothing succeeds like success: the winner takes it all, while only failure piles upon failure on the other side of the line. The prosperity of the few is built upon the poverty of many. The poorer you are, the worse are your prospects. Such is the vicious spiral of Indian economics.

The record of 30 years of planned economic development has a positive side: foodgrains production has gone up from 50 million tonnes in 1950 to some 130 million tonnes in 1980, that is, by 160 per cent; national income has risen by 175 per cent, and industrial output by 300 per cent, as against an 80 per cent growth in population. Our misery cannot therefore be ascribed wholly to demographic proclivity. The record has also a negative side: the number of people below the poverty line has increased; the back-log of unemployment has mounted day by day to reach the level of 20 million persons (in standardised units) in March 1978, and every year another six million persons are entering the labour force, with little chance of getting a meaningful occupation. According to the studies conducted by the Reserve Bank of India, the pattern of ownership distribution of assets among rural households has sharply deteriorated, while the top ten per cent has cornered the gains. The decinnial census and other independent surveys indicate a swelling of the ranks of impoverished agricultural resourers The common man finds it

By RANJIT SAU



increasingly difficult to make both ends meet, to the despair of the celebrated Engel's law the portion of the household budget spent on food items (mainly agricultural goods) is rising, leaving less and less for industrial goods, even though in official statistics the per capita national income has nearly doubled.

To be sure, the victous spiral of economics also operates regionally. Some areas of the country, even though endowed with enormous natural resources, continue to lag behind those which had an early start. The Indian economy, as it were, harbours within itself a few metropolitan growth centres that get themselves supplied with provisions from 'colonial' hinterlands. Indeed, all this is not surprising; for this is precisely how the capitalist pattern of economic development works. A quantum of benefits do trickle down to the hinterland, but those again are cornered by a tiny minority and the vast masses languish in poverty. The history of several centuries and of many countries bears testimony for it.

The government does try to soften the rough edges of this inexorable process of development and underdevelopment. It offers relief measures in one form or another, whose apparent generosity varies in proportion with the deepening crisis. But it cannot stem the dialectic.

But, why is there this irony of economics? Why this cruel joke? Why can't we have a harmonious growth, where everybody gains? At any rate, how does somebody grow at the expense of somebody else?

For their material existence, human beings in a society produce, in interaction with nature, a set of goods and services every year; these are together called national income A part of the national income is given out to workers for their maintenance, the remaining part is known as the surplus. Now, three parties—namely, the landlords, merchants and capitalists-lay their respective claims on this surplus; these are the three ruling classes who appropriate the surplus. Each tries to grab as much as it can. If national income is, say, Rs 100 crores, and Rs 60 crores is the subsistence requirement of the workers, then the surplus is Rs 40 crores which is shared by the three ruling classs. Should the merchant jack up his margin to get a bigger slice of the surplus, naturally the landlords and capitalists would feel the pinch So they would also jump into the fray with larger claims. The conflict can be reconciled momentarily by enlarging the size of the surplus, which means a reduction in the workers' subsistence. This process goes on.

Over time the national income may rise, but the contending ruling classes manage to reduce their mutual tension by passing on the brunt to the common man. In other words, it is the immanent urge of the landlords, traders and capitalists to grab more and more, which takes the masses to the brink of starvation. A stage may be reached when the capitalist succeeds in establishing his class hegemony over the landlords and traders; then this acrimony among the ruling classes may cease, but that is a different matter.

In India, the landlords, traders and capitalists are almost equally powerful; so the competition among them is quite intense. Between them it is of course a friendly match, because none of them has to suffer at the end; they enjoy at our expense. The haves thrive on the miseries of the have-nots.

We do not know how the hon'ble President looks at it. We have only given our observations. But certainly the President has correctly enunciated a fundamental theorem on the Indian economy at the present stage.

Thank you, Mr President.

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UP: The troubled heart of India

More than a hundred violent and restless days after Vishwanath Pratap Singh entered office, Uttar Pradesh is still looking for "the government that works."

UDAYAN SHARMA reports.



(M.Vishwin ith Pratap Singh and Mrs Gardhi look at a map showing the state's floct affected areas

hen we reached Lucknow on 18 September the sky was overcast, the next morning it was pouring, and soon lite was para lysed in Lucknow, even the trains were not leaving the picturesque Lucknow station. To compound the misery, a wildcat strike by power en gineers in Kanpui had plunged most cities and towns of the state into darkness. The weather office said that the sudden deluge was due to a deep depression centring around Allaha bad which was moving northwards accompanied by stormy winds If any one was searching for a better allegory for the political situation in Uttar Pradesh today it would be hard to find one The present Chief Minister comes trom Allahabad and enough stormy winds have accompanied him in his hundred odd days in power. His only achievement seems to be that he has made Ram Naresh Yuday into an un suspected hero-people say that even Yaday s Janata government which till then perhaps held the record of being the worst UP had ever had eems to have been much better than Vish

In the middle of September Chief Minister V P Singh had taken what scemed to his defractors to be a long overdue step he ent maletter offer ing to resign to the Prime Minister. In fact the Prime Minister must have come to know of his noble intentions from the agency teleprinter at her house because Singh had submitted a copy of his letter to the Press even before it reached the PM. But this gesture paid off handsomely as the PM told him to torget about resignation and continue his work V. P. Singh clearly has a shrewd adviser. By taking the initiative and offering his resignation he had clearly preempted dissi dents in his Party who might go to the High Command to demand his resignation for the utter failure of government which LP is currently witnes

wanath Pratap Singh's

And it is not just a failure in tackling communitations or police atrocities. It was not V. P. Singh but Brahm Dutt who singlehandedly tack led the serious situation created by the power strike Cities already dimly lit went completely dark. Industries were closed both passenger and goods trains were cancelled on the important artery between Mughalsarar and Delhi via Kanpur and Tundla While the state was facing a severe crisis the Chief Minister was in Delhi (among other things asking Rajiv Gandhi to join politics). He returned only on 21 September, and met a delegation of the strikers at his residence for next morning's front page photographs. But what the newspapers did not report was that for almost two weeks the CM had found virtually no time for the accumulating files in his office and was either in Delhi or spending long hours with his secretaries at suite number one of the state guest house at

Mira Bai Marg
Despite the official support of 306

of the 421 MLAs in the Assembly, V P. Singh, the twelfth Chief Minister of India's most populous, and most politically sensitive state has not been able to get comfortably astride that buck ing horse called administration He was made CM by the late Sanjay Gandhi, partly because he was the vounger brother of the father in law of Sanjay Singh, Sanjay Gandhi's most trusted friend in UP politics Mrs Gandhi has stood firmly by V P Singh so far, not encouraging his detractors, and allowing him the opportunity to work without subversive pressure from his own Party But despite this edvantage, Singh has not been able to get a grip on his job To begin with, his ministry is incomplete (this seems to be a chronic disease with the current set of Congress(I) governments) A team of 20, including ministers of state, is dismally trying to run the most difficult state in the country And the lack of decisiveness on even cru cial matters can be gauged from the fact that for the first time in the history of the UP Vidhan Sabha, a pro rem speaker had to conduct the busi ness of the house for the first two weeks, as the treasury benches could not decide on a name for the new speaker. The upper house, the Vidhan Parishad, is even today being presided wer by the pro tem chairman B B Singh Chandel

P's students have been the banana peel of many a Chief Minister Normally, there are two ministers of cabinet rank in the department of education, one looks after higher education, and the other is in charge of intermediate and primary educa tion. In addition there is always a minister of state in charge of technical education and adult education. In the present government there is only one minister of state for education, Mrs Swaroop Kumari Baxi, and she is expected to handle the tull job No wonder Allahabad University, which rarely if ever delayed its examina tions, is vet to hold the examinations for the academic year 1978 79. A fai lure of the past government has been compounded by the present one

Most universities have already seen police lathi charges this year as students express their dissatisfaction over administrative apathy—or use the absence of firm government to indulge themselves. While the Allaha bad University has not held examinations the Allahabad board which controls secondary and intermediate examinations in the state has had to order a record number of recvaminations in 15 subjects. This too is unother first.

On 6 April, during President's Rule, which was the defactorule of Sanjay Gandhi through the two (PN Singhs (the older one was the governor, the vounger one is now the minister for state for defence in Delhi), the district magistrate and district supply officer of Sultanpur seized 20,000 litres of dievel from a pump It turned out that the owner of the pump was a friend of

Sanjay Singh, who belongs to the adjoining Amethi district. In the end, the two officers found themselves transferred Then, on 24 August, long after the new government took over, the town of Muzaffarnagar witnessed a unique sight Members of a flying squad of the sales tax department were handcuffed and paraded through the town because they had seized a few trucks carrying contraband to a factory owned by a minister in the V. P. Singh government.

In yet another display of the arrogance of power, a Congress(I) MLA Shyam Lal Bajpai told the government on the floor of the Assembly that if they did not transfer the SP of Barabanki, he (the MLA) would personally break the SP's jaws The officer was immediately transferred in order to keep his jaws in place The district magistrate of Ballia is now on leave, after he had a quarrel with the well known hijacker MLA Bhola Pandey He is now sitting in Lucknow and pleading with the authorities to trans

and order. The preceding Banarsi Das government was destroyed by the Narainpur outrage, but Narainpur seems comparatively mild compared to what has happened in Moradabad, Baghpat, Unnao, Banda, Barabanki Even if one cannot expect the centre to dismiss the state government on these grounds, surely the police have given enough reason for V P Singh to hang his head in shame The police have become a force of "encounters" The state police handouts have admit ted that there have been more than 400 encounters with "criminals" in the past few months True, there is often reason for the police to open fire on dacoits in the course of arresting them. or preventing dacoity But such is the loss of credibility (more so, since theft and dacoity are not coming down) that people believe that the police are using the cover of the "encounter" kill only those with whom they have some enmity The CM defended his police force in the Assembly thus "Mere haath khoon se lathpath hain,



Sanjay Singh

fer him out of Ballia as he is afraid to stay in the same place as Pandey

The Chief Minister has been mak ing a show of honesty and efficiency by personally taking raiding parties to ration shops suspected of indulging in hoarding etc. But the irony is that, a number of times he has reached the suspect's shop only to find the shop keeper waiting for him with garlands! Obviously the news of the raid had been leaked out The CM's efforts to curb cor uption in other words, are being subotaged right under his nose In some cases, officials of the govern ment itself are diverting wheat to the blackmarket Seasoned Lucknow watchers admit that there is nothing new in financiers having links with politicians C B Gupta used to make his fundgivers MPs and MLCs, and other politicians have obliged their moneyed friends in different ways But rarely have things been as bad as this

One of the major promises that brought the Congress(I) to power in UP was that they would restore law



Brahm Dutt

par khoonion ke khoon se lathpath hain (It is true my hands are bloody, but they are bloody with the blood of criminals). There can't be many sections of the Indian Penal Code which allow such goily handling of the law and order situation.

In an unprecedented case of corrup, tion, one SP(Vigilance) of the UP government is said to have demanded a bribe from the SP of Barabanki. That itself may not be unusual, but the SP of Barabanki had secretly taped the entire discussion about the bribe and has offered the tapes to the CM.

One of the major reasons for the dissatisfaction in the administration is the large number of transfers that have been done under political pressure the bureaucrat or the police officer has little hope of settling down in any place unless he is on the right side of the local Congress(1) bosses. Too many transfers took place during President's Rule and now the cheeced government has continued this 1 id











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habit. In its thist hundred days in power, at least 50 district magistrates have been shifted Some of the transfers have been silly in the extreme The municipal administrators and the DMs of the five most important towns in UP, Kanpur, Agra, Varanası, Allahabad and the capital, Lucknow, have been changed more than once Allahabad has seen three senior SPs in the past 100 days. The first SSP, Mr Sinha, was transferred after a month and a half of V. P. Singh becoming CM. His successor, Girish Bihari, was allowed to remain in Allahabad for just 40 hours, because of the enmity of one of V P Singh's secretaries. The present incumbent naturally keeps his fingers crossed V P Singh, a namesake of the CM in Agra, had shown excellent work in Agra as SSP, averting many communal clashes by firm handling, but he was brought back from Agra (which is a sensitive city) soon after the Morada bad incidents and sent to the state CID headquarters at Lucknow, now, he has been sent because of his competence to Aligarh. In the last two months, Moradahad has had three DMs

A large number of harijans have been appointed DMs, which is a very good thing of course there are 18 today, which is a record But too many harijans given such an important charge are being transferred within a fortnight. This is leading to the impression that harijans are not good administrators.

Lokpati Tripathi, health minister and son of Kamalapati Tripathi, is sarcastically called the minister for transfers as the maximum number of transfers have taken place in his department. The matter has become so serious, and the level of sifarish so irresponsible, that the Prime Minister herself has issued instructions that no transfer should be done or stopped at the recommendation of ruling Party MLAs But the impact of her instruc tions has not yet seeped down Curiously, while so many transfers have taken place, the one transfer for which 40,000 people went to jail in western UP (making this the largest satyagraha after independence in that region) did not take place the transfer of the police from Baghpat

When the question of development comes up, all that the state government is doing is repeating past promises made by the Ram Naresh Yadav and the Banarsi Das government, promises which they made but could not implement. The Yaday govern ment had promised that they would set up four mini-cement plants, the Singh government, without worrving about copyright, is repeating that Similarly, the promise of four thermal power plants at Azamgarh, Jhansi, Gonda and Dehra Dun was made by the Janata government, and the present government is talking about it as if this brainwave had just come to them And though everyone is shouting ab out these projects from the rooftops, no budgetary provision has been made for their implementation

One opposition MLA shouted in the

debate on industry in the last session that all that the treasury benches seemed to be doing was repeating the name of Sanjay Gandhi. Were they unaware that Sanjay Gandhi had started industrial development programmes, for instance the Noida in Ghaziabad district near Delhi, or in Ameth? What was the great Sanjay sena doing to get these programmes implemented?

In tact, what is the Sanjay sena doing?

Their leader is Sanjay Singh, son of the raja of Amethi. He still lives in feudal glory. Every morning a horse comes from the police lines to his doorstep at the spacious 19 Viki amaditya Marg and the Youth Congress(1) president then goes out riding, followed by a policeman on horseback for his protection. On the way, he might stop to give a crony an instruction or two. On 19 September, for instance, he

Poor show

The 20-member UP Ministry under Vishwanath Pratap Singh can be faulted on two counts: it is unrepresentative of the whole state and has performed badly. Only seven of the state's 12 divisions, including the Chief Minister's home division, Allahabad, are represented in the Ministry. Allahabad has the largest representation of six ministers, followed by four each from Lucknow and Meerut divisions, two each from Bareilly and Garhwal divisions and one each from Gorakhpur and Varanasi divisions. Agra, Faizabad, Jhansi, Kumaon and the newly formed Moradabad division are unrepresented. The situation is ironic for Agra, which handsomely returned all Congress(I) candidates in the last Assembly poll. Even the group of MLAs from a particular division is not entirely representative: three of the six ministers from Allahabad division, the CM V. P. Singh, Jagdish Prasad and Amin Ansari, are from the Allahabad district.

On the floor of the legislature, the performance of only four ministers Brahm Dutt (Finance, Planning and Power), Lokpati Tripathi (Health), Ammar Rizvi (Parliamentary Affairs) and Bairam Singh Yadav—has been noteworthy.

UTTAR PRADESH

Area: . 294,413 sq kms Population: 6,83,41,144 Deasity: 300 per sq km Sex Ratio: 879 females per 1000 males Literacy: 21 70 per cent Districts: Tehsils: 237 Towns: 325 Villages: 112,561

Based on 1971 census

rode into the state government colony on Park Road and his horse stopped outside flat number E3. The policeman was sent in to awaken Azad Kumar Kardam, the Youth Congress(I) leader and MLA from Agra Kardam came out and spoke to Sanjay Singh, who was still seated on his horse; Singh gave him his instructions and rode off.

In Lucknow they refer to the 100 days of the V P Singh government as "Sau din sasur ke (100 days of the father-law)" this is a takeoff on popular Hindi film currently showing, Sau Din Saas ke (100 days of the mother-in-law). Sanjay Singh is the son-in-law of V P Singh's elder brother The Youth Congress boys have indeed enjoyed more than their share of power They entered Lucknow after winning their seats with a literal bang A number of them simply walked into government houses which they fancied, threw the occupants' belongings out, and took possession Sanjay Singh himself took a spacious bungalow at Vidhan Sabha Marg and only vacated it after a public hue and cry, he has now shifted to a less spacious but still big (for a first-term MLA, that is, houses are allotted by hirearchy and seniority) house. Many MLAs have also acquired government houses in their hometowns-which has more than its obvious temporary benetits, because tenancy laws in UP are liberal enough for some of the MLAs to retain possession after their terms are over And these young MLAs have been in the forefront of using their influence to get officers transferred

But their contribution to the government on the floor of the Assembly has been negligible Initially, in the euphoria of victory, their lung-power was highly audible, but eventually even here they could not match the young opposition MLAs who have returned for their second terms It is common knowledge that a number of people given the Congress(1) ticket had a criminal past. One Congress(I) MLA from Ballia, Bhaskar Pandey, still has a "history sheet" on the files of the local police. He has applied for a licence for 30 carbines, but the local police have objected to such a licence for such a large number of arms being given to a person with a known criminal record Pandey's patronage, strangely enough, comes from Jagdish Tytler Following the refusal to give a licence, the deputy SP of Ballia was transferred out

Few Chief' Ministers of UP have lasted very long, for the simple reason that the most populous state of the country also has the most number of problems. And an articulate, politically involved population. The communal problem is perhaps the most serious, but, as we have seen, that is not the only one that a UP Chief Minister has to face. Vishwanath Pratap Singh is only the last, and among the weakest leaders UP has had. By November he must win an Assembly seat to remain CM. Enough people within his own Party think that will be a difficult

"Our IGP is doing a very good job"

It is being said that you rely more on the bureaucracy than the politicians belonging to your Party Any com

ments?

4 Perhaps few Chief Ministers have shaken up the bureaucracy as I have done in the past three months There is perhaps no pride (in me) in aying that I have taken action against pout a thousand officers in the last three months I would not have men rioned this if you had not put the question. The number of suspensions ird vigilance action too have been icks. Even in the police, within two months 18 sub inspectors, 16 head con scibles and 98 constables were sus p ided and action has been initiated cuast more than 900 policemen me people have the habit of insult , officers in front of a hundred ple and the impression goes und that a particular (M is very ch on the bureaucracy. But I am cificient. This (the bureaucracy) is the r trument you have to take the help to run the administration. If a cricincratis wrong then punish him T nave not spared anybody. For inst sice when I detected bungling in 1931 in Lucknow I not only put the inity person behind bars under the P P. Act but also suspended the area stioning officer and the inspector It not my tob to go on inspections but if If we gone on an inspection and some rinky panky is detected then the erson in charge has to be held repossible for it. There are officers also Fo have cooperated a lot in the last tree months in tackling the administestive challenges. For instance, after he Emergency examinations were wer held properly in this state. Now the examinations have taken place moothly Of course, I had to take a ry stern attitude and post the police 1 id the PAC outside examination cen thes and also order searches of exuninees to ensure that no non student

ntered the exam h s Q We understat that the number f re examinations ordered by the Mahabad Board this year has been other high, in some 15 subjects or so

A No, re examination was ordered n one subject only and that may be the to some previous decision—a decion taken in March or so Secondly, floods were another major administra tive challenge which we have faced ind even the central board which time to study the floods has praised alertness and our arrangements When I was in the opposition and worked in the flood affected areas, I realised what kind of bottlenecks arise Soon after taking over, I ordered the disposal of relief funds with the district authorities and Rs 10 lakhs per district was vested in district magis trates so that they did not have to run to Lucknow for help in an emergency

After several days of trying, Udayan Sharma and Shubhabrata Bhattacharya finally caught up with the hardpressed Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Mr V P Singh, at 10 pm on 22 September in the state guest house in Lucknow The city looked embat tled and isolated with power and communications disrupted by floods and industrial unrest. The CM detended his record and his government confidently on a wide range of issues.



(M Vishwanath Pratap Singh

and relief could be distributed smooth by They came to Lucknow only when these funds were finished and another sanction was given. By now some of the districts have distributed up to Rs 80 lakhs as relief. While we have punished some officers it has to be admitted that by and large the officers are doing well and you cannot just run them down.

O How do you view the law and order situation in your state?

A Our data says that there has been a 14 per cent drop in the crime rate since we have come to power. You may say that this is government data In that case take the data of the press one and a half months back the press used to have so many items on rape in UP Today you do not find them So you must give us credit for stopping the rapes. No newspaper is publishing even one line saying that this govern ment has succeeded in stopping rapes I suggest you do some research. Leave out the Moradabad and other communal incidents. Pick up any newspaper of last year and scrutinise the number of crime reports in one month and then pick up one month's papers during our rule and check up on the crime figure You will find a decline of 50 per cent Last year there were so many cases of necklace snatching, of couples going on rickshaws being robbed, of

dacoities This year there are very few such cases Of course, in a big state like UP there will always be some incidents but by and large things have improved

Q What concrete steps are you contemplating to tackle the explosive communal situation in your state and to restore the confidence of the minor ities which has been shaken after the

Moradabad incidents?

A The flare-up in Moradabad was of course very sad but thereafter in almost every town there was an attempt (to create disturbances) and the pattern was almost the same somewhere in some mosque a piece of pork meat would appear in the morn ing Somebody would have placed it in the night and in the morning there would be a (tense) situation. The his tory of UP indicates that whenever there was trouble in Meerut, there was trouble in Agra but this time whenever there was trouble it was (locally) contained within a few days. The district authorities, and in some instances the minorities, for instance in Lucknow, were a big help, they held meetings and issued statements to maintain peace here. By governmental action through the police or the army. I can only bind hands not hearts. I know the limitations of government action in such matters and finally a binding of hearts has to come on the human plane

Why did you ofter to resign? A One journalist had asked me that question after I resigned and I said that it was a continuation of the cabinet concept which I had initiated Soon after I took over I said that for anything that went wrong in a district the DM and the SP will be held responsible. Then certainly I should own responsibility if something goes wrong with the province Even over the radio soon after the (Moradabad) incidents had happened, I had owned up moral responsibility for the incidents. In the Assembly when I stood up to speak on the subject, the first sentence I said was that I have not come to give explanations but to seek punishment

Q There are too many complaints about the PAC What steps are you taking to improve this force? Also why is it that whenever there are communal riots the confidence of the minorities is restored only after the PAC has been removed and the army or the PAC has been removed and the army or the

BSF has been deployed?

A Well, talking in very clear terms, the PAC is the only striking force that the state government has with it. But I would not like to blame the whole PAC as such or condemn it, because policing is a thankless job. A policinan s job is not simple, like that of the block development officer. So I world not condemn the whole PAC But certainly I would say that the PAC has to be better trained. What has happened is that till the Congressing quit in

29

My dream house will stand deep in a grove of palms with the sea breeze at the windows a music den in the attic and a Neycer bathroom in marigold and black

Neycer

All and State &

1977 deployment the of PAC deployment units was about 40 per cent of the total force, that is while 40 per cent of the force used to be deployed (in active duty) the rest used to be rested or put through training. During the three years of Janata rule, the development of the PAC went up to 80 to 90 per cent as there was more trouble and the time needed for training was not available. Moreover, the units were overworked.

Q. But the PAC has been a source of trouble for the UP government even before the Janata regime. Take the fate of Kamalapati Tripathi in 1973,

for instance.

A. It was, but it had also done fine work earlier I know officers of the minority community who have served with the PAC and they are proud of the units. In the past the PAC was sent to Maharashtra to maintain law and order. And it had a very good reputation It is a basic question of training the units properly. After all, the armymen, the BSF jawans, the PAC personnel and policemen—all are drawn from the same population. It is the same village or the same town that gives the men for these forces

Q. It is being said that there was involvement of foreign money and arms in the recent communal disturbances in your state. What proof of toreign involvement do you have? Moreover, what information do you have about the arrest of a Pakistani spy in Agra?

A You have seen my statements I have hardly made any on this (foreign involvement). I have myself ordered a judicial enquiry into the causes and the sequence of the events in Moradabad. Therefore any comment from my side would not be fair. Moreover, facts at the moment have become associated with theories so it will be better for me not to comment. But at the same time, it is my duty to find out what happened. So I have ordered the enquiry.

Q: What about the Agra spy?
A: A Pakistani national has been arrested in Agra. He is a foreign national overstaying and that is all.

Q: There have been many killings due to police encounters in the last few months. What does your government have to say about this sudden spurt in the number of police encounters?

A: Immediately after assuming power we had decided on a dacoitcombing operation and, frankly speaking, the operation was enforced vigorously. The effectiveness of it I could judge from the comments made by the Chief Ministers of neighbouring states, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. Jagannath Pahadia and Arjun Singh spoke to me separately but their comments were the same. They both told me that the dacoits of UP were running away to their states. I told both of them that all my actions will be of no use unless you take simultaneous action on their side of the border as well. As a result the IGPs of the three states met about a month back to coordinate their anti-dacoity actions. I need no more proof that our IGP is doing a very good job.

Q: While appreciating the role of your police in apprehending and weeding out dacoits, one must say that in the process an incident like the one at Baghpat also happened. Should you not issue clear guidelines to the police that having apprehended someone on the charge of being a dacoit, they should let the law take its own course?

A: That (instruction) we have already issued. But even on the Baghpat incident the opposition has not said that the deceased were not dacoits. I can show you the letters written by Charan Singh and Ram Naresh Yadav in which they have said, maybe they were bad characters. Even the opposition has not said that they were not criminals None of them (those who were killed at Baghpat) had less than eight to nine criminal cases against them, including murders.

But again there is a judicial enquiry on it and therefore except for saying that there is a criminal record for each of the three (deceased) I am not saying anything. But while saying that the police force has to be firm and effective, I certainly agree with you that it should not be brutal.

Q: The proximity of UP to Delhi makes it easier for central leaders to come here. I find that the union home minister Giani Zail Singh rushes to UP very often. He went to Baghpat with a parliamentary delegation, he rushed to Moradabad on 14 August. Did he inform the state government about his intention to visit these trouble spots?

A: Yes he personally spoke to me. There is no such clash between the state and the centre. After all the law and order situation and the integrity of the country are a unified concept.

Q: But law and order is a state subject It is your prerogative. If the union home minister comes so often to your state does it not create confusion?

A: I think I do not suffer from such ego problems, so that when I have asked the centre to send me the army and the CRP, to the home minister I should say, "You do not come!" (laughs) You see the fallacy of the situation. Why will I not ask for his help and also guidance on the matter?

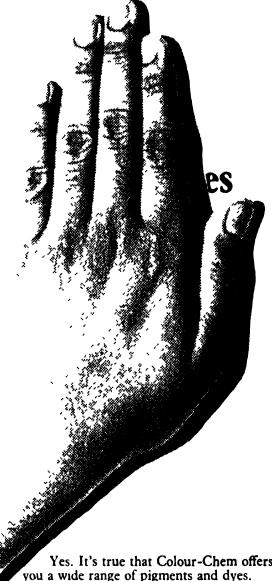
Q:, Somebody told us in Lucknow that Giani Zail Singh does not inform you before he moves into your state.

A No, every time he informs me. It is a different matter that his helicopter is faster and we could not reach Moradabad before him. But when I have asked for central forces what is wrong if he comes?

Q. A last question. You were in Delhi recently where you tried to persuade Rajiv Gandhi to enter politics when you met him with a delegation of your PCC (I) and AICC (I) office-bearers dealing with UP. Do you think that the state of your Party organisation is such that you should need an outsider like Rajiv Gandhi to lead it? Moreover Sanjay Gandhi had been a product of a political movement launched by your Party during the 33 months of Janata rule. What role did Rajiv Gandhi play in that movement?

A: I have met Rajiv earlier also and requested that he should consider entering politics and in case he does so he should consider contesting from UP. But during this particular visit I could not meet Rajiv because he was on his regular flights. So we met Indiraji and I presented to her the signatures of all the MLAs of UP (asking Rajiv Gandhi to join politics). Now, about Rajiv being an outsider in politics, how can he be an outsider when the whole Party wants him? He is an insider, and very much more of an insider than anybody else Ask any common Congressman and have a referendum on the issue You would find that 100 per cent will say, 'Yes, we want Rajiv? If that is the feeling, he is not an outsider effects right in the core of the Party





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How is this government worse than yours?

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A: The Janata Party was composed of ghataks (factions), so if there were differences it was understandable. But the Congress(I) is a Party of ghulamsof people loyal to one leader, so why should there be lack of coordination? Take, for example, the divergent statements of ministers and other politicians connected with the government. Despite the well-known policy of Mrs Indira Gandhi on the states, the sugar and revenue minister of UP Yashpal Singh has demanded the division of the state into three parts Both the CM and the finance minister of the state opposed the abolition of sales tax at the CMs' conference in Delhi on 16 and 17 September; but simultaneously UP's health minister Lokpati Tripathi announced in Varanasi that the state government had been considering for the past month and a half abolition of sales tax and its replacement by some sort of a production tax Who should we believe? The CM has been announcing from the rooftops that his government has already received the money from the centre to set up four big fertiliser plants, but his industry minister told the Assembly on 15 September that he only hoped he got the money Who should we believe?

It is a pity that before the Assembly elections this Party was speaking the language of the Muslim League, and now it is speaking the language of the RSS Before the polls, Mrs Gandhi said that the minorities should not be crushed, now, when they are being crushed, she is saying that the minorthe should not get emotional At the Darul-uloom in Deoband, before the elections, Mrs Gandhi had welcomed foreign funds for the Islamic universitv at Moradabad; today her home minister Zail Singh and CM Vish-wanath Pratap Singh are saying that foreign funds are the root cause of the Moradabad incidents. What should we believe?

Speaking at the Rakshabandhan ceremony at Nagpur, RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras said that the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) un UP should not be demoralised. In the UP Assembly during a debate, Congress(I) youth leader Sanjay Singh and parliamentary minister Ammar Rizvi too pleaded with the government that the PAC should not be demoralised. Four days after they had pleaded in this fashion, the PAC again had to be removed from riot-torn Aligarh and the army and BSF had to be called in. If the PAC really is a secular and efficient force then why does the state government have to remove it from riot-hit areas? Worse, nobody in the Congress(I) can raise his voice. The ruling Party MLA of Moradabad Hafiz Mohammad Siddique was humiliated

The sasur is the CM; the damaad is Sanjay Singh, president of the state Youth Congress(I). The most vociferous critic of Vishwanath Pratap Singh today is Mohan Singh, the young Lok Dal MLA who was the minister of state for industry in the Banarsi Das government. An original socialist, Mohan Singh has one singularly unique achievement, he, in a sense, caused the dismissal of his own government. It was Mohan Singh who first broke the story of the Narainpur outrage, and the centre used this as a handle to dismiss the Banarsi Das government. SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA interviewed him in Lucknow.

by the local authorities, but no one in Lucknow thought of pulling up the administration for doing this

Q.You have alleged that the new government has no programme. How do you substantiate your charge?

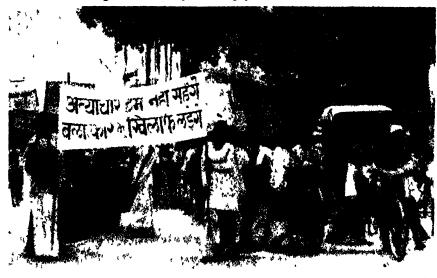
A: We had initiated two main schemes: antyodaya and food-forwork. The first has been scrapped, and the government does not have enough foodgrains to implement the second. The government has failed this year to build up a buffer stock of wheat because the procurement price was lower than the market rate. The govern-ment has admitted in the Assembly that this year's procurement is ten lakh metric tonnes less than last year's. Moreover, 50 per cent of the state's revenue comes from the agricultural sector. The CM has claimed that as the rains this year have been good, the crop too would be good. But in many parts the rains have been excessive, causing floods. Moreover, four districts in western UP are facing a shortage of water: Moradabad, Badaun, Muzaffarnagar and Rampur On he other hand, floods have ravaged

the central and eastern districts. Fertiliser prices have gone up by 38 per cent. The supply of power to the agricultural sector is poor. The kharif and the sugarcane crops have done poorly. So where is the cause for optimism? The coming year will be full of hardships.

And while the resources of the state have been dwindling, the administrative costs have been shooting up. The common man's tax-paying capacity has declined, and there is no new avenue for collection of additional tax. Our government had taken stiff measures to curb tax evasion and blackmarketing. We had handcuffed the offenders. But today, the sales tax authorities are themselves being handcuffed and paraded on the streets! Three officers of the sales tax flying squad were going on their normal beat on 24 August at Muzaffarnagar. They caught three truckloads of contraband which belonged to a mini steel factory, Rainbow Steel, which is owned by Vidya Bhushan, the minister for forests. Instead of being rewarded, the sales tax officers were handcuffed and paraded on the streets! The maximum sales tax revenue comes from the western districts of UP, and after this incident, no officer is willing to stick his neck out in this area-and the state's coffers are being denied legitimate funds.

This government is run by a coterie; it is a sasur-damaad (father-in-law-son-in-law) government. Sanjay Singh, the president of the state Youth Congress(I) is married to the daughter of V.P.Singh's elder brother. Sanjay Singh's father Dhananjay Singh, the former raja of Amethi, is the president of the UP Kshatriya Mahasabha. Unfortunately even the rajputwad of this coterie benefits only the rich rajputs, and does not percolate down to the common rajput who tills the land.

Protest march against the rape at Baghpat





Joyoti Basu and Promode Dasgupta at a CPI(M) rally in Calcutta

CPI(M): Bodyweight, 100kgs; strength, 0?

Marxists look into the mirror and are not happy

Calcutta: Three years of power, and what is the result? To find out, the members of the CPI(M) state committee in West Bengal held a closed-door, four day session in September. Discussion was frank, and a secret document made available to us through our sources confirms that a strong section of the local leadership was not in a

very happy mood

Some leaders maintained that the Party had gained tremendously: expanding its base, strengthening its mass organisations, and even making inroads into the state machinery-the police, for instance. But many others were not so optimistic They thought that the CPI(M) today had become like a gaddiwala-its bodyweight might be an obese 100 kilograms, but its strength was nil the Party had lost its fighting spirit, and that might be suicidal. These leaders alleged that the Party today was full of opportunists (the inimitable Bengali word dhandabaaj was used), and even some senior cadres had become more interested in favours from the government than the cause of the oppressed. It was such degeneration, they pointed out, which had led to the Congress Party's downfall. A Marxist Party like the CPI(M), they alleged, had become a victim of the bourgeois parliamentary system—and even suggested that the Party leave the government to restore its credibility and stop the rot

However, the majority in the committee supported the leadership of both the Party and the government. The leadership admitted some weaknesses, and promised to rectify them, but asserted that continuance in the government would still help the Party to create a revolutionary situation in eastern India.

The organisation report submitted by the state secretariat to the state committee members shows that the CPI(M) has reasons to be happy with its performance on a few crucial fronts The total membership of the Party now stands at 67,043 (of which 16,868 are candidate-members) But the report admitted that a large number of the older workers had not renewed their membership, though no specific figure of how many such cases there were was given. According to the report, "nearly 40 per cent of the membership" is new and "they have joined the Party since 1977": that is, after the Party came to power.

The most spectacular growth (and commendable too, in Marxist terms) has been among the farmers. (See box for these and other specific figures.) Its second most successful effort has

been among women, though the present membership is still way short of the Party target of 7.25 lakhs. Among trade unions too, the Party has grown appreciably.

On the other hand, there has been a sharp decline on the student and youth fronts. The Students Federation of India has lost in about 70 per cent of the college union elections in both urban and rural areas to the Chhatra Parishad of the Congress (1). The SFI's membership has also gone down to nearly half in the last three years. Even among the poor, the SFI has been losing ground at a rapid rate. In Calcutta, which is dominated by the middle and the lower middle class, the SFI's strength has come down from 17,196 members in 1978 to 9,247 today. In 24-Parganas, the industrial and agricultural district which surrounds Cal cutta, membership has come down from 51,004 to 16,500. In 1979, the CPI(M)'s youth wing, the Democratic Youth Federation (DYF) had a membership of 510,184, today it is 220,788-despite the fact that the Party's target for 1980 was 7.5 lakhs.

The secretariat posed, some vital questions in its organisational report We quote: "We must not forget for a moment that the reactionary forces are not sitting idle Authoritarian forces are active Disruption is being sought to be created by vested interests against our Party and the Left Front government. A communist Party must continuously prepare itself to meet their offensive. Have we been able to change the correlation of class forces as we wanted? With the present opportunities and possibilities we can quickly expand and consolidate the Party, but have we been able to do it? These questions have to be dealt with seriously."

Some members of the state committee said that the secretariat should have been more explicit in admitting mistakes. They demanded that the degeneration of Party cadres should be accepted as a fact, and erring members should be severely warned The Party leaders explained that fears of a bad Press prevented them from taking stern action against cadres.

But even this restrained organisa tional report admits: "The functioning in the district and local centres of the Party is not up to expectation. Party circulars are not properly attended to, and all district committees do not reply to them Most of the leading cadres at the district, local and branch level are bogged down by too many jobs, and others are entrusted with administrative functions. District com mittee members and MLAs are given jobs in too many committees. Local leaders are bogged down with pan chayat and municipal activities Hence the work of the Party organisation 15 being neglected at all levels. This is a serious weakness.

"Nearly 40 per cent of the membership consists of newcomers who have joined the Party after 1977. They have not been given even elementary Party education. Branch secretaries

34 .



West Bengal CPI(M): At a glance

| Members | 1979 | 1980 | |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| PARTY | 57.956 | 67.043 | |
| KISHAN SABHA | 28,45,709 | 31 82,965 | |
| MAHILA SAMITI | 236,151 | 348,346 | |
| TRADE UNION (CITU) | 620,107 | NA' | |
| STUDENTS' FRONT (SFI) | 146,669 | 72,070 | |
| YOUTH FRONT (DYF) | 510 184 | 220,788 | |
| | | | |

Source Report of the CPI(M) secretariat presented to the state committee on 20 August 1980

are not trained, and for an expanding organisation this is a must. A plenum resolution stated that oral propaganda, and speeches in general body meetings should play a big role in educating the branch members and secretaries. But this is not always done nowadays. Thus the political level of the Party cadres cannot be raised to the extent that they can cope with the present complicated situation.

"Due to the lack of politicisation of the Party and the masses, the rate of growth of our Party and mass influence has not increased up to expectations. Though the recent panchayat by-elections are not criteria for judging our strength and influence, we still have to think seriously over it. In the last parliamentary elections also we have seen that the increase of the Congress vote is greater than the increase of our vote in industrial, city, as well as some rural areas.

"The failure to instil the spirit of collective functioning among the leading cadres at all levels has been the root cause of personalised functioning of panchayat pradhans, panchayat samiris and the zilla parishad sabhapais. In many areas the people have not been involved in panchayat work despite repeated directions to this effect from above...There is no doubt about our big achievements in governmental and panchayat activities—but at the same time we should realise that some of our comrades fall prey to bureaucratic tendencies, corrupt practices and

was a second of the second

other bourgeoisie vices when they function in the present administrative and panchayat apparatus. There are instances of breach of Party discipline But this is not a general feature of our Party life, these are all exceptions, due to the lack of understanding of political significance of maintaining Party norms and discipline. New recruits have not been trained in the elementary rules of the Party

"Above all, the basic weakness lies in the fact that there is inadequate realisation in the Party, especially among the leading cadres in the districts, about the special responsibility on our Party, which is tunning the state government. A Party running a government should have new tactics and methods to solve the people's problems and tackle the issues How to behave with the people—all this has to be learnt anew, keeping in mind that we are running the government"

Will the CPI(M) in West Bengal beable to rectify these mistakes, which, as this story shows, it is already aware of? Meanwhile, it is faced with a problem about which no one is talking very much, but which can affect the Party seriously. The strong man of the Party, Promode Dasgupta, is 70 years old and in bad health, Chief Minister Jyoti Basu is 67 and suffers from high blood pressure. There is no one else at the moment who can provide the strong and disciplined leadership which alone can rescue the Party. Barun Sengupta

BY-ELECTIONS

Congress(I) goes on trial

Delhi: The Congress(I) will face its first major popularity test after the May-June Assembly elections, in what will virtually be a mini general election around November-December. The Election Commission has announced its plans to hold several by-election around that time. As many as four Congress(I) Chief Ministers are not MLAs, which they must become to remain CMs They are Abdul Rehmar Antulay (Maharashtra), Jagannath Pahadia (Rajasthan), Janaki Ballabh Patnaik (Orissa) and Vishwanath Pratap Singh (Uttar Pradesh)

Altogether 19 Lok Sabha seats, 36 Vidhan Sabha seats, spread over 12 states, and one Rajya Sabha seat are vacant Besides, the Metropolitan Council and the Municipal Corpora tion of Delhi, which were dissolved after the Congress(I) came to power. are yet to have their elections The total number of by-elections, due to be held, including those to the Legislative Councils of some states, is at present 204 Strangely, the Representation of the People Act, the law which governs the elections, is silent on the time-limit within which a by-election must be held after a seat falls vacant This naturally provides any ruling Party the opportunity to keep on postponing the elections till such time as is politically suitable for it

Of the 19 vacancies in the Lok Sabha, five are from UP three have been caused by deaths (Sanjay Gandhi from Amethi, Aziz Imam from Mirzapur and Mifiryar Khan from Bareilly); two are due to resignations (Vishwanath Pratap Singh from Allahabad and Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna from Tehri Garhwal), and the Serampore seat in West Bengal became vacant with the death of Mr Dinen Bhat-tacharya of the CPI(M). Twelve seats are vacant from Assam along with a single seat from Meghalaya (elections will not be held here till the agitation is resolved) The vacancy in the Rajya Sabha occurred when Delhi's Khur-shid Alam Khan retired and could not be replaced since there is no Metropolitan Council in the capital which forms the electoral college for this

Interestingly, only one of the five MPs who became Chief Ministers has resigned his seat. Normally, a member vacates his seat in the Lok Sabha only after he has won the by-election in the Vidhan Sabha. It is believed that Vishwanath Pratap Singh vacated the Allahabad seat because a section of the Congress(1) leadership wants Rajiv Gandhi to enter Parliament from the Allahabad constituency.

Allahabad constituency.
Of the 36 vacant Vidhan Sabha seats, six are from West Bengal, five from UP, four from Bihar, three from Haryana, two each from Maharashtra,

35

Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka Meghalaya, Orissa, Assam, Gujarat and Iripura and one each from Andhra Pradesh and Manipur Besides, their is a possibility of two more Assembly seats falling vacant—one in Karnataka and another in Nagaland—in case the Supreme Court upholds the High Court judgments setting aside the two elections. The appeal in the Madhya Pradesh High Court against the election of the Union Civil Supplies Minister Vidya Charan Shukla from the Mahasamund Lok Sabha constituency, is pending before the Supreme Court

The Union Territory of Delhi is now without any representative body. The Delhi administration has been made into a virtual pocket organisation of the Lt Governor, Mr Jagmohan and is being run under the guidance of men handpicked by the late Sanjay Gan dhi Police Commussioner Pritam Singh Bhinder Municipal Commissioner I N Singh New Delhi Municip al Committee president P. N. Behl and Delhi Development Authority vice chairman V S Ailwadi There are others like Arjun Das the motor the change triend of Sanjay Gandhi and the youth (ongress(1) leader, Man oharlal Khurana who is on the manag ing board of the super bazars

The ruling party expects the economic situation to improve rapidly by November with a record kharif crop in October and acting as a damper on prices. By then the communal tensions in UP will, hopefully also have subsided. But will memories continue to remain as short as they have been in the past?

Shubhabrata Bhattacharva

For Rugby addicts

Calcutta Rugby is a game played by men with peculiarly shaped balls These immortal words of William Webb Ellis the founder of modern rugby were prominently displayed in a poster at the Calcutta Cricket and Lootball Club (CCIC) which played host to the recently concluded All India and South Asia Rugby Tourna ment which was won by LMOB (the Lamartiniere Old Boys) This levity, apart the 55 year old tourn iment (held alternatively in Calcutta and Bombay) was conducted this year with meticulous planning and aften tion by a small group of enthusiastic men led by CCFC vice president R. A. W Thomas and S M Osman For Calcuttans the dving embers

for Calcuttans the dving embers of interest in the game were rekindled once again as 12 teams of rugged men "scrummaged into the fray oblivious of broken noses black eves and laundry bills. There are not many rugby players in the country today for it is not a game that comes naturally.

But last week at the CCFC these dolctul prognostications scemed out of place as avid rugger addicts rubbed shoulders with hundreds of curious uninvited spectators who watched the proceedings, and were thrilled Lapan Chaki.

FLOODS

Another havoc

Bhubaneswar We are marooned by erything around us has gone under water only the fail the police station and the hospital have been spared Rush help. The frantic signal was radioed by the circle inspector of police from Gunupur a prosperous sub divisional town (pop 15,000) in south Orissa at precisely 3.31 am on Thursday 18 September Only 30 mi nutes before he shouted the message Bansadhara river had breached its embankment and cascaded into the town Ted by incessant rain in the delta area the river had been swelling for the past 48 hours. It reached the protective embankment at 3 pm on Wednesday spilled over at 11 in the night and finally swept the embank ment itself four hours later. The town remained under 10 to 14 feet of water for the next eight hours

Just as the government was prepar ing to organise relief to Gunupur, distress calls flowed in from Kashina gar another sub-divisional town in south Orissa. The same Bansadhara river had surged into that town also Chief Minister | B. Patnaik tried to reach Gunupur by an air force helicop ter on Friday but returned to Bhu baneswar from midway because of bad weather. When he finally made it to Cunupur in a larger chopper sent from the Kilaikunda air base in West Ben gal on Saturday a hostile crowd re ceived him with brickbats. There was a mad scramble for food as the helicop ter touched down. The people there had caten nothing for two days and started pelting stones at the helicopter when they found that it had not brought chough provisions

To add chaos to the confusion, the power supply in entire Orissa collapsed. The Hirakud hydel station suddenly stopped generation with the Mahanadi flood waters seeping into the cables, the Balimela power station had gone out of commission a couple of days curlier, and the Talcher their mal plant also broke down. Barring the Rourkela Steel. Plant all, industries were shut down. I ven Raj Bhayan, the state secretariat, and hospitals in Bhu baneswar had to do without power.

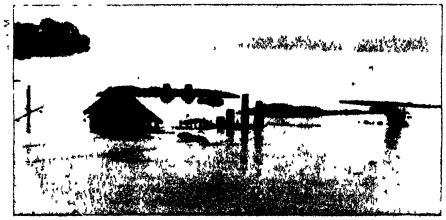


Lortunately Bansadhara subsided as fast it had risen. But Mahanadi and its tributaries ted by discharges from the Hirakud reservoir and the Naraj barrage continued to inundate new areas. By 24 September large areas of Cuttack, Puri, Koraput Ganjam, Kalahandi, Bolangir Sambalpur, Phulbani and Dhenkanal –ninc of Orissa's 13 districts—had been flooded. The official death toll mounted to 320 some 3.4 million people were turned destitutes, and about 850 000 acres of standing crop was lost.

The first major relief operation could however start only on 21 September morning, three days after the flash flood had struck the Orissa coast, with the IAI airdropping some 12 000 kgs of food and medicine at Gunupui Bad weather restricted the operation to just one sortie on that day and Air Commodore M. M. Sinha conducting the operation, said that Gunupui did not appear to be inhabited "Not a soul, not a house". That is how he described the place

The exact nature and extent of the damages are vet to be ascertained Most of the flooded coastal areas remain inaccessible. With most roads breached and telegraph poles up rooted all down the line, it is the ubiquitous transistor which is providing the only communication link to the marooned millions.

A Special Correspondent



FRUSTRATION

BARC's harassed scientists

Bombay: A top scientist at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) Dr R. Y Deshpande has sent an "emotional and melodramatic" letter of resignation to Mr Homi Sethna, which says that the distraught scientist would prefer retirement to working at BARC, and will be joining the Aurobindo Ashram Mr Sethna is said to be perturbed He called the scientist for a chat but nothing is known about whether the ashram will be richer and the BARC poorer.

Deshpande (50) was head of the technical physics division of BARC, and the immediate provocation for his despair was the way in which his claim tor promotion to the top post of scientitic officer was bypassed In BARC the grades are something like SD-SC-SCD+C-FD-FE-FF and FG, the last being the highest Usually a committee, consisting of representatives of the physics, chemistry, biology and engineering units of the Directorate of Atomic Energy (DAE) as well as secretaries attached to the Atomic Energy Ministry are supposed to meet to choose who is to be promoted to a top post. But this year nothing of the sort happened Neither the heads of the units nor the two outside members of the DAE, namely the secretaries, were there. The coterie that sat in judgment rejected the claims of two top scientists. The other was Dr Ramani, who is head of the division of Desalination and Effluent Engineering (DEED) According to the talk prevailing in BARC, where there has been outright disgust at the methods of promotion for some years now, the two top scientists have been discriminated against because they dared to make observations about the working conditions at BARC which angered the establishment Dr Ramani, it is said, had repeatedly highlighted the need for a verbal policy to rehabilitate frustrated scientists

Mr Deshpande is well-known for having made the thermo wax chambers used in Bhaskara and Rohini (the Indian satellite) and these worked well for screening components. He has also made mass spectometers. The DAE had wanted to import Rs one crore worth of these spectometers for heavy water plants, but Mr Deshpande objected, saying he could deliver them He was overruled and imports were ordered And then he was victimised when his claim for the highest grade was denied. This is not the first time that a meritorious first grade scientist has been humiliated, said one infuriated scientist to this correspondent.

There have been scores of examples, but those punished have generally been too small a fry to find a place in the newspapers. Now the same policy has affected another well-

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CONDUCT RULES OR THE SCIENTIFIC ETHOS

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of our entire scientific effort so crucial for modernis

known scientist, Dr P V Iyengar, who was given a show cause notice to explain why he had accepted a gift of Rs 5,000 from the Kerala government. The Kerala government had given awards to outstanding scientists from Kerala and Dr Iyengar, who was earlier a recipient of the Padma Bushan and the Bhatnagar Award, was also honoured It is understood that the Home Ministry has now cleared the acceptance of the award, but the pettiness which it showed has created great animosity towards the ruling clique in BARC

Last year the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) had honoured Mr S H Patil for discovering a mutant of groundnut for the biology division of BARC. But his own superiors at BARC treated him so shabbily that the scientific officers' association had to take up his case When Patil went to Delhi to receive the award, instead of granting him leave to do so, the department cut his earned leave. They said he was going on social duty and not official duty One of Dr P V Iyengar's colleagues, Dr S E Kannan, was also treated in a similar manner. He was chargesheeted and censored for writing to a professor at the University of Illinois, USA, and accused of having violated the rule of applying for jobs abroad Dr Kannan contested this accusation and asked that the matter be referred to the Home Ministry, but that was not done

The treatment to Deshpande and Ramani has further aggravated the situation between the rank-and file scientists and the scientist managers The latter have refused to give information even on such matters as the precise framework of rules and regulations governing the terms of employment of scientists, seniority lists and the promotion norms. In fact, requests from the BARC Officers' Association (BARCOA) to draw up guidelines for transfer of scientists from one field to another was termed interference in the management's prerogatives In January 1980, BARCOA had written to the Prime Minister drawing her attention to "the ascendancy of bureaucrats and the absence of 'rule of law' in promotions prevailing at BARC." They had said that in order to administer by the civil service rules, the scientist managers had to take the help of the more knowledgeable bureaucratic

functionaries And this was then used by the bureaucrats to acquire undue control over the working scientists. Their trick was to suggest to the scientist managers that all their decisions in personnel matters, however unfair or arbitrary, could be legitimised by appropriate manipulation of the rules. The fact that this frequently involved violation of those very rules of their selective or discriminatory applications was no problem, since most scientists, including the scientist managers, were unfamiliar with the intricacies of the rules and could not effectively defend themselves

Occasionally, when in certain cases these rules could not be used as a stick, additional rules were drafted and enforced The fact that it was often done without due authority was not noticed, again because of . the ignorance and even distaste among most scientists for legal detail. In the case of the DAE, when the illegitimacy of all this was pointed out, the sensitive nature of the department was freely ated to justify such actions, "There was thus no restraint of the scientific ethic or the rule of law. Any demands for the rule of law, such as those made by the association repeatedly, were invariably met with the threat of using more civil service rules for disciplining scientists. In this task the hureaucratic functionaries used the enormous prestige of the DAE to recruit the help of such agencies as the Central Vigilance Commission and the Union Public Service Commission who upheld even the most perverse charges made by the administration against the scientists. At the same time, bureaucrats guilty of even serious offences went scot-free In this process the scientist managers slowly became totally dependent on their bureaucratic allies The latter became more powerful than most senior scientists

Mrs Gandhi received this letter in January but she has not bothered to talk to the complainants. Her oftrepeated concern for science and technology had raised enormous hopes among scientists and the scientific community But these hopes have been frustrated by the disregard for vital issues that affects the morale of honest scientists wanting to contribute their services to the nation Olga Tellis

37

Students fight for their right to cheat

Patna: Any student caught cheating in an examination in Bihar can face imprisonment upto three years and/or a tine of Rs 5,000 That is the revolution ary content of an ordinance passed by the Bihar government in early Septem ber No other state has had the cour age to officially challenge so boldly a malpractice which seems to have be come endemic. But if Chief Minister Jagannath Mishra was under any illu sions that the law he has pushed through has actually stopped cheating, they were quickly dispelled. In fact, the students of Bihar have virtually launched what can only be called a pro-cheating agitation, with the support of not merely opposition leaders but also with the help of those Con gress(1) leaders who have been deman ding the resignation of Dr Mishra.

Magadh university, which was holding its intermediate examinations even while Patna was passing its anticheating law, witnessed unprecedented scenes of violence against the toachers who were acting as invigilators. As many as 12 teachers, including a lady, were attacked in the first five days of the examination. The assaults began from the very first day, 9 September Bindeshwari Prasad Singh of H D Jain College, Arrah, was attacked viciously by students armed with iron rods while he was returning home after completing the day's invigilation. His skull was broken, and he went into a coma for 96 hours at the Patna Medical College Hospital before being flown to the All India Medical Institute in Delhi, where he is still struggling for his life

Bombs were thrown by angry students at many places. At many "disturbed" centres in Patna and Arrah, teachers refused to do invigilation duty for tear of their lives they were replaced by home guards and government clerks. When the protests from teachers became too loud, the government was forced to postpone the examinations scheduled for September 15 and 16 And during those two days, arrangements were made to provide teachers with the police assistance Police have been posted on the campuses-with the right to search pockets for hidden weapons (This, incidentally, has created a turore among the

Acording to the ordinance, cheating becomes a cognisable offence Magistrates on duty have been made co-centre superintendents. Provision has been made for an on the-spot trial, by an officer above the rank of DSP. Teachers conniving in cheating can be jailed for three months to two years Invigilators have been declared public servants (Lok Sewaks), and any obstruction to their work can result in two years' imprisonment

As examination centres begin to look like battlefields, the pro and anti-cheating debate is raging all over Bihar "How can the police, the most corrupt section of the administration, launch a war against cheating?" asks one examinee. Others point out that if the police seriously started to deal with cheating, they would simply not have the time for any other work

have the time for any other work.

Different political Parties have criticised this ordinance, seeing behind it a conspiracy to "break teacherstudent unity", and thus prevent any chance of a 1974-type movement ever happening again The young BJP MLA Lalmuni Choubey told this correspondent angrily, "Karpoori Thakur's prohibition ordinance resulted in the growth of an illegal trade in liquor, leading to deaths due to consumption of poisonous liquor. This ordinance too will have the opposite effect from its intention-it has already led to assualts on teachers, and it will result in an increase in cheating "Even from his own party, Dr Mishra gets no peace. In an open letter to the CM, Vidyakar Kavi, a senior dissident in the Congress(1), has attacked the ordinance, saying that it is even more harsh than the ordinance against blackmarketeers and hoarders.

Arun Kanjan

NAXALITES

MGR talks, police shoots

Madras: Naxalites willing to reform can ring up 22345 or 422222 in Madras city for a chat with Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M G Ramachandran The offer to hold 'frank discussions' with the Naxalites was made by MGR in mid-September after some top police officers concluded that the morale of the Naxalites in the state had gone down considerably. But this offer has apparently not been a temptation enough. None of the top-ranking Naxalites have talked to the CM yet However, MGR, incorrigible optimist that he is, thinks that the 'response has been encouraging

'At the same time, the police hunt continues, guided by Walter Davaram, an ambitious and strong-willed DIG A major drive to flush out the extremists was launched in the first week of August following the death of three policemen in a bomb blast near Titupattur A police posse had arrested the Naxalites, bound them hand and foot and bundled them in a car. A few minutes later, a countrymade bomb exploded, killing inspector Palansamy, two constables and a Naxalite Two other Naxalites, who had been in the car; died in hospital a few hours later.

The police then started combing operations in 'Navalite infested' areas of Tirupotta, and Thiarmapuri The operation of common through

out October, despite MGR's offer to hold dialogues. There have been reports, meanwhile, of deaths of "prominent" Naxalites in police custody. Two "notorious Naxalites", Subramanium and Shanmugham, were shot dead by the police in a village near Tirupattur on 11 September in the early hours of the morning.

For more than seven weeks, DIG

For more than seven weeks, DIG Davaram and his colleagues have been combing the hilly terrains of Yelagiri on the border of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The combing operations start around two in the morning as dozens of policemen armed with rifles, torches, binoculars and hurricane lamps negotiate hilly terrain, and look into caves and other possible

hiding places.

Curiously, journalists who visit Tirupattur come back with interesting stories T. N. Gopalan of the Indian Express who was in Tirupattur on 15 September was assaulted in broad daylight by a "Naxalite" a few yards away from the police station "I had spent nearly half an hour with the police and I was going towards my lodge. A self-proclaimed Naxalite kicked me and warned me not to write anything about them," recalled Gopalan.

It is not only in Tirupattur and Dharampuri that the police are intensifying the drive against Naxalites. Lawyers, too, who have defended the extremists in the past have been rounded up. P V Bhaktavatsalam, a Tirupattur lawyer, arrested on 16 August, has been refused bail Bhaktavatsalam, the brain behind the organisation for civil and democratic rights, had demanded that the state government should provide relief to the members of the families of the three suspected Naxalites who had died in the car blast near Tirupattur. He had said "They were not held guilty by any court and they are entitled to compensation

A few days later, V Chokalingam, the printer and publisher of Makkal Seighi (People's News), a daily with a small circulation, was arrested for publishing "seditious" articles. Then came a more sensational arrest. K. V. Sankaran, president of the Advocates Association, who had attended a Madras city meeting of the civil and democratic rights organisation in his "individual capacity," was arrested on 1 September. Sankaran who had defended several alleged extremists in the past was accused of having said that "only by doing away with the police could the government be toppled"

It is believed that more "vigorous" steps against the Naxalites will follow. According to a police spokesman Interpol would be asked to investigate the flow of foreign money and arms to the Naxalites. Efforts are also being made to check the infiltration of Naxalites into the police force during recruitment. For the first time in police history the background of the candidates is being checked thoroughly by the intelligence department.

Arthur Pais

OBSESSIONS

Testing the venom

Kozhikode: Velayudhan sat like a man possessed in the glass chamber. Around him were 31 cobras, three vipers and 11 kraits. But the 33-year-old class four employee of the Kerala State Electricity Board was firm in his determination to become the world's first man to live for more than 75 days with his "45 venomous triends." He was bitten four times since he entered the glass chamber on 17 August, and the fourth time it nearly cost him his life. That was on the 19th day. Feeling giddy, he was removed to an intensive care unit and given a 120 ml anti-venom injection. After 61 hours he felt better again and re-entered the glass.

cage ignoring the advice of Dr Warrier, who was constantly monitoring his physical condition. As a form of appearement, the young adventurer gave a letter to the organisers signed by him and his wife which stated that if anything untoward happened, the responsibility would be his

The yagna catapulted Velayudhan to fame, bringing him a substantial amount of money. Till the 26th day of the snake yagna, more than two lakh people had filed past the glass cage, paying a rupee each, to watch the spectacle. The corporation of Kozhikode took 32p per rupee as entertainment tax while the herpetologist took 60 per cent of the takings.

The organisers of the yagna had wanted to get the feat of endurance recorded in the Guiness Book of World Records but Velayudhan failed them. On

16 September, he abandoned his efforts. Velayudhan's snake yagna has inspired others to undertake similar feats. Within a space of one month the stage has been set for two more yagnas in Cochin and Coimbatore. In Cochin, Dr. Tommy Joseph, the managing director of the Tomman Joseph Memorial Institute in Idukki district which specialises in snake studies, is planning a similar feat of endurance. Either Dr Joseph or his younger brother William Thomas, will try to stay in the snake cage for 120 days with 122 snakes starting on 2 October. The second yagna is being planned by Parthasarathy, who had earlier bettered his own record for walking backwards (this record is yet to be recognised by Guiness, who must be more responsible than anything else for such 'achieve-

Binoo K. John

ments')





Capital flight

Trivandrum: The customs officer asked the routine question: "Are you carrying any Indian currency with you?" Two bearded Sikhs, Santosh, 35, and Gurumukh Singh, 30, who had turned up at the counter on Friday, 5 September to be cleared for the flight to Colombo leaving Trivandrum in another 30 minutes said they had about Rs 620 in Indian currency between them. To which the officer replied that an individual is entitled to carry only Rs 20. When Santosh asked what they should do, the officer said curtly: "It's your headache". But on second thoughts, the officer said they could deposit their excess money

with a friend or acquaintance and even leave the counter and go out to the lounge to do this.

First, the two Sikhs tried their luck at the State Bank of Travancore counter. The bank refused their deposits because it dealt with foreign exchange only. The two men scanned the crowd for somebody whom they could trust with the money. There was none Time ticked away, and in desperation they returned to the customs counter to plead with the officer for permission to carry the money. The officer refused, and, predictably, asked them to try once more: "Surely, you will find someone you know outside."

And once more Santosh and Gurumukh failed. In sheer anger and frustration, they turned up at the customs counter, pulled out the currency notes from their pockets and tore them up, one at a time, with the rest of the passengers staring at them in surprise. "We think, we can go in now," Gurumukh said triumphantly—only to be disappointed By now a couple of policemen who had been summoned by the customs officer had started picking up the torn pieces of the currency notes. "Tearing currency notes is against the law," the police told Santosh and Gurumukh and led them to the nearest police station. After some time, the police, apparently moved by their plight, decided to let them off with a warning

Moral You can't win.

G. S. Kartha

THE WORLD

Just be good

President Jimmy Carter loves his brother Billy but not the embarrassment the youn ger brother has been causing him regarding the Libyan deals. And to prevent another 'Billygate' Jimmy Carter has drawn up a set of guidelines or 'advices" as he calls them, not only for naughty Billy but also for some of his relatives who might sometimes wish to step out of line And to give his set of rules some semblance of respectability he has asked government employees to abide by them. They will, however have no legal au thority and will not be bind ing on future Presidents. The President's rules were being drawn up, according to senior White House officials, be cause "most people in govern ment simply need some in dication of what they should or should not do

Working relationship

Did the Polish workers' strike have any effect on Big-Brother Moscow who was apparently not only watching the developments but also helping the Polish Communist leaders in the negotiations with the workers? It did The Russians were worried that their workers too would be affected by the same virus So western broadcasts were jam med But then such an event could not be ignored Many Russians living in European Russia came to know of the strike and the subsequent vic tory of the Polish workers In a frontpage article on 15 Scptember, the Pravda urged Soviet industrial officials, by way of warning, to heed work ers' complaints in order to preserve the "unity of the Soviet society and the solidar ity of the people around the Party ' But it is certain that



the Soviet Union will not allow its workers so much leeway as the Polish Party did although the conditions are similar there are inefficiencies, shortages and bot tlenecks The Pravda article,

however, projected an optimistic picture it was all plaise for the Soviet Communist Party which had created an atmosphere where "free, conscientious toilers could happily work together"

On Deng Road



"If you need food, get Zhao Ziyang," cried Chinese peasants, about ten years ago And with good reason Zhao Ziyang, the new Chinese Pre mier, is known to be an economic wizard—for the way he transformed he economy of his native Szechuan province A rich landlord's son Zhao's

talents were recently recognised by his powerful mentor, Deng Xiaoping Hence his appointment With Zhao at the helm now, China shall follow the capitalist line, and begin the march to economic advancement under the guidance of superior technoc

Some opposition

Filipino dictator Ferdi nand Marcos is as incorrigible as ever-even after being con fronted by what is shaping up to be his greatest threat, the broadest and strongest ever opposition combine of 72 opponents and eight political Parties The opposition front, which christened itself the National Convenant to: Freedom", passed a resolution on 29 August—the 84th anniversary of the "Cry of Balintawak" when Andres Bonifacio plotted to over throw the Spanish colonial ists-demanding an end to

the eight year martial law The occasion was symbolic, for, among other things, the oppositionists protested against American bases in the Philippines For one thing, opposing the USA makes lit tle sense if the Philippines must guard against Soviet designs in Vietnam and Cambodia Marcos' opponents also argue, hopefully, that if the country is to be saved from economic chaos, martial law and Marcos must go "This is the last ditch effort," they also warn, "to head off a bloody confrontation"

Briefly

Lollipops

If you are boss of a junta and have just taken over your country, what is among the first things that you should do? Ask General Kenan Evren, latest head of state of Turkey after yet another coup in that country On Septem ber 14, using the carrot and the stick with the simple mindedness which only the worst army officers can achieve, he announced a 70% pay rise for workers, and "postponed" all strikes "till further notice"

Aid?

In 1979, the USA (which has an old, justified but no longer relevant reputation for generosity) spent more on potted plants for homes (5 billion dollars) than on aid for the Third World (46 billion dollars) And opinion polls say that four out of five Amer icans still want a further cut in the amount of aid In the late 1960s, the USA gave O 4% of its GNP to the Third World, only France, Australia. Belgium and Holland gave a bigger share Last year, the USA was giving just 0 19%—and only Italy among the developed, democratic nations was giving less! Traditionally, most US aid has been given under bilateral agreements with nations. Last year, 40%

of all bijateral and by the US went to Egypt and Israel as reward for signing the Camp David agreement

New era?

Among the Islamic com munities celebrating the arrival of the 15th century according to the hijri is the large Muslim community of central Asia living under the conglomerate entity known as the USSR Communist Mos cow, perhaps in an effort to improve its face with the Mus lim world, allowed an interna tional Islamic conference in Tashkent between September 9 and 12 More than 70 coun tries attended However, no unanimous resolutions could be passed

Oppression

The latest target of the Iranian Islamic fundamental ists is the small community of Baha'is Seven of them were executed as spies in the town of Yazdi if September, in August nine members of the Baha'i National Spiritual Assembly were arrested The 450,000 adherents of this faith in Iran are believers of Baha'ullah, who appeared in Iran and preached the unity of all religions The Baha'is are pro-Shah and refused to vote in the referendum making Iran an Islamic state

LIVING

Copycat

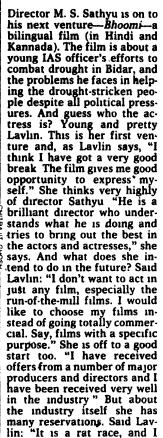


Original

Rekha Chakraborty (46) learnt the trade from her 27 years ago And mother Rekha's knack of reproducing originals on mat with threads of many colours is uncanny. (The photographs here show the original portrait of Uttam Kumar which appeared in an issue of Anandalok and Rekha's embroidered reproduction of the same.) She has exhibited in Bombay, Delhi, Madras and at home in Calcutta. But she refuses to sell her work However, at a recent exhibition in Salt Lake, Calcutta, Rekha put up four items for sale Her decision surprised many of her admir-ers But Rekha had her reasons she was trying to raise funds for Rekha Chitram-an embroidery school which she is opening on 1 October this year



Shooting star





personally do not intend to get into it. But I'd definitely love to work in good films and maybe devote my life to acting." Lavlin has blossomed into a very good photographer too, with initial help from

superstar friend Raghu Rai. In fact her first exhibition of photographs is scheduled to open in Delhi at the Art Heritage gallery from 2 October and will continue till 15 October.

The visionary

"I wanted to be more than anybody else." And it seemed a reasonable explanation for Siddharth Kak's involvement, first with management, then with ghost-voicing and film-acting and now with journalism. In his quest to "be more than anybody else," Sid dharth first came into the news by winning the Made for Each Other contest with his wife, Geeta. That was years ago. He returned to a quiet life, while Geeta went on to make a tremendous impact on the screen with her performance in Garam Hawa. But the irrepressible Siddharth has surfaced again, this time with a quarterly journal on films. The first two issues of his Cinema Vision bear enough evidence that this is an attempt at serious film journalism. Cinema Vision has been well received. Even the British Film Institute gushed: "(Cinema Vision is) without doubt the most important and informative Indian film magazine ever."

Stamp of dedication



Mother Teresa was recently honoured by the Indian Post and Telegraph Department when it released a stump to commemorate her Nobel award. The picture above shows Mother receiving an album containing the stamps. On her right is West Bengal circle Postmaster General, C. L. Deb.

T'S no use putting it down to merely Rishi Kapoor's illness. One must admit that Raj Kiran is really good. Or else why would people praise his performance and say he scored over Rishi in Karz in spite of his small role as compared with Chintu's? And now Raj is getting films by the dozen. Recently Yash Chopra signed him for a film which will also launch a pretty, fresh female face Much can be said of Raj, in spite of his tactless ways. The boy clearly nursed a Chintucomplex as he can never forget how Chintu along with Dimple Kapadia, broke all previous box-office records in Bobby At that time Raj Kiran (also trying to be an RK!) was being groomed by B. R. Ishara for Kaagaz ki Nao



men large-hearted and kindcharacteristics typical of Sai jeev, who is known as Simpl-Simon Sanjeev! Jayshree T even manages to look like Hema Malini with the clever touches of make-up, just to attract Sanjeev (since he is still nursing a big Hemahangover) but getting nowhere closer to Sanjeev thar an empty tiffin-carrier.

A FTER Moushumi declared in her typical styl that she has so many sarees that she has to give them away, readers and friends

Sarika needs more exposure



Simple Simon Sanjeev

with newcomer Sarika. The film flopped and Raj Kiran was pushed into oblivion. This happened six years ago. Now Raj is very much on his own and doing well too

PEAKING of Raj Kiran's tactless ways, remember the time when he was shooting for Karz and told anyone who cared to listen that he had a strong infatuation for a woman older than himself, Simi, his co-star in the film. He declared that he loved her poise, her class and what not. Well, news even went around that he was trying to woo the lady long after the film was complete and released. Nothing wrong with that except that Raj's raised many eyebrows among the filmi crowd.

THAT Jayshree T is madly in love—over the past so many years—with Sanjeev Kumar is well known. But must she advertise the fact that her dream-man must be simple, have a strong sense of humour, must be fat and round for that is what makes

have been playing all kinds o practical jokes on her And she seems to enjoy being made a laughing-stock!

Doesn't she realise that her sarees are no big deal, even if she wanted to give them away free? Yes, if it were Raakhee announcing an annual sale of her sarees things would have been different. There will be a stampede near her house or wherever she chooses to sack them!

WONDER if the *Dimple-*Rajesh reunion has put an end to the acrimonious battle that had begun when Dimple made the headlines by declaring that she was treated very cruelly by Rajesh Khanna. Rajesh had in turn laid bare her two-year-old affair with Vijayendra Ghatge, which she must have indulged in just to reassure herself of her youth and beauty. At the time of writing the two are closeted in their room at Aashirwad with a do-not-disturb order. Not even phone calls. So it is a happily-ever-after ending after all!

The same of the sa



S RATI will be making it big in Bombay, her big in Bombay, her barder soon going to et hitched to a Tamil girl. Tamil films mean a lot of ard work, Telugu films tean a lot of money, and lindi films mean a lot of alk," says Rati's father Roop ignihotri. Rati seems to gree with him But then Hintims also mean plenty of noney, isn't it?

PREETHA'S maiden film
Thenir about the plight of
ea estate workers is almost
implete. She's considered to
le one of the brightest newmers to hit the Tamil
freen. It's believed that
le'll soon make a film for
hagyaraj, the successful
lctor-director.

UMOURS are afloat that Shoba's mother Prema Wealon is packing off to Singwere where a couple of her his res, including an uncle, in. inted. Her features in a Tank weekly about her digenter are coming to in end As expected the lady has gone out of her way to make innumerable slander. ous comments about Balu Mahendra But did she ever think that by doing so she was ame In one of the features, he spoke at length of Shoba toming home sozzled Shoba's to stars as well as directors meacthat she would not eventouch the mildest wine When Balu glanced through the writings, he asked a rend to convey a little mes-age to kieme. "Write any lama thing about myself, but brare your daughter Don't spalher name further Don't fuculate cheap rumours ab-Du. her."

HOLI BHAALI Shoma
Anand was hauled over
he oals by director I V.
be That was Pramod Chakan archy's version Chakraan thy had commissioned
has to make Patita.
Hindi version of Sasi's
li-time hit Her Nights.
he film was originally
lesigned as a quickie
att Agnihotri

KHAAS BAAT

but it took more than a year to complete. Pramod says that it was all Sasi's fault: Sasi not only went around pinching Shoma you know where on the sets but also suggested that he'd make her a big star in Kerala if she could render "fayour". Shoma did one Malayalam film for Sasi where she played the second lead to Seema. Arattu





flopped badly and Shoma gave up hopes of making it big in Kerala. Things started worsening after Arattu according to Chakravarthy. He accuses Sasi of terrorising Shoma, and of blowing up money on hard drinking. Sasi has repudiated all the allegations. Chakravarthy had no guts to make a simple realistic film and that was the beginning of a serious misunderstanding, accuses Sasi. And then, of course, this business of Shoma's forehead caused a great deal of trouble. Sasi and his cameraman thought that Shoma's forehead was terribly ugly. They wanted her to do her hair in such a way that a part of her forehead would be covered. But Chakravarthy vetoed their idea As things stand now, Patita has been largely re-shot and the advertisements just don't mention Sasi's name

N AMERICAN hitch-Ahiker who showed up in a couple of Tamil films, including Kaali had a hectic time in a city hotel where she was said to be distributing favours rather liberally. The situation became so "alarming" that the hotel management asked her to leave A number of up-coming actors tried to have a nice time with the girl but she was a bit wary of the film crowd "They promise you the moon, but once the passion has faded. they forget all the sweet promises," she told one of them. She didn't mind flirting with a "still" photographer. But she alienated him after she went through his pictures "How much do you get for these pictures?" she asked him He named a fi-gure. "Ugh," said the girl, "if you were taking pictures in America, you'd be making a fortune." Maybe," shot back the photographer, "but do you think that you would make millions in America?"

EXCITING things are happening in Rati Agnihotri's house. Brother Raakesh is going to set up a couple of fast food shops in Madras city. The emphasis will be on exotic snacks and he has plans to open up a chain of such shops all over the South in the course of the next three years. Disco music will be a permanent feature of his shops. Surely he has the young crowd in mind.

PIOUSJI

Beginning 5 October

This week the Sun Jupiter and Saturn are in Virgo, Mercury and Uranus are in Libra Mars and Neptune are in Scorpio Ketu alone is in Capricorn, Rahu is in Cancer Venus is the only planet in Leo. The Moon will be moving through Virgo. Libra and Scorpio from Leo.



ARIES (March 21—April 20)You may have to take a loan to meet urgent ex penses this week You are advised to pursue a new

path to reach your goal. This is a period of trial for businessmen and profession als Love and matrimonial affairs are well signified. Your domestic front will also be calm and a source of happiness. There will be a marked improvement in your financial condition. Avoid disputes and speculative ventures. Good dates. 7.8 and 10. Lucky numbers. 1.3 and 10. Favourable direction.



TAURUS (April 21—May 22) You will be faced with severe competition in your business or personal life This should be met with

patience and courage You are advised to consult elderly friends and relatives Progress will be slow in professional matters. A valuable friendship will de velop Take care while investing money Look after your health which is bound to cause some anxiety. Try and use your initiative in business matters. Good dates 6.8 and 11. Lucky numbers. 1.3 and 10. Favourable directions.



GEMINI (May 23 — June 21)There is a threat to your professional life this week You are advised not to allow any member of the

opposite sex to interfere with your professional work. A new friendship will provide you with a lot of confidence. Differences among partners are foreseen. Be on your guard against deceit. Avoid getting into disputes and arguments. Financially however this is a very good week for you you are advised not to take too many risks. Keep a watch on your health. Good dates. 6.9 and 10. Lucky numbers. 1.3 and 10. Favourable directions. North and East.



CANCER (June 22 — July 22) You will make progress this week Your financial condition will show a marked improvement But

you should be careful not to neglect your domestic front. Take particular care while dealing with the women of your family. Do not undertake journeys this week. Avoid extravagance. You will be required to take hastly decisions and are advised to exercise tact and discretion in this matter. Keep up your correspondence with friends. Good dates: 5.6 and 9. Lucky numbers. 3.6 and 9. Favourable directions.



LEO (July 23 — August 22) You need plenty of rest and peace of mind this week The results of your activities in the last few

weeks have not been commensurate with your efforts. Do not let this dampen your spirits. In reality you are very close to your goal. Stand your ground and do not give in There will be good news for you in the weeks to come. Your friends will stand by you and give you confidence. You need not worry about pending court matters and debts. Good dates. 8, 9 and 10. Lucky numbers. 1. 3 and 6. Favpurable directions. West and North.



VIRGO (August 23 — September 22)Despite some initial trouble this is a happy week for you You will gain through property

or legal matters or at least have the opportunity to do so You are advised not to take undue risks. Concentrate on your plans for the future. Your domestic front may cause you some anxiety. Do not get into disputes with elders A good week for romance and matrimonial affairs. Good dates. 7. 9 and 11. Lucky numbers. 4. 7. and 8. Favourable direction.



LIBRA (September 23 — October 22)You will face hurdles in your path this week In spite of your efforts you will feel dis

appointed Your health will also cause you anxiety Be careful in your dealings with elders or those in authority. Pay attention to service details. Avoid speculative ventures. Try and meet your problems with patience. Businessmen are advised to guard against deception. A letter from an old friend or distant relative will, however bring some good tidings. Keep an eye on your expenses. Good dates: 8 10 and 11 Lucky numbers. 1, 2 and 9 Favourable direction.



SCORPIO (October 23 — November 21) You will make good and steady progress throughout this week You will get the chance to gain

through a secret matter or association Your business will show signs of improvement You are advised to guard against extravagance and over optimism Lovers however, are likely to face new hurdles Elders will stand in your way The domestic front will not be too happy Good dates 5, 6 and 9 Lucky numbers 1, 3 and 4 favourable direction. South-west



SAGITTARIUS (November 22 — December 22)An old friend will render you good service this week New in terests will contribute to

your happiness. Your financial condition will improve. But you are advised to conserve your resources. Medical expenditure is likely in your family. This is a good time for love and matrimonial affairs. But do not neglect your business or professional interests. You may have to undertake a short journey. Good dates 7.9 and 11. Lucky numbers. 2.5 and 9. Favourable direction.



CAPRICORN (December 23

— January 20) Your associates will cause problems for you this week. They will indulge in false allegations.

and criticisms. But you need not worry about your domestic front. Things will move quite smoothly there. However, be careful in your dealings with your spouse or elders in the family. Do not get into controversies. This is not the right time for major changes. Love affairs are well signified. Good dates. 9, 10 and 11. Lucky numbers. 3, 6, and 9. Favourable direction.



AQUARIUS (January 21 — February 19)Many pleasant surprises are in store for you this week it is also a good time for courtship and

marnage Care is advised in professional matters. You are also advised not to spoil your chances by impulsive decisions. Secret matters will progress well. You will get the opportunity to make appreciable and vital changes. Avoid legal matters and complications. A good time for romance. Good dates. 5, 6 and 7. Lucky numbers. 2, 6 and 11. Favourable direction. North



PISCES (February 20 — March 20)This is a quiet week for you You will make steady but not spectacular progress in all

fields You will get the opportunity to meet old finends and relatives who will be of great help to you in the weeks ahead Pay attention to family mafters. Keep up your correspondence with business or professional associates. Look after your health and be careful in your dealings with members of the opposite sex. Good dates 5, 6 and 9 Lucky numbers 4. 7 and 8 Favourable direction. East

M. B. RAMAN



ANPUR Some 'dead' persons have so expressed their desire to take part in the liquor auctions this year and for this they had applied for the issue of solvency certificates from the Tehsil office The 'dead persons had submitted their applications along with the receipt of the payment of water tax and house tax of the Kanpur Nagar Mahapalika and their applications were duly verified by the oath commissioners and the notaries. The Kanpur Tehsil office had received about 150 odd applications for the issue of solvency certificates But on physical verification, some surprising facts came to light. According to official sources, in some cases it was found that the applicant had died about six years ago and there was no property left in his name. In some other cases the ddresses given in the applications were found take. The district authorities were contemplating legal action against about two dozen such cases-National Herald (Anil Kumar, latehgarh, UP)

FIRUCHI Trains are not supposed to wait for late comers but student leaders seem to have other ideas. This morning (2 September) the Nagore Thanjavui passenger steamed out of Ammapet but the chain in some of the bogies was pulled by students of a private college at Poondi and the train came to a halt When the train crew wanted to know the reason for stopping the train, they were informed by the students that their leader Dinakaran missed the train at Ammapet The train suffered a detention of about 45 minutes before Dinakaran boarded the train-Indian Ex press (Arulraj, Madras)

NEW DELHI. Two brothers, Abdul Haq and Riaz Shahid, separated during the 1947 turmoil, have found each other again after 33 years. The two brothers who lived in Sham Chaurasi village in Hoshiarpur district, were migrating to Pakistan with their parents when Abdul Haq was lost Riaz Shahid made frantic but futile efforts to trace him. Then, by chance a Pakistani visitor met Abdul Haq now a barber in Aurangabad (Maharashtra). Abdul Haq mentioned to him the name of his brother, Riaz Shahid. Could he not be the same person as the Mayor of Faisalabad the

visitor wondered. On return he found that this was so and had it confirmed through photographs obtained through the Embassy Abdul Haq has now left for Pakistan, where he would meet his brother, old mother and other relatives, says a Pakistan Embassy release—The Hindustan Times (Gurinder Singh Mann, New Delhi)

MORADABAD The Central Reserve Police force first shot a person though inadvertently and then provided blood to save his life. The person Mohammad Taufeek was found by the CRP men in a serious condition from a house in the Asalatpura locality last week The CRP men had entered the house for a search after they were fired upon from the house The fire was returned in which Taufeek is believed to have been hit. In the hospital where Taufeek had been admitted he had been fighting for life tor want of blood Having come to know of it 40 jawans of the CRP were sent to hospital for offering the needed blood for Taufeek Finally the blood of Naik Sant Narain was found matching with that of Taufeek The Naik donated his blood to save Taufeek's life-Northern India Patrika (Ajai Mehrotra, Allahabad)

ERNAKULAM A lady overseer, Sosam ma, was locked up in her National Highway office at the Bannerji Road for over three hours on Friday (5 September) Reason she was a bit late in coming out of the office which was closed at 4 p.m. That, the office was to have functioned till 530 pm. was another matter. As she was to leave the office she found all the exits locked Frightened she cried aloud to attract the attention of other office leavers in the same multistoreyed building However, they found the lock unbreakable Some of them contacted the police officers. But they were in the midst of a conference at the Collectorate After much discussions the Ernakulam Cen tral Police Station got the permission to break open the door And they did it with a bang. As the harassed lady came out by eight in the night the Executive Engineer was also there After some persuasion arrangements were made to drop her at her residence near Perumbavoor Moral leave the office as early as possible, lest you be locked up-Indian Express (K. Aravindakshan, Trivandrum)

RAIPUR. Alekhandas, a private candidate for MA (sociology) of Ravi Shank i ai University, who could not appear for the examination this year on account of illness, had a pleasant surprise to get his mark sheet showing that he had secured 187 out of a total of 400 marks and hence declared successful—The Times of India (Surya Deo, Patna)

Indita Gandhi may not be a queen, but she is a forceful ruler—one who quite likely could command her reluctant son to enter the corridors of power—Newsweek

We still have a feudal spirit That is a fact -Rajiv Gandhi

You can forget about colour IV—Vasant Sathe, Union I&B Minister

The Prime Minister wanted to confuse the people of Assam, but was not successful—Nibaran Bora, Assam's Gana Sangiam Parishad executive committee member

India's immediate problem is not the spread of Hindi but finding tood, clothing and shelter—Indian resident in USA on the impending visit of MPs, quoted in *Indian Ex*press

The time has come when we can no longer indulge in mutual recrimination. The time has come to hang our head in shame—Nikhil Chakravar ty in Mainstream.

Mrs Gandhi seems to be losing one of her father's most precious heritages, i.e. sensitivity to the problems of minorities—Kewal Vaima in Business Standard

There is no doubt that the Muslims and all other minorities have greater faith in me than in anybody else—H N Bahuguna

Syed Abdullah Bukhari (the Imam of Jama Masjid) is now personna non grata with the Pakistanis— Organisei

R P Mehra's anti Muslim instincts have grown out of all proportions. His tifts with former captain "Tigei" Pataudi were primarily based on communal disharmony—Bishen Singh Bedi in Weekend Review

I am not a saint I am a politician but I am not mad after high office— Darbara Singh, Punjab CM

If you in the Press are so concerned about my health, I might tell you than I had a tummy-ache last evening—Mrs Gandhi quoted in Current

If taking hostages could prevent American interventions, all countries would take American diplomats hostage—Sadek Ghotbzadeh, Iranian Foreign Minister

All the young girls who come to interview me now tell me to give them something spicy or give them the liberty to manufacture something of their own. Their editors require it—Dilip Kumar interviewed in Mid-day.

chess

Van der Viet (Black) to move Willi

Rasuvajev (White) Position after White s 14th move Europa Cup Final

The Europa Cup chess equivalent of the European Cup does not attract quite so much attention as its football equivalent but certainly lacks none of the excitement The final played between tru. Soviet champions Burevestnik of Moscow and the Dutch Volmac of Rotterdam promited to be a rather one sided affair a sort of Notting ham Forest versus the part timers of some where or other who have a couple of good players but the qualkueper is a part time dentist and the left back it is a handressing salon etc. the Dutch being on paper at any rate heavily outgunned. The strength of the Moscow team could be gauged from the fact that they named ex world champion Vassily Smyslov as their re-cive for the first product a major upset the Busines (continuing the football metry in a visit in each unit in each equaliser. Undoubted he o of the Detch offort was their young European Champion Van der Viel who produced wo parting wins against strong grandmasters. Barely 21 he already plays with the authority of a seasoned grandmaster and is clearly the most promising young Dutch player to emerge since Jan Timman.

I give his first round game in which he

demolishes a very strong and experienced opponent

White Rasuvajev (Moscow) Black Van der Viel (Rotterdam)

Europa Cup Linal King s Indian Defence

Saemisch Variation

1 P-Q4 N-KB3 2 P C51 P-KN3 3 1 P-04 N-KB3 2 P C51 P-M3 3 N- 083 B- N2 4 P-M1 P C3 5 7- B3 P-0P3 6 B-K3 0-C / C-02 P N3 8 R-01, B-02 A very strange looking move but he could not play be intended 8 P-B4 because of 9 PxP NPxP 1(Bx/ exploiting the pin c1 th 0 file 2 mi- m2 9 P-K5 vay more energetic a B4 10 0- N3 M- D3 41 9 0-. P -84 10 P-N3 N-23 11 P-Q5 N...OCA

N- K4 was an ambitious if Here 11 dangerous alternative leading to sharp var dangerous alternative leading to sharp variations after 12 P KR3 (trying to win a place) P—QN4 13 P B4 P—N5 14 F—QN1 N×KP 15 Q B2 (still trying own a piece) B B4 16 P 44 N—B6 mate! Better not to try and win the piece!

1. N—B1 R—QN1 13 P—QR4 N—K1 i lending N—B2 and P—QN1 i lending N—B2 and P—QN1 i tending N- B2 and P-QN1 14 B-R6? Clearly overlooking Black's reply though he was it any case tready losing the initiative

(DIAGR/M)

14 P—K4! Very strung for if 15 B x B
N x B Black is perfectly poised to hit back

with P KB4 so White decides to mix it
15 PxPep Q—R5+ the point
16 P—N3 BxB 17 PxQ, BxQ 18 KxB
PxP 19 K—K3 N—QB3 20 N(1)—K2 -K4! With a positionally won game. The backward pawn will be masked by

21 N-Q5 N-Q5, 22 N x N BP x N + , 23 K-B2 N-B3 24 B-Q3, K-N2 Fine play Black can improve this kings position before exchanging knights 25 KR-N1 K-R3 26 R-N5, N x N An excellent moment to exchange knights with the RN5

far away from the queenside
27 BP x N P—QN4 28 P—QR5
R(N1)—QB1 29 P—N4 R—B6 30 R—N2
R—N6 31 K—N3 R—QB1! Plenty of time
to take the QNP

32 R-QB2 Playing for a trick 32 R x B 33 R x R(8) R x R 34 R—Q8
White s point The bishop is trapped
34 R—KB8, 35 K—N2, B—R6+!

Black's point. The bishop is irrelevant 36 KxB P-Q6 and White resigned The pawn is unstoppable

MICHAEL STEAN

bridge

READERS often cast doubt on good plays attributed to well known players. Nothing is ir ore boring I agree than to see a standard brilliancy reported as though it had been achieved recently by some friend of the writer. It is a trap into which I never fall deliberately But sometimes it is difficult not to be sceptical. See what you think of this deal reported by Le Bridgeur in a feature called The best deals of the month

Dealer South Game all ↑ 6 ♥ A K 4 3 ♦ 8 7 2 ♣ A 7 6 5 4 ♠ Q 10 2 ♥ Q J 9 8 / ♦ K 10 ' **♠** K 9 B 7 ♥ 10 6 5 N W E ♦ Q 4 ้ร 98 # Q J 10 2 ♠ A J 5 4 3 ♥ 2 à J 9 6 3 4 K 3

South plays in Five Diamonds and West leads the Queen of hearts. In preference to making a frontal attack on the diamonds Soi th cashes the side winners and ruffs two spades and one heart to arrive at this position

& Q 10 2 ** |) ♦ K 10 5 A 196

outh leads the Jack of spades and the Herence seems to have no chance to make more than two tricks. If West discards declarer ruffs and leads a heart from dummy East may ruff high but South loses only to ♦ K and ♦ 10 If West ruffs the spade with ♦ 10 again he makes only one

But study the possible effect of ruffing J with the diamond King and exiting with a heart. East does best to discard a club South ruffs and thinking that ♦ 10 must be on his right leads ♦ J from AJ9 East wins and promotes his partner's trumps

A leading French player Daniel Versini remarks that he made this super play of the King of diamonds at the table

TERENCE REESE

stamps



Medicival coins are featured on four new stamps from the Grand Ducty of Luxem hourg One of them (above) i a silver grosso portraying Count John of Luxem bourg who in 1310 succeeded his father in law as King of Bohemia. After a long career as a royal moreonary King John became blind but earned a niche in English hil tory by fighting on the French side and dying gallantly at Creey in 346. Their appears to be no contemporary evidence for the picturesque tradition that the Black Prince picked up the dead kings hield and claimed for himself to device if three ostrich plumes and the motto feh Dien. The grosso is exceptional among 14th century coins in having a lifelike portrait of the monarch. Its English equivalent was the silver fourpence, which was known as the groat from its French contemporary the gros tournois first minted at Tours about 1260. It was Edward III, the victor of Crecy who made the groat a regular feature of the English coinage though it had been issued briefly by his grandfather Edward I

C W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

1 Lacrosse is the oldest organised sport North America What is the crosse? The theory in *Philosophie zoologique* explained why giraffes have long necks and eels have no fins. Who propounded the theory?

3 Franz Liszt the greatest plano vir tuoso of his time revolutionised the technique of piano playing and invented the piano recital as it is known today. To which country did he belong?
4 What is Vikramorvasi?

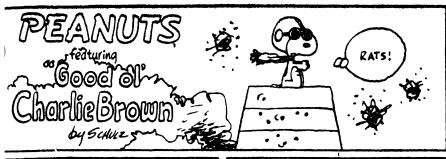
5 Rosh Hashana is celebrated among the Jewish community with the sounding of the ram's horn and festive meals What is Rosh, Hashana?

The Jewish New Year drama wutten by Kalidas the outstand A A drama whose theme is the love of a mortal for a divine maiden. The second Hongary

by the demands of the environment and organs were fostered or eliminated crozier la crosse in French

by the players to carry and pass the ball it derived its name from the Bishop's wooden staff with a loose network used The implement consisting of a

VHRMEHR

















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COMICS



Melur M CORSICA

by GOSCINNY and UDERZO

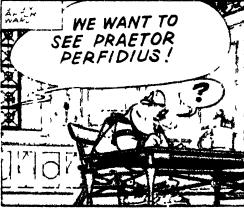




WHAT WAS YOU THINK HE INTENDS TO ESCAPE PRAETOR'S HAVING THE AND WAREHOUSES LEAVE CLEARED. US HERE?

WHO TOLD YOU WE WERE LOADING EVERYTHING UP ON A GALLEY BEFORE THE CORSICANS ATTACK ? COME ON, WHO TOLD YOU?

















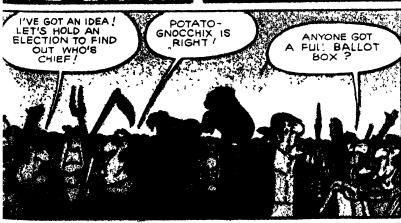
12, 5 6 %













YC(I) CIVIL WARS

On 13 September Maneka Gandhi came briefly into public focus again, after a long time, when she came out of 1, Safdarjung Road (the PM's residence) to calm the frayed tempers of an angry crowd of about 500 Youth Congress(I) activists. But this story is not really about Maneka, it is about the growing frictions in the Youth Congress(I) after Sanjay's death A tree-planting ceremony had been organised by one of the general secretaries of the Delhi Pradesh Youth Congress(I), Satish Yadav, at Uttamnagar in rural Delhi on 13 September. The Union Minister for Agriculture Rao Birendra Singh, the Harvana Power Minister Mehr Singh Rathi, the Delhi Pradesh Congress(I) chief H. K. L. Bhagat, the Delhi Youth Congress(1) president Jagdish Tytler, the MP from

outer Delhi Sajjan Kumar, and the Youth Congress(I) general secretary Sarvjit Singh were all invitees. While Mr Tytler was enjoying himself in Paris (that was where he had gone), and could therefore be excused for not turning up in the less salubrious environment of rural Dethi, none of the other VIPs turned up either to honour the memory of Mr Sanjay Gandhi An angry Mr Yadav, who must have told all his followers that he would make all the VIPs turn up, loaded his workers into trucks and drove straight to the PM's house to protest. The truth soon came Two Youth Congress(1) office bearers, Rati Ram and Shadi Ram, had sent telegrams to all these invitees saying that the function had been cancelled (both of them are close lieutenants of Jagdish Tytler) Apparently this is the schoolboyish prank level to which politics has sunk in the noble city of Delhi

WHISPER CAMPAIGN

A whisper campaign has been started against Foreign Minister P V Narasimha Rao. It is reliably learnt that Pandit Kamalapati Tri pathi, Narayan Dutt Tiwari and Mir Jasım have been telling people in Delhi, including the Prime Minister that it will be better to send him to Hyderabad as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. The whisper campaign has been started at the behest of Dr Channa Reddy. It seems that Channa Reddy wants Narasimha Rao to be out of Delhi in case he is brought to the centre after being removed from the chief ministership of Andhra. That will ensure that Channa Reddy will be the seniormost Andhra leader at the centre Moreover, if he is replaced by a senior man like Nara simha Rao at Hyderabad, it will also be a saving grace for Channa Reddy It may be recalled that at one stage Narasimha Rao was a powerful AICC general secretary in the undivided Congress and he had been entrusted with the task of overseeing the ouster of P R Das Munshi and the installation of Ambika Soni as the Youth Congress chief in 1975 Narasimha Rao was quite popular as a general secretary and was entrusted with the task of drafting the Congress(I) manies to before the Lok Sabha elections in January His elevation to the powerful position of foreign minister must have irked his opponents in central politics and understandably they have now become natural allies of Channa Reddy.



COSTLY ERROR

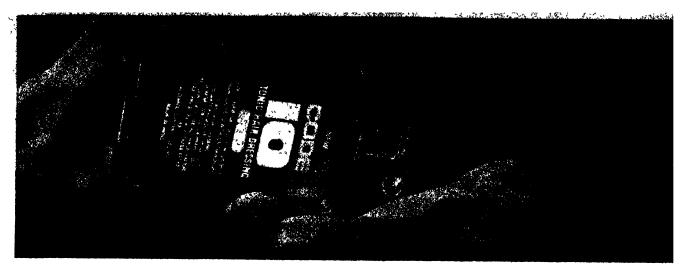
Maneka Gandhi seems to have missed a golden opportunity to remain in the limelight. Just after her husband's death, we were told. Mrs Gandhi asked Maneka if she would like to be her official hostess, just as Mrs Gandhi was Pandit Nehru's. This was one way, Mrs Gandhi must have thought, to keep Maneka occupied after the grievous loss of her husband Initially, Maneka was enthusiastic, but then someone gave her some poor advice and she refused the job of a "maidservant" If only Maneka had realised how powerful even a "maidservant" with access to a Prime Minister can be! Whatever the reason, Maneka missed her chance. It is also said that relations between the two daughters-in-law of the PM's household have become terrible, with the rise to power of Rany Gandhi

FLYING HIGH

With a heavy heart, we return our attention to the chronicles of P. C. Sethi It seems that this unique Minister of ours hits the headlines each time he boards an aircraft. This time it was not a puny state government plane, but a big, big jetliner of the Kuwait Airways. To begin from the beginning. Mr Sethi left on 16 September for a marathon tour to Kuwait, Rome, Tripoli, London, Geneva, Zurich and Baghdad, accompanied by his wife. There is nothing wrong in a Minister going abroad; they go all the time There is nothing wrong in a Minister's wife going with him, although wives do not accompany Ministers all the time But what has raised eyebrows is that Mr Sethi has broken tradition by choosing not to fly Air India, our national carrier

Normally any representative of the government whose expenses are being met out of the public exchequer travels by Air India unless the airline does not fly to the particular city he or she has to visit. But Mr Sethi took an 'open' ticket from Air India, which entitles him to fly by any airline which has a reciprocal arrangement with Air India. And his first lap was done by Kuwait Airways, despite the fact that Air India flies there. Why was the rule broken for Mr Sethi? And why does Kuwait figure twice in Mr Sethi's itinerary, once while going and the other while coming back?

D. E. NIZAMUDDIN



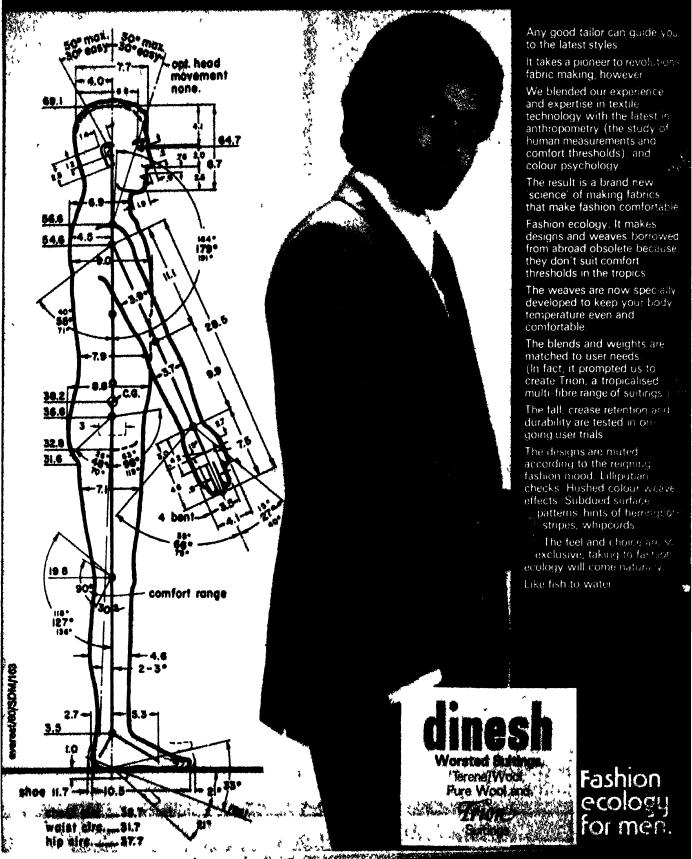
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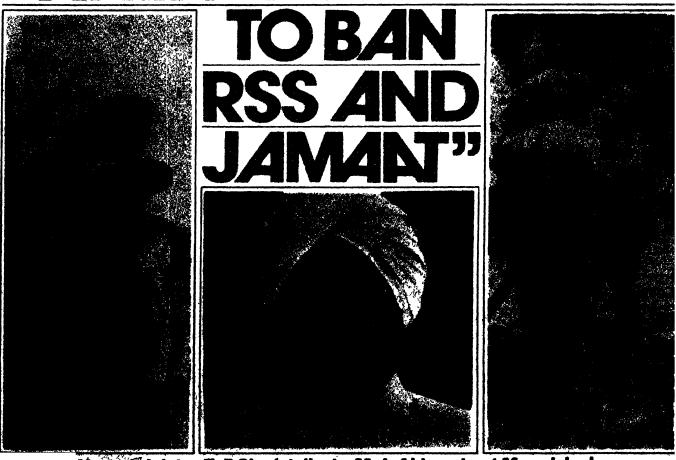
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Home minister Zall Singh talks to M. J. Akbar about Moradabad, communists, police, preventive detention and other subjects in his first in-depth interview



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1844/4351 A

Urs and Kumbh are but two of the two thousand, two hundred and fifty fairs and festivals of Uttar Pradesh

Drums roar. Bodies start swinging. A chorus spreads into the air. Slowly an ecstasy is dominant And after some time, nothing exists except the pleasure of those particular hours. Fairs and festivals are a beautiful excuse to forget the unpleasant In Uttar Pradesh.

such excuses are in plenty. More than 2,250 in a year



The common festivals are: Kartiki celebrated almost in the whole of Uttar Pradesh; Shivaratrı at Varanasi ; Dussehra at Allahabad, ; Ram Navami at Ayodhya; Ram Lila at Varanası: Janmashtamı at Mathura; Holi in Brijbhumi; Id-ul-Zuha in Lucknow; Syed Salar at Bahraich; Urs at Moradabad; Muharrum, Id-ul-Fitr and Chehellum in Lucknow; and Buddha Jayantı at Sarnath, Kushinagar, Sravasti and Sankasya.

A number of fairs fill the air of Uttar Pradesh with a ceaseless hum Kumbh and Ardh-Kumbh Held every twelfth and sixth year -at Hardwar and Allahabad. At Ftawah, a large cattle fair takes place in October. Exciting and colourful

In hills, autumn creates a mood of celebration The lush green valleys arouse a desire for pleasure The feet dance in rapture, and folk songs stir the air. It's the Autumn Festival. Against a background of silver rivers, towering pines, mystle mountains and wild flowers. The places: Nainital, Mussoorie, Dehradun, Almora, Pithoragarh, Chamoli, Uttarkashi, Tehri. And passions: yachting, trekking, skating, golfing, horse riding, fishing Facilities of conducted tours to Garhwal and Kumaon and trekking equipment are also available.

In Uttar Pradesh, rail, road and air routes make a net. For faster movement. There're a lot of luxury as well as modest hotels,

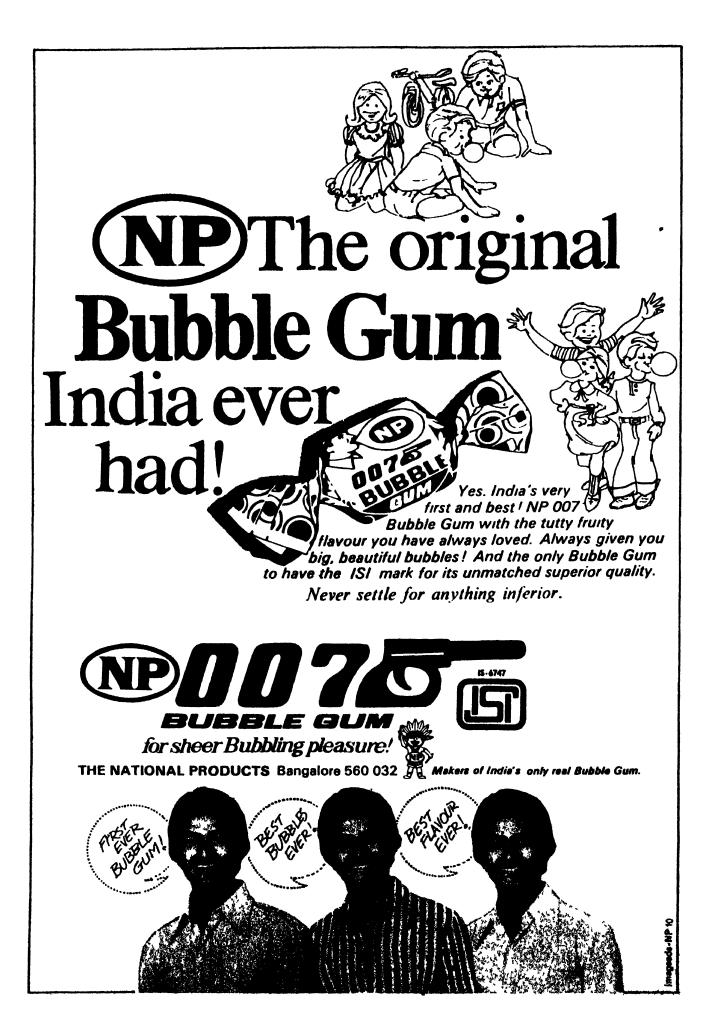
tourist bungalows, forest lodges. youth hostels, pilgrim sheds and dharmshalas that give a wide choice of accommodation to the tourist. The Department of Tourism alone has 2351 bed facility to offer in the State. Clean, comfortable and economical.

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November 2, 1980

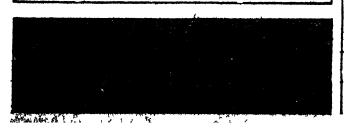


In an in-depth interview, home minister Zall Singh explains to M J AKBAR why the law and order situation in the country is so dismal. Is it a heritage of Janata rule? Are the RSS and the Jamaat to blame for the recent spurt in communal disturbances? This is the first detailed, on the record, interview that the home minister has granted after coming to power.

On 2 October, Muhammad Ali was battered into submission by Larry Holmes at Las Vegas With Ali's bid for a "fourth coming" ending in disaster, the Las Vegas bout may well mean the end of Ali's daring and colourful boxing career



How do the Khan brothers, Sanjay and Feroze run their filmi empire? Are they as sophisticated as they would like their fans to believe or are they woman-beaters? Do they enjoy political patronage and use underhand tricks to self their films? In short, are they businessmen or filmmakers? ASHISH RAJADHYAK-SHA takes a look at the dealings of the Khan brothers.



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Bombay. The sprawling sands glisten in the sun. Juhu, Versova. Marve...exciting seaside holidays in a swinging metro.

Palm fringed havens in the South.

Kovalam, The curling surfs sound a constant beat. Coconut fronds weave patterns against the sky.

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Mahabalipuram. The great shore temple is lapped gently by the wavesa testament to lasting faith.

Covelong. En route to Mahabalipuram from Madras. Once a fishing village Now a lovely resort.

Marina. In Madras Itself lies the second longest Beach in the world.

Sun, sand and solitude in the East

Puri. A beach resort that's also a

exquisite natural beaches in the world.

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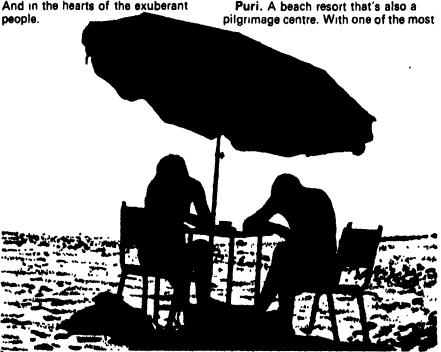


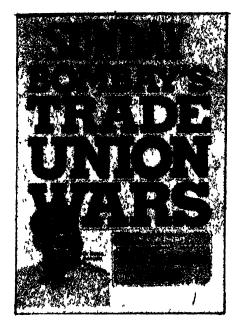
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Apart from parties

Javed Anand's analysis of Bombay's trade union movement (Saman't and Mehta: Fire and ice, 7 September) proves that people are gradually disowning political parties. This is evident too from the Assam agitation. It seems the beginning of the end of parliamentary democracy is in sight.

R. L. Hansia, Purulia

Workers are making persistent demands and frequently switching union affiliations. The only way to remedy this situation, and bring about a fair employeremployee relationship, would be to im-

employee relationship, would be to plement a national wage policy. Debabrata Sengupta, Howrah

As one actively connected with the working class movement for three decades, I have a few comments to make. The working class is agitated because of capitalist contradictions and their falling standard of living. The trade unions, for their part, vie with each other to fetch a few more rupees for workers. Though some immediate relief is secured, in the long run the monetary benefits of the workers are eroded due to inflation, and discontent simmers again. In the changed conditions, the unions are unable to provide relief because of earlier commitments. The workers then demand a change in leadership, in order to agitate. Long delays in settling industrial disputes have contributed to unrest. U. S. Venkataraman. Bangalore

Ethics of obstruction

Mr Satpal Malik of the Lok Dal (An Langry protest, 31 August) said his party's anti-rape movement "was so successful that for a week, work in courts and offices...remained paralysed." Does such obstruction benefit the common man?

Prayesh Chaturvedi. Deoria

Representative picture

Who do legislators think they are? (31 August) by Arun Shourie shows how stupid and lazy our elected representatives, who "spend all their time shouting at each other," are. Mr Shourie rightly demanded that legislative proceedings be broadcast.

M. Viswajith Rai, Puttur, Karnataka

The Lok Sabha Speaker had himself once said that voters should not pardon their representatives for unruly behaviour. As a voter I agree that our MPs and MLAs are accountable to their constituencies from where they should learn a lesson or two on how to behave. But will the Speaker admit a privilege motion in case the affected legislator starts one against people of his constituency? Legislators have become so allergic to public criticism that if anything is said or written about what they say or do in the House, they feel deprived of their privileges. M. C. Das, Bhubaneswar

Such articles show that there is still liberty left. Mr Shourie should have odded: "Freedom of speech is not a privilege but an organic and elementary necessity in modern society."

R. K. Sharms, New Delhi

How can a nation be disciplined and civilised when the lawmakers of the country themselves indulge in all sorts of undignified activities within the pro-tected precincts of Parliament and legislatures, which should normally be exemplary institutions? It is strange that Mr Arif Mohammad Khan intends to raise a breach of privilege motion against Mr Shourie for his article in the Indian Express, "A furore a day." I hope Mr Khan has not forgotten that he himself, as president of the Aligarh Muslim University Students' Union used to conduct the union meetings with strict discipline. He had on many occasions suspended various students from membership of the students' union for "destroying the de-corum of the House." I, as a student of AMU and an ardent supporter of Mr Khan, witnessed all this. As a matter of fact, on one occasion I had myself, on the advice of Mr Arif Mohammad Khan, raised one such motion against Mr Azam

Khan, now a Lok Dal MLA in UP and consequently Mr Azam Khan was suspended for a limited period from the membership of the AMU students' union "for not maintaining the decorum of the House."

M. Perwes Ahmad, Monghyr, Bihar

Mr Shourie's submission to the honourable Speaker of the House shows that people have no control over their representatives. How can we put an end to their unseemly conduct in legislatures? It is time we started thinking about the right of recall: this would have a sobering impact on our legislators.

Chandana Sarkar, Soma Saha, Pradip Biswas, Suchitra Kundu, Sibani Chakravarty and Sumita Chatterjee, 24 Parga-

nas, West Bengal.

It seems the situation prevailing in the Indian Parliament is similar to that in the German Parliament after the First World War. I quote Hitler in *Mein Kampf:* "I had always hated Parliament not as an institution in itself, but because in it the intellectual level of the debate was quite low. Sometimes the debates did not make themselves intelligible at all. Several of those present did not speak the national language but only their regional dialects. I had the opportunity of hearing with my own ears what I had hitherto been acquainted with only through newspapers. A turbulent mass of people, all gesticulating and bawling against one another with a pathetic old man shaking his bell and making frantic efforts to call the house to a sense of its dignity by friendly appeals, exhortations and grave warnings. Sometimes the house presented an entirely different picture, so much so that one could hardly recognise it as the same place. The hall was practically empty. They were all sleeping in the rooms below..." Similar is the condition of the Indian Parliament. Hitler further said in his book: "There is a better chance of seeing a camel pass through the eye of a needle, than of seeing a real gentleman discovered through an elec-tion. Because the man made laws he subsequently comes to think that he exists for the sake of the laws." R.C. Goel, Solan, Himachal Pradesh

Like beast, like man

The practice of branding human beings (Nandi's tale of torture, 31 August) continues in rural areas. I know of a case in a village Kodasa in the Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh a few years ago. A young married chamar (scheduled caste) woman worked in a thakur (upper caste) home, picking up the dung and cleaning the cattle shed. The wife of the thakur householder suspected her husband of having sexual relations with the chamar woman. The thakur woman, with the help of a few female relatives, stripped and tied up the chamar woman, and branded her with a red-hot iron on her vulva and thighs. The matter came to the notice of

the local police, but the thakurs, being rich and influential, managed to hush up the case.

Shivkant Choubey, Bhopal

Last year we observed the International Year of the Child with much pomp and ceremony, and also drew up an action plan for the betterment of children till the end of 1999. Yet there are children like Nandi who have been deprived of all rights. No exploiter of children can go unpunished if the government and public make sufficient efforts to detect exploitation.

Narayan Chandra Das, Cuttack

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No change needed

The case for reform (27 July) by Indu Jaysingh says that the Lawyers' Collective, a Bombay-based group of lawyers and law students, demanded changes in the rape law While agreeing that the rape law has not been able to protect women and is often biased in favour of men, I do not think members of the collective have fully grasped Section 90 IPC since most of the changes suggested by them have already been covered by the section which reads "A consent is not such a consent as is intended by any section of this code, if the consent is given under fear of injury, or under a misconception of fact, and if the person doing the act knows, or has reason to believe, that the consent was given in

consequence of such fear or misconception "Consent has also been interpreted by the courts "A mere act of helpless resignation in the face of inevitable compulsion, quiescence, non resistance, or passive giving in, when volitional faculty is either clouded by fear or vitiated by duress, cannot be deemed to be consent as understood in law The words 'will' and 'consent' have well-known meanings They indicate voluntary and conscious acceptance of what is proposed to be done in one case and concurred in another There is a subtle difference between willingness and submission "Hence there is no need for an amendment

Anjana Gupta, Bombay

Strong feelings

In eulogising the late Debabrata Biswas L(His life was no song, 31 August) Kishore Chatterjee perhaps forgot that Rabindranath wanted his songs sung the conventional way (The poet once even complained of his compositions being steamrollered) However, Debabrata Biswas was not popular so much for his unconventionality but for his unique voice He recorded 300 Tagore songs Three or four of his recordings were disapproved of by the Viswabharati Music Board because of glaring departures from conventionality in his later years, to which he took exception Abhay Pada Ghosh, Burdwan

Mother India?

So Rocky (Rocky on the rocks, 7 September) is the ideal type of film, in Mrs Nargis Dutt's view, is it? With the days of her goodie goodie roles over, it is time for scantily clad Tina Munims and Sunjay Dutts on motorbikes Did this give Mrs Dutt the moral right to assail Satyajit Ray? Ray will for ever be adored for his portrayal of the real India—the poverty we have been fighting ever since independence And we are not ashamed of it We are definitely ashamed of what films like Rocky show—anything but reality That must be Mrs Dutt's India, now

Ananda Bhattacharya, Burdwan

Even when Biswas was banned from recording Rabindrasangeet, his popularity remained intact, it even increased over the following years But why did his fellow-singers and fans not protest against the ban on his songs? Was it not a shame for music itself? Most singers, like Manna Dey, Lata Mangeshkar and Asha Bhonsle find it tough to follow regulations in Rabindrasangeet Music is an expression of human feelings, no one should impose an 'original' or 'pure' style, whatever it is George Biswas fought against this rigid convention, and others should now take the cue Amitava Mishra, Digboi

Foul play

Tooshar Pandit was wholly correct in saying (Calcutta's deadly football madness, 31 August) that "the impotence of the government was laid bare and all it could do was to cancel the remaining league matches" One expected that the West Bengal CM, after his return from the Moscow Olympics, would endeavour to ensure that sports events in this state were organised in a healthy, scientific and disciplined manner While the three big clubs were blamed for indiscipline, unfortunately the authorities forgot to say a good word about the fourth, Aryans, whose players are above board. KS Kandhaswamy, Calcutta

Coincidence, perhaps

10 The living witches of Karnataka" (17 August) shows how irrationality survives even in this age of science Most cases cited by the author show that people behave abnormally on full moon and new moon days This is a sign of "moon madness," something both Jack the Ripper and the Boston Strangler, were victims of. However, the relationship between lunar phases and human madness might be purely coincidental.

N. R. Ramesh, Hyderabad

"Bhanamati" is a challenge to modern science. Unfortunately although Dr Narasimhalah is trying to fight superstition, the government and people are not helping him.

S. R. Ramesh, Koler Gold Fields, Karna-

The story was very informative, but there are more diplomatic methods of witch craft in Kudligi and Harpanahalli towns in Bellary and parts of Adoni in Andhra Pradesh, where sorcery is practised by "bisivies," who are supposedly "children of god." The witches seduce young and good-looking women, and after seeking pleasure, feed them with "prassad"—which includes the saliva of poisonous reptiles. The result is paralysis of the limbs. Usually sorcery of this kind is practised on persons who are likely to surpass the sorcerer in his career P. V. Sivakumer, Hyderabad

There was an error in "The rituals." The names of the drugs the doctor prescribed are procanin penicyllin injection, sulfs diasine tablets and oricitol or oricitron. Shamim Ahmed, Jamahedpur

Misunderstood

Our attention has been drawn to the special report on Bangladesh (Zia, the army and Bangladesh, 7 September) by Tirthankar Ghosh. The reading of the situation in Bangladesh as reflected in the report is not an objective one Incorrect facts and hearsay have found place. Such reports may jeopardise the sincere efforts of both countries to strengthen further the bonds of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries.

A.B.M. Abdul Matin, Second Secretary (Press), Office of the Deputy High Commissioner in India, People's Republic of

Bangladesh

Why object?

What is wrong if the RSS (RSS Immoral liars, 7 September) changes its constitution four or five times in 55 years, when the Indian constitution has been changed 42 times in 33 years? Ratnakar Sahoo, Cuttack

Why should the RSS call itself a business organisation and pay income tax? RSS leaders have been fighting not to pay income tax since 1969, and are deter-

mined not to
G B Rath, Cuttack

The RSS, a political and paramilitary organisation, has made dubious attempts to evade income tax. On close scrutiny, it would appear that the RSS has amended its constitution a number of times, making a mess of accounts for the sake of money Truly, the RSS can stoop to any level to gain political power. Girija Sankar Padhy, Bhubaneswar

Tomorrow's hope

Delhi's Seva Kutir (7 September) by Kumkum Jain could well be a description of children's homes run both by the government, and in some instances, by private organisations In our country both religion and legislation protect animals and birds, but not children The West Bengal Children Act, 1959 is based on the assumption that whether a child is neglected or delinquent, he is "bad" and should be punished rather than rehabili tated Our organisation proposes drastic changes in the act, and has drafted a bill to ensure that children are protected by law Rules are said to have been framed for implementing the West Bengal Chil dren Act, 1959, though we have not seen them to this day There is also a set of rules for implementing the Central Children Act On paper they are stringent, but, as the article shows, one can amend the acts and draw up new rules But unless we realise the importance of children as the future of our country there will be no improvement in their welfare Reyhan Datta, Honorary Secretary, SOS Children's Villages, Calcutta

Last letter

turbe the last election campaign, the alogan was "Indica leo dech lastes," sow there is some improvelastes, sow there is some improvetion phases, jean buches, " "The form prices, save lives " comma sharnagar, Jahalpur

Thatingur gets Re 50



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The Government

Quiet! The press is listening

The latest effort of the government to hide its failures is. in a sense, the oldest method too; just stop the press from learning the truth, and maybe nobody will ever know what is going wrong. The government has taken steps to "tighten security for prevention of leakages." Government employees have once again been reminded that the Indian Official Secrets Act of 1923 continues to be applicable to them. They have been told that they are expected not to "divulge or otherwise pass on any classified information to outsiders, including the press, which may cause embarrassment to government" (italics ours). We underlined the last portion because the government has gone a step further from the past by including within the ambit even information which may "embarrass" the government: this is an innovation going beyond the letter and spirit of the black law of 1923 (passed by the British in yet another futile attempt to perpetuate itself in power).

This decision to remind the government employees of their vows of silence was taken at a meeting of the committee of secretaries held recently to take "strict measures" to "tighten up the security arrangements to ensure that leakages do not occur." Detailed instructions issued by the union home ministry specify: 1: All classified documents, unless carried by an officer by hand, should be sent to another room or officer in sealed/closed covers. 2: The pages of the stenographer's notebook in which dictation of secret matters has been taken should be removed and destroyed. Alternatively the PAs should be required to maintain separate notebooks for secret notes which should be kept in safe custody. 3: For duplicating of a secret paper, a section officer or any other gazetted officer should be present during all stages of the operation. 4: Strict account of the number of copies prepared of a secret document should be kept and each copy accounted for at all times. 5: All stencils, office copies, spare copies, rough papers etc should be destroyed. 6: On all secret communications except notes on the file, the PAs should be required to type their initials and number of copies made. 7: Secret and confidential matters should not be discussed over the telephone.

So the press once again becomes the whipping boy, the culprit—and the word goes out, stop talking to the journalists. But it is quite clear that these "strict measures" are directed mainly at the lower level staff. The senior officers will doubtless freely pass on information against their colleagues in other ministries, or against political bosses, whenever it is convenient to them.

Finance ministry's haste

What happens when governments do not keep their word? First they fall foul of the law courts (and then probably sulk and say that the courts are 'reactionary'). On 9 September the finance ministry issued a notification imposing a 12.5 per cent customs duty on alumnium imported by private exporters against their REP (replenishment) licences. The object was to enable the state-owned MMTC (Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation) to liquidate its stock of imported aluminium. But this notification contradicted an earlier notification, dated 18 April, which had clearly stated that the duty exemption for aluminium export would continue till 30

September. So the aggrieved parties went to the Delhi High Court and obtained a stay order on the new impost until 30 September. Nobody questions the finance ministry's right to make the new levy after 30 September, but why jump the gun? Though the move was ostensibly meant to improve the performance of a public sector agency, the MMTC, its main effect was to harm exports, which are very high on the list of current national priorities. Private import of aluminium against REP licences is undertaken by manufacturers of cables and conductors who have earned their import licences through their earlier exports and who would have used the new imported aluminium wholly for exports.

Ignorance is bliss

Mr A. B. A. Ghani Khan Choudhury is in charge of both the departments of coal and energy. Naturally, any thermal power project has to be cleared by him in his capacity as energy minister. The report from the Shram Shakti Bhavan from where Mr Choudhury operates is that thermal power projects are cleared by the minister with the remark "subject to availability of coal." No comment.

Tenderness for private sector?

D'th: Electric Sunnly Undertaking (Municipal Corporation of Dalhi)

maled tenders in duplicate are invited by Delhi Electri It is hardly unusual for the left hand of the government to be completely ignorant of what the right hand is doing; in fact what surprises people is if both the hands of the government, at any given moment, are completely aware of each other's movements. The centre, the other day, decided to restore the ten per cent price parity in its purchases from the public sector enterprises. In simpler terms, this means that even if a public sector undertaking quotes a price which is higher by ten per cent than the matching quotation from the private sector, the public sector wins. The Janata party had scrapped this provision when it had come to power, in an effort to maintain parity between the public and the private sector, on the principle that the public sector should be efficient enough to compete with the private sector without the benefit of any crutches. But the present government has restored the favoured status to the public sector.

But some of the government departments in charge of making purchases apparently have not heard of any such decision. An outstanding example is a recent tender for shoes (for its employees) floated by the Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking, a department of the Delhi administration. DESU, in its tender, wants 14,000 pairs of shoes, and asks six parties, five of them private sector companies in the organised sector, by name to bid for it (see illustration). Nor is this an isolated case. It is said to be a normal, though patently wrong, practice for government departments to ask specific companies to bid for their tenders. Tenders are meant to ask for quality at a reasonable price from any potential seller; they are not personal invitations to specific groups.

One explanation given for this is that the employees, for instance in the case of the shoes, would not be happy if they were not given a good brand name. But is this a reason or an excuse?

"THE TIME CAN COME NHEN 'NE MAY HAVE

: You are sitting today Qon a chair once occupied by Sardar Patel, and traditionally the most important seat of power after the Prime Minister's chair. And perhaps you must be the most worried home minister this country has seen after Sardar Patel: in the post-partition days the country passed through a grave crisis, and currently too the problems seem to be pretty severe, whether it is law and order, communalism, or the troubles in the north east. What do you think are the main reasons for the present crisis?

A' You are right in saying that there are quite a few complications today, but I do not want to compare either the situation or myself with Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel was a very great man. I appreciate that there are problems of a very serious nature today, but I would not like comparisons. I have great respect for Sardar Patel; and I have respect

too for all the friends who have occupied this office. The first thing to do to cure an illness is to diagnose it. Rising prices are one reason for the deteriorating law and order. The economic situation and law and order were both terrible when we took over, and it was necessary to simultaneously tackle both. After Indira Gandhi came back to power we tried our level best to restore law and order, and I am not satisfied that we have yet been able to do so But I will say one thing: within four months we were able to contain the deterioration caused due to what might be called "natural" reasons. But the problems created by "unnatural" forces, like communalism, did manifest themselves in a number of cities in UP, and we have tried our best to see to it that such things did not spread to all over the country. Of course miscreants tried to disturb the peace, but these miscreants were helped by our political enemies.

Q: You said that there was a "foreign hand" behind the disturbances. Do you still believe that?

A: I did not say this about Moradabad. I said that there was a "foreign hand" behind the Jamaat-e-Islami in Jammu and Kashmir, and foreign money had reached them, and the youth wing of the Jamaat has accepted this as true. I did not say that foreigners had a hand in Moradabad—neither did I say that they did not have a hand. I have said before that the powers of this world want to have their economic stake in the developing countries, and India did not surrender its economic independence to any power despite the fact that it was poor. It is because we maintained such independence from Pandit Nehru's time that today India is considered

TO BAN RSS AND JAMAN"

"Negotiations are going on, and I do not want any problems in them. I think we should avoid discussing the Assam talks or the problem at this stage." That was why home minister Zail Singh did not discuss Assam with M. J. Akbar. But, in his first in-depth interview since he became home minister in January this year, he has spoken frankly on a wide range of issues and problems. The interview took place on 2 October at his residence in Delhi, and was conducted in Hindi.

a force to reckon with. If you look carefully, you will find many countries who have succumbed to the economic imperialism of super powers.

Q. You are politicians and leaders, you in particular hold such an important post. Now whenever there is a communal Hindu-Muslim problem, the air seems to resound with talk of a "foreign hand". Frankly, are you saying that Muslims in this country are always instigated by Pakistan to disrupt our national life?

A: You ignored my answer to the last question: I only talked about Kashmir and the allegation (in that context) is valid. On Moradabad, I did not mention Pakistan or any other country What I said was that wherever there were disturbances, foreign powers tended to fish in order to destabilise (our country). Foreign powers cannot accept our independence and our non-alignment.

Q: A PTI report issued on August 14, the day you went to Moradabad after the trouble of August 13, quotes you as saying, "There has been a kind of conspiracy." What does this really mean? Who conspired?

A The opposition parties can indulge in a conspiracy against us. The most—

Q: By the opposition you mean the RSS, the Jamaat?
A: Yes, there is the RSS, there is the Jamaat-e-Islam; there are Bahuguna's friends; there is the Lok Dal; they all wanted the trouble to spread, and they made every effort to see to that. They sent their workers to instigate people, they spread rumours. For instance, they told people in Delhi that thousands of Muslims were killed, and then went to Allahabad and said that Muslims were killed in Delhi. Another thing: have Muslims and harijans ever fought before? No. This time there has been a deliberate effort to make Muslims and harijans fight. Why? Everyone knows that, along with others, Muslims and harijans helped our party wholeheartedly in the elections, and the effort was to create discord between the two. After Indira Gandhi left power in 1977, disunity, casteism, and communalism came to the fore, and the Janata government mollycoddled these forces—

Q: If you don't mind the interruption: you criticised the Janata and the Lok Dal governments, and the 1980 elections showed that the people listened to you, they sent you back to power. But now more than nine months have passed since January 1980. How much longer will you try and escape by blaming the Janata and the Lok Dal for everything that goes wrong?

A: The illness lasted a full three years, and now you want it to be could in a few months? That does not happen.

Kalling the miles in

O: Do you think the communal problem— A: I'll come to that. It is the government machinery which, mainly, makes the administration good or bad. It is very wrong to demoralise the government machinery, or to put so much political pressure on them that they can't do their work. It is, of course, their duty to implement the government's policies, economic or social, but to keep interfering in their day to day work, or to prevent a government servant form working by the merits of a -that is what ruins the administration. This is what the non-Congress governments did. Dismissals and appointments were made on considerations of who belonged to which group in the Janata. This happened particularly in the foreign ministry, in the information and broadcasting ministry and in the police, more so in the state police: only committed persons were employed or promoted, and this

was not good.

Q: Well, you seem to be doing the same thing. Mr P. S.
Bhinder, Delhi's police chief, has employed 200 constables

from his wife's constituency (Mrs Bhinder is the Congress(I) MP in the Lok Sabha from Gurdas-

pur in Punjab).

4 " M The

A: That was brought to my notice. I investigated. They were taken, it is true, but they were taken on merit. Was any constable appointed who did not fulfil the required conditions? In the Delhi police, generally people from UP, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan are employed.

Q: However you explain it, it remains exact-ly what, according to you, the Janata and the

Lok Dal did.

A: No. The appointments made by the Janata and Lok Dal were political in nature. In this case it was just that more people from one constituency were taken. Usme kya bari baat

Q: All right, if RSS sympathisers have been sent to the police, and you think they are at fault, why can't you take action against them?

A: We will take action against them; but when there is a conflagration, one does not take time off to see who is good or who is bad in the fire brigade. One must first use the fire brigade, first control the fire, and then see who should be kept on and who removed.

Q: Gianiji, but we are seeing that it is the fire brigade which is adding to the flames, for instance in Aligarh. True, civilians are also fanning the flames, but so also is the fire brigade in some places.

A: Only some people in the fire brigade.

Q: But you must catch these people, now, however few

they are.

A: We are investigating, but if we concentrate on this now it will be damaging. But those culprits who have done mischief-I do not believe that the whole forces is in any way guilty-

Q: Of course not. Muslim women of Moradabad came out of their houses to welcome men and officers of the BSF and

the army, they were embraced.

A: Yes, there have been no complaints about the BSF and the army. Whatever complaints have come to us have been about the PAC. But I will not agree that the whole of the PAC is guilty. There are some individuals in the PAC who have not behaved properly, and we will weed them out, we will punish them.

Q: Are you really starting a peace keeping force, or was that just a promise made at a troubled homent to be

forgotten later?

A: No, no. This is acutually an old idea, and our Prime Minister said (recently) that we should start a peace keeping force. But some newspapers made mistakes about the details of this force—for instance, that there would only be minorities in it. Everyone will be there, and admission into the force will be purely on merit. At the moment we are creating three batallions of this force. They will get special training, and we will keep in mind that the minorities and the weaker sections should not be ignored in the composi-tion of this force. There will be representations from all PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAMAL SAHAI

sections, social and geographical, and care will be taken ensure minority confidence in this force.

Q: Mr home minister, I do not know if you will agree wit me or not, but it is true, isn't it, that in our conventions police forces the minorities and the harijans are under represented? Moreover, the specific caste character of certain forces is one reason why they behave in the manne

that they do occasionally?

A: We have passed strict instructions to stop any such thing happening. If any such instance comes to our notice take an example; a senior officer has a second-in-command and a third-in-command, and the senior officer and the third-in-command belong to the same caste, then these two work together ignoring the man in the middle; we have passed instructions to stop this kind of thing. Communal ism, casteism, not only are these things bad for administra tion, but they are fundamentally wrong, they mitigate against the oaths we have taken. If the administration is not secular, then there can be no secularism. The heart of our constitution is that this is a socialist, secular republic.

Q: It is a coincidence that we are discussing communal



ism in our country on the day which we have declared a public holiday because Mahatma Gandhi was born on this day. It makes me sad, it makes me ashamed that despite our lip service to that great man, we still have to discuss such problems. What is the solution?

A: First, the administration must be genuinely secular. Both the government and the people must work together to remove communalism and casteism. The most serious thing I felt is that some political parties officially claim to believe in secularism, whose party constitutions are in perfect order but when it comes down to practice, then they do not remember all the nice things written in their consitutions. I am now talking about all political parties.

Q: Including, I hope, your own.
A: Yes, I am talking about my own party too. But there is one thing as far as our party is concerned. Our leader does not tolerate communalism one bit; and if anyone indulges in it, he or she does it very quietly. But some parties not merely do not hide their prejudices, but actually fan them. They believe that a Muslim will only represent a Muslim, a Hindu will only represent a Hindu. But our leaders, first Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and then Indiraji, do not tolerate such things. Yes, if Mrs Gandhi meets a religious person, she gives him respect.

Secondly, our religious leaders should not directly involve themselves with politics. Some of the things said

from the pulpits of places of worship...

Q: Would you like to legislate and ban political speeches at places of worship?

A: No. Because before making a law a government must always find out whether people are ready to accept that law



Have Muslims and harljans ever fought before? No. This time there has been a deliberate effort to make Muslims and harijans fight.

or not. This is a social problem, and must be solved by other means. If we make such a law then it will be called interference in freedom of religious worship. We want to say: let everyone believe in and practise his religion, but let him also know the truth about his religion. Take an example the people who pray in the name of Ram and Sita have not allowed harijans to enter their temples You know the story of how Bhagwan Ramji had eaten fruit tasted by a harrjan woman, but the priests who take his name will not allow the harijan to enter the temple. Nowhere have the great religious leaders said or written that another person who does not believe in their faith should be killed. But I have myself heard speeches being made from places of worship saying that the time has come to protect one's faith and those who do not believe in that faith must be killed

Q: Where exactly did you hear this? A: At many places. I have argued with religious leaders about this I have told them, 'What are you saying?'

Q: Have you heard this in a mosque, or a temple, or a-? A. I am not taking the name of any religion in particular. If I go to a gurdwara and start saying that Sikhism is the

only true religion and that the rest of the world is condemned; or in a mosque that everyone else is a kafir and therefore should be looked down upon...No one should be allowed to preach hate against another human being. We can only survive by tolerance and co-existence. Take the case of Moradabad True, some poor people breed pigs, and they have even been encouraged to breed them as this is one means of some financial sustenance. But it was so wrong that they were allowed to keep wandering on the streets (that day). Now, some people eat pig's meat. For other animals, there is a slaughterhouse; there should be a separate slaughterhouse for pigs too. I told the UP government that a separate slaughterhouse should be built for pigs. Why should this animal go and disturb those who think it is unclean? Now I had spoken earlier about a conspiracy There is going to be a judicial enquiry into the Moradabad incidents-

Q: Yes, but at what level? Such a major tragedy took place, and only a district judge is investigating. Traditionaly, at least a High Court judge has conducted the enquiry. Why? Is it because you do not believe this to be a major

tragedy?

A: There has not been much controversy on this score. Whoever was nominated by the High Court has been accepted by the UP government. To get back to the earlier point, the incident took place at Moradabad. But after that, to say that a Black Day will be observed...lakhs of black badges suddenly appeared; who distributed them? And then, who threw a piece of pig's meat in front of a mosque in Allahabad? Who threw it there?

Q: Yes, who threw it there? A: I do not call those who did this either Hindus or Muslims. Our political opponents encouraged goondas to do



I will not agree that the whole of the PAC is guilty. There are some indi-viduals in the PAC who have not behaved properly, and we will weed them out, we will punish them.

all this. It may be that a part of the government administration was also involved in this—it is possible; I do not yet know the full truth, but this is possible. But our political opponents speak well in public, put up a respectable front, and then start communal riots quietly! Deputations have come to me from the affected places. I told them, 'You have come to try and cure the illness. But tell me, why is it that your deputation only consists of Hindus?' Or, for that matter, of Muslims.

: There is great tension in all the cities of the north. Different communities cannot live peacefully together if there is no sense of trust. There is today a great sense of insecurity among the minorities. To add to the problems, this year Bakr-Id and Dussehra are falling on virtually the same day, and this might lead to a fresh outbreak of communal rioting, as the Muslims sacrifice animals for Bakr-Id and the Hindus take out Dussehra processions carrying lathis and spears and swords. One rumour, one stone thrown-that might be enough to ignite things, what steps is the administration taking to prevent any outbursts?

A: We have written to all chief ministers, and governors of union territories, that they should keep in mind the tension and the distrust that exist. They should take the direct help of the local people to try and defuse tension. These are national festivals; the sentiments of crores are linked to these festivals. Celebration committees should be formed in which people from all religions are there. Diwali is coming, Ramlila is coming. Some people came to me to invite me to this year's Ramlila (in Delhi) I said I would go, on one condition: the Ramlila committee must have Muslims, Christians and other non-Hindus too. We have also asked the administration to be vigilant during this festival period, but more than the administration I have faith in the people. Local representatives—from clubs, associations, unions, social and educational institutions—should be involved with the administration in preventing trouble. The Prime Minister will issue an appeal to the people not to be provoked. I am confident we will be able to control the situation Hindus and Muslims have already come forward in many places to prevent riots. Of course, those who have lost their relatives—their anger will not calm so easily. But on our part we will help them financially, and do everything within our means to heal their wounds.

Q: But, in reality, your government in UP, far from healing wounds, is continuing to harass the people, particularly Muslims. Does this mean that basically you do not

trust Muslims?

A: No; completely wrong. Complaints, in fact, have come to me from both sides. Hindus say they are being arrested in larger numbers; Muslims say that they are being arrested more.

Q: But you are the home minister. If you want it, the UP government will put the full facts of how many arrests have

taken place in which community, in front of you.

A: I have asked for the figures, but they have not reached me yet. But I can assure you that if we get any information that anyone in the administration has arrested people only on the basis of community, and not because they were indulging in mischief and members of both communities can do that—then we will take action, we will punish such officials.

Q. Have you had occasion to punish any officials? A: So far, the punishment is only suspension or transfer, but I can assure you that we will make the punishment

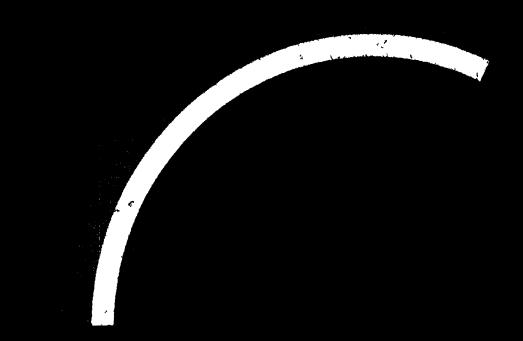
much harsher.

Q: Seeing the present problems, do you think the time has come again to ban the RSS and the Jamaat-e-Islami?

A: Aa sakta hai (The time can come). Yey koi bari baat nahi hai (That is not a big thing). But if you ban something it does not necessarily disappear. We must fight their beliefs and their methods by mobilising public opinion against them. Previously, even government servants used to go to shakhas, their children used to go, shakhas used to be held on government land: we stopped it. We made it clear that whether it is the RSS or any other organisation, whoever spreads hate, will have strong action taken against it, and we will not be afraid to do so. Such forces should never find acceptability among the people, because if they do, then they will do great damage.

What should you think of whenever you think of J&N?

A carnival of burterflies in rainbow street.



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ASLI BHARAT

Q Now, Gianiji, because of one picture about Moradabad published by Aslı Bharat, which is a Lok Dal weekly, you took action against it. Police raided the offices, a case has been started, etc on the charge that Aslı Bharat was fomenting communalism. But that same picture was published by other newspapers and magazines in the country Jagran from Kanpur, Malayala Manorama from Cochin, Free Press Journal from Bombay, Current from Bombay Even the new Sri Varsha, which is very much a pro-Congress(I) weekly, published the picture In fact this magazine was inaugurated by Mr A R Antulay Why did you take action only against Asli Bharat?

A The state governments of the places from where these papers come out should take action against these papers, if they don't we will ask them to take action Because that is a fraud photograph, which has been deliberately made up (Editor's note pigs are shown nib

bling at a blanketed corpse)

Q Gianiji if you don't mind, I know that photographer who took the picture, and I was in Moradabad the day he was in Moradabad, though we were not together. I am not discussing whether that picture should have been published or not, that is another question, but I do believe that the picture was not fraudulent.

A: Yes?

Q. Yes The feeling that has gone around is that the government acted against Aslı Bharat not because of the picture, but because the paper owed allegiance to an opposition political party. And you have no desire to take

action against the other papers.

A This is the first time that someone has pointed this out to me I will look into this And I can tell you that even if a person belongs to our party, but tries to encourage communalism, we will not show him any mercy And I have reached the conclusion that if we behave in a partisan manner, we will have no credibility among the people. People have appreciated us when we have dealt sternly with this problem, and we are now determined that we will not allow communal riots to flare up again. We will not allow secessionist forces, communal forces, or any force which is a danger to the stability of our country, to raise its head: I can say that with confidence. Everyone in our country, rich, poor, majority, minority, must be equal in our eyes, otherwise secularism will remain an empty idea.

Q: Vishwanath Pratap Singh, chief minister of UP, offered to resign after the disturbances in UP but you refused to accept his resignation. And you were the home minister who dismissed the government of Banarsi Das in UP earlier this year over the Narampur issue. What is the

justification, what is the logic?

A: We did not dismiss the Banarsi Das government over Narsinpur. It was correct, in a way, that Vishwanath Pratap Singh offered to resign, but the Prime Minister was equally

correct when she did not accept the resignation. If we, want to start blaming people, then one can blame not only the CM but also the chief secretary and so many others. But the real fault is of the person in charge on the spot, if he has been negligent or mischievous. I have a list of peoplewhich I do not want to disclose now-in our government who, instead of trying to douse the fire, tried to fan the flames, and we will punish them. But the PM was correct in refusing to accept the UP CM's resignation. She told him to continue his work, and he is doing his work honestly. It may not be possible for him to control every sutuation immediately, but he is not communal, and he is trying his best to solve the problems.

Q: But if you did not dismiss the Banarsi Das government because of Narainpur, then why did you dismiss it?

A: We dismissed not only Banarsi Das' government, but nine governments in those states where the ruling party had lost the confidence of the people, and had got very few votes in the Lok Sabha elections. According to the principle used by the Janata government in 1977, that Congress state governments did not represent the people after the March 1977 elections, the Lok Dal government in UP too had been reduced to a minority government, in whom the people no longer had any faith. There was the Narainpur incident in UP, but there was no similar incident in Rajasthan or in other states where governments were dismissed.

Q. If you look at voting percentages, then the Congress (I) had 35 9 per cent of the popular vote in UP in January 1980 And in a state like West Bengal, the Congress(I), although it lost in a one-to-one situation, had 36 47 per cent of the vote According to your logic, the Left Front government in West Bengal should also have been dis-

missed

A. But the Left Front was not in a minority, it was in a majority The question was not how many votes we got, but how many votes the ruling party got. We did not do any favour to the Left Front.

LEFT GOVERNMENTS

Q: What do you feel about the performance of the leftist

govenments in Tripura, West Bengal and Kerala?

A: We get complaints about them, that they are vindictive towards the opposition And this is possible. Because you have to see from where a political party takes its direction. Now the communist manifesto (in which the communists believe) does not accept democracy. Wherever the communists are in power, anywhere in the world, they do not allow the opposition any freedom, either of organisation or speech.

Q: Opposition papers certainly do come out in Calcutta. A: I am talking about countries where they have complete power. If they take over in our country, they will behave as other communist governments do, whether in China or anywhere else. But as far as our leftist governments are concerned, we have no evidence so far that their presence has become intolerable.

Q: But if you think our communist parties are antidemocratic, then that makes them unconstitutional, doesn't

A: No, I don't say that India's communist parties are anti-democratic. They accept our constitution. I was only making the point well, I am a member of Indira Gandhi's government. My views, my actions, will only reflect the views of my leader, who is the Prime Minister. I was talking of a fundamental attitude—that the communist manifesto does not allow communists to believe in democracy. Do communists allow free trade unions in the countries which they rule? They will not allow anyone other than a party member to lead a trade union. Well, we are not against their system as such. The USSR is a friend of ours, but it has its own system (which is different from ours)-how does that matter to us? And today the world has become far more flexible. A country like the USA once tried to prevent China from even becoming a member of the United Nations—we spent all our time trying to make China a member. A time then came when the president of USA had to go to Mao, and forgot all about the fact that China was not a democracy. Nobody told Yahya Khan that he was not a

Peace what lasts



Three years of left front rule Jyoti Basu addressing meeting

democrat, but London's papers call our government antidemocratic!

Q: Do you think that our communist parties take instructions from Moscow? That their real guru sits in Moscow?

A: The communists are divided into four main factions: the CPI(M), the CPI, the All India Communist Party of Mr Dange and the CPI(ML), which is further subdivided into two now

Q: There must be a thousand factions of the CPI(ML). A: No, two: two in Tamil Nadu, two in Kerala, two in West Bengal, and in other areas they are not very important. Now, some of them listen to China. I don't want to get into the controversy of who is whose real guru. But then communists do believe in their basic manifesto. Now, supposing you want to go to Chandigarh from Delhi. Now if you want to go by car you cannot avoid Panipat; Panipat will come in the way, if you want to stop there you can...they are on the road...Tell me another thing: who should I accept as a communist in India? Dange? Rajeshwar (Rao)? Namboodiripad? They are all opportunists I say this without fear—please print it. Their opportunism has no limit. Which party of the country is there with which they have not made an alliance? And whoever they ally with becomes a "progressive," and whoever they are against becomes a "reactionary."

Q: But the CPI was allied to you for years.

A: Yes, we were "progressive" then! And when the alliance broke we became "reactionary." In Punjab they allied with Akali Dal. They joined hands with the Muslim League. They were with the Janata party. They kept saying that they were with the Janata in order to save democracy. The truth is they must join somebody or the other. I would like to tell both the CPI and the CPI(M)—fight alone and show the country, just as we fought alone. Who was with us? Even official Congress—remember we were called a splinter group?—was against us. Indira Gandhi was alone

against all the parties of the country. In 1971, it was said

that Mrs Gandhi won despite the split in the Congress because she was in power during the elections, and the communists had supported her. But in 1980, she was alone and the people voted for her.

Q: Isn't the CPI(M) trying to come closer to you now?

A: We agree on many issues: for instance, secularism.

That is one thing in which all the communists, of whichever faction, believe—I admit that. And I also agree that the communists do try and do something for the poor. They are also very disciplined parties. But I do not accept that they are really democratic. At least they are not democratic in the way we in India understand democracy.

Q: Why doesn't communism spread in a poor country like ours?

A: In our country, neither communal parties nor communist parties can ever achieve national power. Nothing can change the basic character of a nation-not capitalism, not communism, not any 1sm. Not even religion. Islam could not change the fundamental character: Bangladesh had to be born. Iraq and Iran are at war today. If communism had the ability to change national characteristics then China would not have invaded Vietnam. Pandit Nehru chose our ism. In our country, only that government can be elected which is basically progressive, helps the working people, does not indulge in communalism, and does not attack either our religions or our mahapurush. But communists believe that religion is the opium of the masses, and should be finished: who will listen to them in Hindustan? Where don't you find communist cadre in our country—schools, colleges, universities, government offices. I am the home minister, isn't it? I don't know if communists are sitting outside my office or not (laughter), they work so quietly. But despite all this, I can tell you that they can never be in harmony with the sentiment of the country. You cannot uproot religion from here.

Q: To come back to current issues, the government in West Bengal has said that it will ignore the recent ordinance on preventive detention which the centre has issued.

A: Bari khushi se kar dein (Let them ignore it). They must be more "progressive" than we. But I want to say this, that no chief minister has so far attacked this ordinance, not one.

Q: But it was Jyoti Basu who said that he would not

implement the ordinance.

A: Implementing or not implementing it is another matter, but let Jyoti Basu say that the ordinance is not necessary! Our chief minister in Maharashtra was also complaining that this ordinance was not okay—he wanted a more aggressive one, like the one he had passed in Maharashtra. We have not sidetracked the judiciary, but kept a provision for an advisory board to be constituted by the High Court judge. And if any chief minister criticises the centre's ordinance, I will place before the people, the



Wherever communists are in power they do not allow the opposition any freedom...

Communists are all opportunists, I say this without fear—please print it. Their opportunism has no limit.



centre's ordinance and the ordinances which CMs have passed in their own states. Jyoti Basu should remember what happened in Tripura. Didn't the CPI(M) government of Tripura issue an ordinance before us or not? Didn't the centre agree to that ordinance?

Q: People feel that this ordinance is MISA by another

name.

A: People do not feel this at all; only the opposition alleges this. All peace-loving people are happy with this ordinance. People are complaining to me that we are not tough enough. I maintain: we do not want to kill anyone, but it is the duty of policemen to kill ten people if that is the price to be paid for saving a thousand people. There are anti-social elements who will not allow communal passions to ease. There are people who will not allow prices to fall. Adulteration flourishes, smuggling continues. We have issued the ordinance to tackle these problems, not to attack political parties.

Q: But, Gianiji, there was an ordinance issued by the Charan Singh government against blackmarketeers and hoarders, and this was ratified by the Parliament after the 1980 elections-this was perhaps the only decision of the previous governments which was accepted by the Congress(I) Despite this law being already there, how many blackmarketeers and hoarders have you arrested? And this

ordinance does not seem to have stopped either hoarding or blackmarketeering in sugar.

A: There are many other reasons for the rise in the price of sugar; ours is one of the lowest prices for sugar in the world.

Q: But we produce our sugar, and international prices

should not have much impact on our prices.

A: You will accept one thing: in 1978, sugarcane and wood sold at the same price in the villages, there was such a glut Farmers reduced their cane output. After this year's crop, prices will come down.

Q: In any case, how many blackmarketeers and hoar-

ders have you arrested?

A. I don't have the figures with me.

Q: Isn't preventive detention against the principles of natural justice?

A. No, in fact this can help in providing better justice, because miscreants can be stopped before they have committed a crime.

Q: But you can easily use this against your political

A. We will not do that. There are other laws which can be misused to harass political opponents, but does that mean that those laws should be removed? With this ordinance, the strength that the government needs to run things is now available. And I want to add that this ordinance is completely constitutional.

Q: Is it your position then that this country cannot be run without such an ordinance?

A: No, I did not say that. From the beginning we discussed the conditions that the nation is passing through at the moment, and we are aware of the problems, we have the will to sort them out—we need the capacity. But we do not want to do anything which is outside the law.

Q: Sardar Patel too had to handle communal riots, and on a much larger scale. He did not need such an ordinance.

A: Sardar Patel did stop riots, but the situation in the country was different. First, the laws then were still British (our constitution came only in 1952). Even democracy had not come then. There were no opposition parties (except for the CPI); the Jana Sangh had not been born. Sardar Patel brought unity from disunity; we have to preserve that

Q: Incidentally, to change the subject, the demand for the restoration of the minority character of Aligarh Muslim

University is being revived. Are you restoring it?

A: Of course. The bill has been introduced in the previous session. I have told AMU students and Muslim

organisations this.

Q: There was a controversy recently on the foreign tours by MPs to check the progress of Hindi in our embassies. You are chairman of the official languages commission, and you too were supposed to accompany one such delegation. Why didn't you go? Do you think such trips are worthwhile? Rs one crore is being spent on this apparently.



Q: How much longer will you try and escape. by blaming the Janata and Lok Dai for everything that goes wrong? A: The iliness lasted a full three years, and now you want it to be cured in a few months? That does not happen.

A: This figure of one crore is wrong. I don't know precisely, but the cost is between Rs 17 and Rs 19 lakhs only This was a decision by Parliament, and our government had nothing to do with it. As home minister I am automatically chairman of the body All the MPs of all the parties decided that these delegations should go. They wanted me to go on one delegation, but I couldn't.

Q: A lot of stories circulate about you, surely some_ofthem are apocryphal; in any case they are damaging. For example, that you said in the course of a speech that Punjabis speak Punjabi and Andhras speak Andhiri.

A: Wrong. Absolutely wrong. Do you expect me not to know which are the 14 official languages? That is obviously a joke of some sort. Even an ordinary person knows what

language is spoken where.

Q. One last question—we have already taken far more than the scheduled time. About the Gurdev Singh commission report against you in which you were indicted, what is your opinion about it? Second, you had set up a committee to investigate the charges—do you think a committee of government servants can comment honestly on a report against the home minister of the country?

A: First, I did not set up the committee, it was Punjab chief minister Darbara Singh who set up the committee. Second: why can't the bureaucrat be honest? After all it was some bureaucrat who had suggested an enquiry

against me.

Q: I meant that if an independent body had gone into the charges, the credibility of the exoneration would have

been higher

A: But it was an opponent of mine who enquired against me-how much more "independent" can you get? I had spoken out against that person, saying that he wanted an extension from me and I did not give it (Giani Zail Singh was chief minister of Punjab before 1977). But they could find nothing against me. They tried to force bureaucrats to give evidence against me, but the bureaucrats would not, because they did not have any evidence against me. Was one single instance of corruption found? Badal tried to persuade bureaucrats to give evidence against me. Despite all their efforts to discover some evidence of corruption they could not find even one instance. The judge (who enquired) was biased against me. I told the judge that he was prejudiced against me, and therefore he had no right to enquire against me. I had written to home minister Charan Singh that a Supreme Court judge should enquire the charges against me. You know that High Court judges are appointed by chief ministers; I made 12 judges. I told the judge enquiring against me, 'You have retired; you cannot become a judge again. Your status is lower than mine. And there is no case against me'. He said I was insulting the court. I banged my fist on the table and told him that I was an ex-chief minister, and could become chief minister again, but there was no way in which he could become a judge again. He was biased; I refused to give evidence in front of him. And after all the effort, what did they have against me? That I had got some of "my people" appointed. Not relatives, just "my men". Maine to aisa koi bewaqoof-chief minister nahin dekha jo apne dushmanon ko laga de (I haven't seen any chief minister who would be so foolish as to appoint his enemies). Main bewaqoof thora hi hun ke apne saare dushmanon ko bhar deta? (Was I a fool that I would fill the government with my enemies?) 23



Even Durga wasn't single-handed

good parallel to our current condition is our situation in late 1968. The country's economy was in very bad shape. It faced both an acute food crisis and a high rate of inflation The SVD governments in the Hindi-speaking states which had mushroomed after the '67 poll had collapsed. And the Congress bosses were more busy with their intrigues than giving a clear direction to their party or the government at the centre. Everyone was expecting Mrs Gandhi to take some dramatic and radical steps, both on the political and economic fronts, to turn the tide. But alas, nothing came. And so the pundits in Delhi started saying: She is weak and has lost the initiative. She cannot save the situation.

I was a junior reporter then and had an unexpected opportunity of travelling with the Prime Minister in her special plane I sought an interview and it was readily granted. It was a small 20-minute hop After the interview had lasted about ten minutes I had to close my notebook and Mrs Gandhi started asking me questions about the West Bengal situation But I was more interested in knowing her mind than giving my assessments about West Bengal. As it was an entirely off-the-record talk I gathered enough courage to ask: Madam, why are you not that decisive any more? Why are you hesitant?

Mrs Gandhi was not then her present self and I was also in my early thirties. So when she frowned and wanted to know in a stern voice what I meant by that, I did not fumble for a moment and told her: Madam, when you started it was with bold decisions like the bifurcation of Punjab, devaluation, etc. And now, pundits in Delhi write that you are unable to take any firm action, either in party affairs or on the government front. You are even hesitating to reshuffle your ministry! Mrs Gandhi calmed down and smiled at me: The difficulty with you young people is that you are impatient. You always want immediate action. But you cannot take drastic actions at any and every time. You will have to wait for the most opportune moment and only then should you act decisively. Otherwise you won't get the desired effect.

For the last few months, more so after Sanjay's death, the pundits in Delhi are again saying: She has lost her decisiveness. She is unable to take any strong action and is hesitating to reshuffle her cabinet,



By BARUN SENGUPTA

even though her government is being criticised for inaction.

There is no doubt that in spite of some success in Assam and the north-east, things are not going well for the government. The situation on the communal and economic fronts is very serious. Particularly glaring is the failure in areas like power, coal and the railways. Power generation is poor not only in West Bengal, but in Bihar and the DVC also which are under the direct control of Congress(I) governments. No one knows how we will face the latest oil crisis if we cannot improve our performance on the power and coal fronts.

Above all, Mrs Gandhi's government and party have not been able to create an atmosphere of confidence in the country. People expected so much and till now they have got very little. According to a recent opinion poll in the four metropolitan cities, only two per cent of the population considered the Congress(I) governments' performance as "excellent" and only 26 per cent considered it to be "good." As against this, about 48 per cent thought that the governments' performance was "not so good" and 24 per cent remarked that it was "not at all good". Not that people have lost faith in Mrs Gandhi completely; but it should be admitted by every sane person that the expectations of a large number of people have been belied. During the state Assembly elections all the Congress(I) leaders promised that things would improve drastically once Mrs Gandhi's men were put in charge of affairs in the states also. That has been done, but where are the re-

There was all-round expectation that some drastic steps would be taken by the end of September to improve the situation. There were hopes that able ministers and officials would take over important departments. But, alas, nothing like that has happened. Rather, Mrs Gandhi has publicly given the impression that she is not in a hurry to make any changes and would like to continue with the present team.

Why this attitude? Does she consider the present set-up competent enough to give a major push which is urgently needed? Does she think that those who have not been able to create an atmosphere of confidence in the last eight months will now be able to do so? Or, is she hesitating to make any major change now in apprehension of fresh turmoil in the party? Or, is it the old situation again: Is she waiting for the most opportune moment? Maybe so and she has her own calculations and is proceeding accordingly. The same survey which has revealed such a poor opinion about the performance of her government also shows that 52 per cent are either "very confident" or "somewhat confident" about the government's ability to handle problems in future, and 65 per cent are of the definite opinion that there is no alternative to this government at the moment.

Everyone knows that in our country public opinion changes very rapidly when the economic and political situation takes a drastic, adverse turn. We saw in the post-1971 period when Mrs Gandhi was at the peak of her glory after the Bangladesh war. Even a large section of the urban middle class started considering her to be Devi Durga. Then within three years how rapidly she lost ground, first in the urban and then in the rural areas, mainly because of the rapid price rise. We also have the case of the Janata party before us. How rapidly the party came down in the public esteem because of the political childishness of some elderly people! When the situation deteriorates in a big country like India it follows a peculiar pattern. The deterioration sets in first at an arithmetical rate but in a short time it starts galloping at a geometrical rate. Then the administrators completely lose control over the situation. No amount of repressive measures can then be of any real help to those in the administration.

One can only hope that Mrs Gandhi and her close associates remember this. Maybe the most opportune moment for weeding out the ineffective and useless people from the government and party has not come yet. But the question is, how many more months will we get before the geometrical rate of deterioration sets in? We must remember that even Devi Durga could not fight the demons single-handed: Can a mortal Durga, in a much more complex situation, fight it single-handed as she is doing now?

2

Khan Brothers Pvt Ltd





Feroze Khan

The fascinating story of how they sold Qurbani and Abdullah

By ASHISH RAJADHYAKSHA

T approximately ten in the night of 3 November last year, at the Neptune Suite of the Taj Mahal hotel, Sanjay Khan slapped Zeenat Aman. He slapped her, not once, but at least a dozen times, lifted her by her hair and hit her in the neck. Zeenat's doctor, who treated her later in the night, was quoted as saying that "Her face was covered with blood, bruises and black eyes; there were blood clots in her eyes and her lips were severely cut." And so, months before the first hoarding was put up or the first advertisement placed, Abdullah's publicity campaign began.

the first advertisement placed, Abdullah's publicity campaign began.

Within a month, two leading film monthlies put Zeenat on the cover and gave detailed accounts of what happened that day, from the time Zeenat received a telephone call at Lonavla's Ingleside Inn to the climax when the man went berserk at the Taj. Apparently he called her when she was in the middle of a B. R. Chopra film, and demanded that she make time to go with him to Jaisalmer to reshoot a song. She pleaded that she couldn't, that the entire unit was there, and that she had given the dates a long time ago. To which, so legend in Bombay goes, Sanjay, accused her 'of having an affair with B. R. Chopra and Deepak Parashar.' Zeenat tearfully replied, say witnesses, "How can you think I'm sleeping with them?" You know I love you, and throughout our relationship I have been clean." For months thereafter, film magazines plugged away, some claiming that it



The youngest of the Khans, Akbar

was Zarıne Khan, the high falutin ex model and designer-socialite wife of Sanjay who conspired to turn her husband against Zeenat. They quoted how, as she gleefully saw her husband hitting a fallen Zeenat, she raised her handbag and lashed out too. Others, putting Zeenat in the role of golddigging home wrecker, printed pro-Zarine pieces and showed how Zeenat had 'thrown' herself on Sanjay, and how she had engineered things to worm her way into the Khan home, abetted by her mother.

The whole thing, to quote one film publicist, was "superb." "Forget about whether Sanjay meant to do it or not. The whole story has had all the ingredients of first-rate publicity—the sex-angle, the vamp, the hidden motive, violence; Abdullah couldn't have had a better pre-release publicity if 20 top publicists had worked for months on selling the film. If Sanjay Khan had any regrets about having dragged his family into the limelight in this way, surely they must have melted when he saw the publicity his film got in the

process. Given the increasingly precarious financing system of any Hindi film, and the fact that even the biggest banners are finding it impossibly difficult to ensure a reasonable return on their investments by legal means, more and more producers are turning to more devious forms of promotion of their films. In the publicising of the film, anything that gets the film in the, public eye seems to be welcome, whether it shows the maker in a avourable light or not. And it is here, n the field of promoting their films, mays veteran film journalist B. K. Karanjia, editor of the widely read weekly screen, that the Khan brothers lave scored over everyone else. "The idvertising that gets them their pubicity. Promotion of the film is a composite job, where the producer tries to rulld up pre-release suspense in vahe Khan brothers, Perose and Sanjay

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Khans have been superby unquestion-ship they know how to handle the publicity media. Within four weeks of its general release on 13 July it had shattered all next records in 1711. shattered all past records in Delhi, UP, Bengal, Gujarat, Hyderabad city and Bombay. "It achieves the highest collection ever for any of the Indian circuits, wrote the Trade Guide on 16 August. "It drew a massive Rs 22,73,086 on 44 prints in its first week in the north, Rs 5,49,593 on 21 prints in Bengal. Ahmedabad went Qurbani crazy despite riot-tension and col-lected Rs 5,25,708 on 10 prints (all the above are the maximum that can be collected). Bombay's Drive-In recorded its highest ever collection: Rs 1,01,800 as opposed to Rs 74,000 which was the previous highest.'

What was most eloquent was an occasion when this correspondent was sitting in Ramesh Sippy's distribution office (BRA Enterprises), and saw him cancel the schedule of four films in

Calculate because they clashed with the Qurbant release. He said be didn't want to suffer the fate of the distributor of Subhash Ghai's Kara; who was unfortunate enough in underwho was unfortunate enough in under-estimating the impact of *Qurbam* when he released *Karz* simultaneously in Bombay. "Hundred per cent after five weeks!" exclaimed the maker of *Sholay*. "Have you ever heard of such a thing?" *Abdullah*, which was sche-duled for release on 30 May but then was delayed for various reasons (not the least being the success of his brother's Qurbani), has just completed at the moment of writing, one disappointing week in Boniesy. It did 91% of the capacity, but tickets for the late night shows were available even at the main theatre of release, says the Trade Guide. But quite apart from takings at the box office, Abdullah has blazed new quite amazing trails. It has been granted tax exemption, according to Sanjay's wife Mrs Zarine Khan, who co-produced the film, in three





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territories-Maharashtra, Karnataka and Delhi-UP. And, according to one very valuable source, Sanjay has managed to sell dubbing rights in Arabic to a Saudi Arabian trust for over Rs one

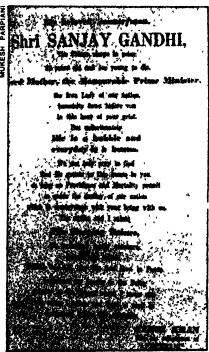
The process of exploitation of the respective films of the two brothers displays in most ways the similarities as well as differences between them. "Feroze is an extrovert, a gambler with high stakes, a spontaneous person," says B. K. Karahjia. "Sanjay is more calculating. He leads a more ordered life, and sees his opportunities better than does Feroze." "Sanjay is just a better businessman," feels Zarine Khan.

Right from the beginning the brothers were playing for high stakes with these films. And they approached the task of winning over the government with the same relentlessness with which they manipulated the media. The family, which comes from Bangalore, and owns a lot of property there (though the Khans have always been extremely vague about it and refuse to be pinned down), has in Gundu Rao a close friend and staunch supporter He is, in fact, their main liaison with the government When on 30 April, Feroze hosted a party with a screening of Qurbani at the Delhi Films Division Auditorium, it was Gundu Rao who persuaded I & B miraster Vasant Sathe, and union education minister Shankaranand to attend The lavish party, held later, was attended by over 30 MPs and other VIPs. Partly as a result of the screening, where Sathe expressed happiness at the quality of the production, the Bombay-based Central Board of Film Censors who had earlier awarded the film an 'A' were overruled and the film was changed to a 'U' with no major cuts. Mr K. L. Khandpur admitted much later in a television interview, when he said that "We cannot really help it when we get a directive from the I & B ministry overruling our decisions.

Feroze Khan was content with this gift from the government. And that he did something unique, which his brother could not do. Either he was more confident than Sanjay about the success of his film, or he was just more brash. Says a distributor who has worked with him in the past, "He did something that was potentially suicidal-he released the film himself in Bombay, because he wasn't getting what he thought the film was worth. It clicked, but if it hadn't he would have been sunk. It was a long shot, but he was lucky." Right from the beginning, however, Feroze indulged in what film parlance calls 'onscreen publicity'emphasising the car-chases, the smashup of two Mercedes cars, the London shots, rather than offscreen romances. "He lived, breathed, dreamed his film," says Karanjia, "He just couldn't compromise on anything when it came to his production. Such things do mat-ter very much to the viewer, because the deep commitment seems to make it a better film" Typical of the driving, all-consuming passion for his

"creation" is the way he worked on his hit song Aap jaisa koi by Nazia Hassan

Feroze says about his deal with Biddu, the composer of Aap jaisa, "I have known Biddu for a long time, we were both from Bangalore. Ever since he made it in America, he has always said that we should work together. Then, when I went to England for my film, I met Biddu, and he again reminded me of my promise of working with him. I said, the next film I make will certainly take him. He replied, 'Why not this film?' So I agreed, because I didn't think that Kalyanji Anandji, the music directors, would mind sharing their credits with him for one song." However, it looks as if this comment is merely the forgetfulness of the successful, because Biddu himself in a recent interview says, "Feroze, whom I had met casually in India once before, came to my office in London and asked me (to do a song for him) When he explained that he was sinking his entire fortune for the film and he would be a lame duck if he



Feroze Khan's advertisement in the Indian Express

failed, I agreed, more as a favour. I had nothing to lose except probably a week. I didn't ask Feroze for any

money, nor have I got any so far!"
Biddu is probably the more correct, because by all indications Feroze was going crazy since he didn't have what he believed would be a genuine hit song. He had got a contract with Polydor India, and he was angling for their elite 'Supreme' label, which he wouldn't have got otherwise. And he finally got the label, because he was willing to risk his money with an unknown singer and a music director inexperienced to the tastes of the Indian masses. And he came up trumps; his gamble paid off.
"Feroze is a stickler for realism,"

says an observer. "For his film, there was just no holding him back. When he burnt the Mercedes car in the end, he could have easily salvaged the engine and burnt the chassis. But no, he wanted to show the ephemeral nature of riches—how temporary such symbols are. And he spent the money. Feroze has a flamboyance, and a strong and rugged individualism, all of which he devoted to his film. The film succeeded, I think, because of its sophistication. Even in his treatment of Zeenat Aman, he really succeeded in creating the erotic woman that people would flock to see. He is aggressive, and demands nothing but the best. And he got it in Qurbani."

FTER Qurbani Feroze was a fad-Aing star revived. His whole manner changed, his latent arrogance became intensified. A typical incident at a party thrown by him at the Oberoi following the success of Qurbani displays this Feroze Khan, apparently, placed a cigarette in his mouth. In typical filmi fashion, it is customary for a dozen people round a star to whip out their lighters and offer to light his cigarette. However, since Feroze is not normally such a man, nobody offered him their lighters. So Feroze pulled out his lighter, gave it to a young actor named Shakti Kapoor, and asked him to light his cigarette. Shakti, it seems, put the lighter in his pocket, pulled out a match box and lit Feroze's cigarette. That was enough for the typical Khan reaction. "See me outside." Given the high state of inebriation prevailing, nothing happened, and later the two made up. But here was a good example of the inflated Feroze ego

Karanjia has special praise to offer Feroze for the publicity of Qurbani. "I have told these people a number of times that giant posters are less effective than good advertisements, however small. I recently saw, in England, ads for Neil Simon's Chapter II, and they were brilliant. They immediately attracted attention. Feroze is the only man I have seen in Indian cinema who has an idea about the use of advertising for his film." Feroze had an official publicist named Harish Kumar Mehra, but it seems he took personal charge of all the publicity. He was the one who supervised the making of the radio programmes, the plugging of the Aap jaisa koi number, which really was the high point of the film. And then journalists had been taken regularly to the sets during shooting, so the film got continuing mention in the press long before release.

Sanjay Khan, it appears, is a far more calculating and shrewd man. Both brothers had assiduously cultivated the political bosses at New Delhi, but while Feroze had done the routine donation of all his proceeds of the Delhi premiere to the Sanjay Gandhi memorial hospital, and publicly announced his 'grief' on a full paid page in The Indian Express (see pic), he was content to let his film stand or



fall in the market. Not so, Sanjay Khan, who has expected, and received, a lot more from the government for a vastly inferior film. When he held his premiere at Bombay's Maratha Mandir, he got chief ministers Gundu Rao and A. R. Antulay (they had, incidentally, also put in an appearance at Feroze's Qurbani premiere). And Gundu Rao took it upon himself to publicly congratulate Sanjay Khan on a "mas-terpiece." Joined by Antulay, he waxed eloquent on all aspects of Sanyay's mastery, he praised the acting and lauded the dialogue and the photography. And then, saying "It is such films that should he made in India," he suddenly announced that he would grant the film tax exemption in his state. He urged Antulay to consider doing the same in Maharashtra as well, but Antulay, though he made no secret of his appreciation of the film, remained non-committal on this subject. Gundu Rao appears to have forgotten that tax exemption is supposed to be granted only for specific purposes; where the film has an educational role (a genuinely educational role, and not the one professed by a film that features violence and sex in the name of communal unity), or if it is a national awardwinner. Abdullah 1s far from having won the national award yet. Gundu Rao, in his apparently spontaneous gesture, may well be the harbinger of a brand new racket to an already racket-burdened Hindi

Later, Abdullah held its premiere on 26 September at Delhi at the Vigyan Bhavan, with Vasant Sathe in tow as chief guest. There Sanjay Khan announced a donation of Rs ten lakhs to the Sanjay Gandhi memorial trust fund, and 10% of all the proceeds of Abdullah when released anywhere in the world. A few days later, on 2 October, Khan was invited as chief guest at the Handloom and Khadi Fair which was presided over by Indira Gandhi. There, as Mohammed Yunus (the chairman of the Trade Fair Authority of India, and another Khan "friend") ceremonially garlanded him and Mrs Gandhi bade him sit by her, Sanjay Khan announced his intention of making a 40-minute documentary on the life and achievements of Sanjay Gandhi to "donate to the nation.

Clearly, all this declasse chamchagiri by a man always introduced to society as classy and well-bred, is not without some purpose. For each of his 'gestures' he is evidently expecting returns in kind, and the government does respond lavishly, as mentioned earlier. The very first, immediately achieved, was that of tax exemption for his film. Says Zarine, "The film is getting exemption in three states. Mr Antulay and Mr Gundu Rao have said that the film has all the ingredients that qualify ir for exemption, because more and more people should see this film because the dialogues are so beautiful and everything preaches brotherhood. Everything preaches love. Love surpasses all religion, this is the moral of the story. Even lieutenant

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Zarıne

Sanjay Khan speaking at the Abdullah premiere



general The (presumably meaning the this Lt Governor Jagmohan) said that the story was beautiful, and as many people as possible should see the film. The home ministry have issued their directive as well."

Though exemption would undoubtedly go a long way towards recovering the Rs two crore investment Sanjay Khan has made in his film, reliable reports in Bombay say that he has many other debts. He has borrowed over a crore of rupees in the open market in Bombay at 32% interest, and most of that money is still unpaid. "He has had to live big to keep up his credit," says one source, "and so he has maintained a very, very good standard of living, he has entertained lavishly. But he's just not as well off as he shows." He is apparently hoping to recover most of this money in foreign earnings with Abdullah now that the local market has let him down and he made his film with an Arab market in mind. The Trade Guide reported on 20 September that one Arab financier has offered him Rs one crore and 60 lakhs for the dubbing rights in Arabic. He is apparently hoping that his friendship with the government would persuade it to overlook such irregularities as might turn up in these deals.

Says Dev Anand, who has just released Lootmaar after undergoing a massive fight with the I&B men for a 'U' certificate, "Sanjay Khan seems to be the darling of the government everywhere. I went to Delhi to plead my case for a 'U' for Lootmaar and everywhere I found talk of Abdullabi* Dev Anand has another reason to grouse at Sanjay Khan, because the latter sneaked away his main theatre while Dev Anand was in Delhi. The Sanjay men apparently went to the general manager of Maratha Mandir, Manoj Desai, and convinced him that Lootmaar would never get its certificate in time for the release date. They managed to get him to switch to Abdullah, and when Dev Anand returned from Delhi he found his main theatre gone. "They've succeeded this time, they've won," says Dev bitterly.

The Khans are nothing if not born media men. They have always perpetuated two images for themselves-firstly, as well-bred, cultured people, always a few cuts above the film lumpen. They have always set themselves up as different from the average film actor, and they have been careful in emphasising this difference. And, secondly, that of violent men of pathan descent. "We're never the ones to provoke," says Akbar Khan, third of the brothers, and maker of Haadsa. "But if anyone asks for it, the Khans will never hold back." But according to one associate who has seen the Khans in action, "They are always getting drunk and starting fights. Now prudent people don't bother to provoke

Zarine Khan expounds long and loud on the Khan character Speaking with the Zeenat incident as the backdrop, where, perhaps, the celebrated breeding of the Khans didn't hold up

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(or maybe their morals include hitting women), she says, "The press has been adamant in making the Khans the men with the guns and the men with the fists. Agreed, they are not very diplomatic-if someone talks to them insultingly, they won't fold their hands and say namasteji. They have a fiery temper, but they never bear any malice. And this myth of violence is totally untrue. I have been married to Sanjay for the past 16 years, and known him for seven years before that. And I assure you that except for these last two years when we had this unfortunate problem that I suppose every household has, we've had a very pleasant time, and there has been no violence, either towards me, or towards our friends. The Khans are not mad people to break out into fist fights all the time—if they were, they wouldn't have had such high connections. They have very good friends, from all walks of life. The family is highly educated, a good family with breeding-it's a very classy family. The family is very cultured-for instance, the person who constructed the Brindavan gardens at Mysore was a first cousin of their mother."

My experience at Akbar Khan's house is typical of the Khans. As soon as I entered, I met two belligerent menservants. I told them I had an appointment. One of them scratched his head and said, "Saab is in, but..."
"But what?" "But he won't meet you." When I insisted that at least my card be taken in, the man said, "Okay, but wait for about half-an-hour. I shall come back and tell you." Akbar's residence, the original residence of the family before the other brothers moved out, is typical of their opulence. A two-storey edifice full of plush rooms, it hardly appears the house of a young man struggling to get into films, a man who is producing his first venture and putting all his money into it. It is, however, quite up to the Khan tradition.

THE tradition is one of wealth perpetually on display. Sanjay, when hitting out at the media following the Zeenat episode, said, "It is the Annans who are the nouveaux riche, the Khans who are the nouveaux riche, the Khans have been accustomed to rolling in money. We have style..." Zarine says, "Somehow people cannot get over how Sanjay Khan lives the way he does. Believe me, I don't have solitaires onmy hands. I'd rather live well than keep diamonds and jewellery. But to each their own—there may be people who spend ten times as much as we do, but have nothing to show for it."

Is it true, I asked Zarine, that both Sanjay and Feroze staked their entire resources on their films? "Of course, they stake their future on each film," she said. She was, however, vigue on how Sanjay had managed to survive from the supposed state of the brink of poverty when his earlier Chandi Sons flopped. "He managed to recover his money... I wouldn't like to go into details about that. He's not just into



Zeenat at the Qurbani premiere

films, he has other businesses as well... no, I wouldn't like to discuss those, sorry."

It is typical of the difference between Sanjay and Feroze that while Feroze concentrated on acting, and, later on, making films, Sanjay at one time branched out into horseracing. He bought, in 1974, the celebrated horse Prince Khartoum, who, the next year, went on to win the Triple Crown.
"One day he just walked home and said, 'Darling I've just bought the loveliest of horses'," recalls Zarine. "I said, 'Whatever for?' He said, 'Because he (the horse) looked at me, and I thought he was telling me to buy him.' And of course, the way the horse succeeded, the whole thing was too fantastic for words. For a whole year Sanjay didn't act in films, just concentrated on his horse. And when he came back, he found that he wasn't getting roles with the best directors, the best production groups. So he quit acting."

Feroze, who came to Bombay in 1957, and struggled for years on the periphery of the Hindi cinema until he finally received his break in films such as Reporter Raju, Samson and Homi Wadia's Char Darvesh, is in a real sense committed to cinema. He has no pretensions, but has technically sophisticated films like Apradh and Khote Sikkay. He is more brash than the 'sophisticated' Sanjay. And the reason for that is that despite the family wealth, Feroze is the only Khan who had to struggle in his early days.

Sanjay, on the other hand, had a readymade entry owing to the success of Feroze. He was junior assistant to K. Asif when Gunga Jumna and Mughal-

e-Azam were made; from there he jumped straight to work with John Guilliman (who made Towering Inferno), and from there he jumped straight into films with Tarzan Comes to India and Haqeeqat; then he made it with Dosti. "He was always compared to the young Dilip Kumar and James Dean and people like that," says Zarine, "and producers who used to keep coming to meet Feroze used to constantly ask him to act in their films. So he finally said, 'Chalo, let's do it.' And was an immediate success."

Feroze is the more garish personality-a more vivid house, more elemental interests, a greater braggadocio-but a greater commitment as well. The younger Sanjay is more calculating, and he has always been more image-conscious than Feroze. He has used his resources to more effect than Feroze, and he believes that his businessmanship will get him out of whatever mess he gets into. As a consequence, he has not been as committed to films as Feroze has; but the moment he has moved into direction he has wanted people to believe that here was the master director Hindi cinema was waiting for.

When they were children, it seems that Sanjay was always the one expected to succeed, always the showpiece of the family. After 30 years of struggles with Qurbani and Abdullah, can be seen the degrees of success of the two brothers. One was the filmmaker, the other the businessmanand in the bizarre game of business that is the Hindi cinema, it is the filmmaker that has succeeded.

33 4

The guilt of partition



And who shall bear the cross?

By GEORGE FERNANDES

HE biggest problem of the Muslims in India is that they are still being compelled to live with the guilt of the partition of India. When Pakistan was carved out on a theocratic basis and the rest of India remained a secular state, the Muslims were under a tremendous psychological diadvantage. Most of their accredited leaders and spokesmen had migrated to and become part of the new nation of Pakistan. The Muslims who were left behind or who did not subscribe to the idea of a theocratic state suddenly were subjected to a traumatic experience.

The Congress leadership saw in this situation a tremendous opportunity to make every Muslim in India hereafter suffer from the guilt of the partition. And it has been at that game for the last 33 years. If the Indian Muslim frees himself from this guilt complex, he will have found the solution for this special problem which is only his lot among the people of diverse religious social and ethnic backgrounds who make the mosaic that India is.

Frankly, there is no reason why the Indian Muslim should suffer from this guilt complex. The guilty men of India's partition are not just the Muslim leaders alone. The Hindu leadership of the nationalist movement was as guilty

of partitioning the country as any one else is.

In his book, The Guilty Men of India's Partition (which actually started as a review of Maulana Azad's book, India Wins Freedom, but ended up as a book in itself), the socialist leader, Dr Rammanohar Lohia was to enumerate eight basic causes of India's partition. Lohia wrote: "Among the basic causes that led to the partition were, first British chicanery; secondly, declining years of Congress leadership; thirdly, objective condition of Hindu-Muslim rioting; fourthly, lack of grit and stamina among the people; fifthly Gandhiji's non-violence; sixthly, Muslim League's separatism; seventhly, inability to seize opportunities as they came; and eighthly, Hindu hauteur."

I shall not here elaborate on the various causes of

I shall not here elaborate on the various causes of partition as adumbrated by Dr Lohia or as I myself see them. That is an issue in itself. The point I want to make is that to lay the guilt of partitioning of the country at the door of the Muslims and to think that the rest of the people are free from guilt is historically false. All Indians have to share the guilt of partition, and the leadership of the country more than others. And when we talk of the leadership, it is the dominant leadership of the then dominant party, the Indian National Congress, that has to

take a greater share of the blame.

Lest I be misunderstood that in the dominant leadership Mahatma Gandhi is also included, let me quote Lohia from the book I have cited earlier. Writing on the meeting of the Congress Working Committee which accepted the scheme of partition in the country, Lohia says: "Two of us socialists, Mr Jaya Prakash Narayan and I, were specially invited to this meeting. Barring us two Mahatma Gandhi and Kharlabdul Ghaffar Khan, none spoke a single word in opposition."

In other words the rest of the leadership was committed to partition. What is worse, Mr Nehru and others had agreed to the partitioning of India without as much as consulting Mahatma Gandhi. Let me again quote Lohia on what transpired at the Congress Working Committee to substantiate this point. Lohia writes: "I should like especially to bring out two points that Gandhiji made at this meeting. He turned to Mr Nehru and Sardar Patel in mild complaint that they had not informed him of the scheme of partition before committing themselves to it. Before Gandhiji could make out his point fully, Mr Nehru intervened with some passion to say that he had kept him fully informed. On Mahatma Gandhi's repeating that he did not know of the scheme of partition, Mr Nehru slightly altered his earlier observation. He said that Noakhali was so far away and that, while he may not have described the details of scheme, he had broadly written of partition to Gandhiji.

I will accept Mahatma Gandhi's version of the case, and not Mr Nehru's, and who will not? One does not have to dismiss Mr Nehru as a liar. All that is at issue here is whether Mahatma Gandhi knew of the scheme of partition before Mr Nehru and Sardar Patel had committed themselves to it. It would not do for Mr Nehru to publish vague letters which he might have written to Mahatma Gandhi doling out hypothetical and insubstantial information. There was definitely a role in the corner aspect of this business. Mr Nehru and Sardar Patel had obviously between themselves decided that it would be best not to scare Gandhiji away before the deed was definitely resolved

upon.'

The trouble is that the Muslim leadership has not cared to analyse the causes of India's partition adequately and objectively, and educate the Indian people on this unfortunate event in our history. The Hindu political leadership of the Congress party has had a vested interest in continued obfuscation of the issue. The Communists, having advo-cated partition for narrow and selfish political gains, have been living with their own guilt complex to be able to say anything objective on this issue. The other political parties did not display enough vigour in educating the country on the matter and to help liberate the Muslims from the unnecessary guilt complex.

WHAT is the main reason for the backwardness of Indian Muslims? Is it their aloofness from the national mainstream or is it the discrimination or biases against them that has contributed to this backwardness? Implicit in this question are two hypotheses. First, that the Muslims have by and large been aloof from the national mainstream. Second, that there is discrimination and bias against them.

In my opinion, there is an inter-mix of both these factors for the backwardness of the Muslims. While there is discrimination and bias against them, the Muslims also display a terrible urge to stay away from the mainstream of our national life. The biggest offender here, of course, has been the Congress government. While treating the Muslims as a vote bank through a variety of stratagems, including the use of the vote contractors among the leadership of the Muslims, it has been practising the worst form of discri-mination against the Muslims in respect of jobs and the social life of the country. One has to look at the recruitment of Muslims in the armed forces and in the police forces of the country and in other sectors of government service to realise the extent of this discrimination.

Naturally, when the government practises discrimination against the Muslims, it is bound to have its own impact on other people. The consequences are there for all to see The private employers, taking the cue from the government's attitude, are averse to providing employment in their establishments to Muslims. So, the Muslims have to fend for themselves. That is why if you look for the self-employed in the country, you will find a large percen-tage of Muslims there. They become hawkers, vendors and take to such occupations where the earnings are meagre and where the security of service or old age benefits are not

Worse, however, is the irreparable damage caused to the credibility of the Muslims because of this discrimination. The majority population tends to look at Muslims as

An unemployed Muslim is no different from an unemployed harijan or adivasi or Christian or raiput or brahmin. When such an identification at the class or craft level begins the allenation ends...the Muslim now becomes a partner in the mass movement for change.

unreliable, undependable and untrustworthy people. The feeling is that if the government cannot trust them, and therefore, does not employ them in public services, how can

the ordinary people trust them?

Here, let me give a few illustrations. When India and Pakistan went to war in 1971 over Bangladesh, the municipal corporation of Bombay transferred a large number of Muslim workers from the Vaitarna water works to the city. When my union took up this matter with the municipal authorities, and protested against this anti-Muslim act, the municipal commissioner said they had instructions from the union home ministry in Delhi that Muslims must not be kept in sensitive posts. Vaitarna supplies Bombay with its drinking water, and so it became a sensitive post where Mrs Gandhi's government was not prepared to trust Muslims. At the same time, the BEST undertaking in Bombay

removed over a dozen Muslims from the controllers' jobs and put them on the road as inspectors. Again, when my union protested against this, we were told that the BEST management was acting on instructions from Delhi not to have Muslims in key positions. The controllers are concerned with the overall movement of buses in the jurisdiction of their respective bus depots, and they could not be

trusted to do their job during a time of war.

A young Muslim girl stenographer was summarily removed from her job in the Bhabha Atomic Power Centre at Trombay in Bombay on the same grounds at the same time. Even a stenographer's job became too sensitive to be entrusted to a Muslim

I can cite scores of such cases which are in my personal

knowledge. But one does not have to do that

The trouble is, most people do not want to discuss these matters. When I started speaking on this right at the time of the Bangladesh war and thereafter, and challenged Mrs Gandhi's government on its anti-Muslim attitude, the government refused to join issue with me, and chose to keep quiet. Unfortunately, even the leadership of the Muslims did not take up this issue. Somehow, on such issues as affect the bread and butter and dignity and credibility of the Muslims, the established leadership of the Muslims has always preferred to keep quiet. I suppose this is partly out

of fear and partly out of selfishness, Mrs Gandhi did reply to me on this issue after she had imposed her infamous emergency in June 1975. I was then in the underground, and could not answer her attacks on me. The press was under censorship and even if someone had sent a rejoinder to her attack on me there was no question of it getting published. And she replied to me in her own characteristic style. In early July 1975 the enslaved press and the All India Radio were used to give wide coverage to a letter Mrs Gandhi wrote to a Muslim League leader of Kerala repudiating my charge made continuously for four years from December 1971 that Muslims were denied employment in sensitive posts and that there had been a massive witch-hunt of the Muslims at the time of Indo-Pakistan war over Bangladesh

The fact is that all government establishments in the country were acting on a secret circular issued by the home ministry, and endorsed by Mrs Gandhi, that Muslims were not to be given employment in key or sensitive posts. I had known of the existence of such a circular and had been

speaking about it for years.

What must be taken note of, however, are the consequences of this policy of mistrust towards the Muslims on the

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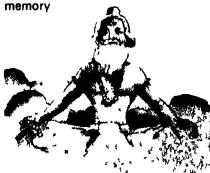


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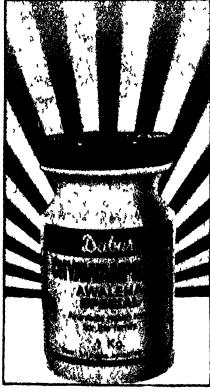
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part of the Congress government. I have had workers in Bombay and elsewhere telling me that if the government does not trust the Muslims in sensitive positions, there must_ be some valid reasons for such attitude. After all, the government has its secret sources of information, and its intelligence agencies, that feed it with facts that are not known to the rest of the people. So, the argument goes, if the government, with justification, does not trust Muslims, does not treat them as equal citizens, how can we, why should we trust them? On the face of it, this looks logical. However, what needs to be pointed out is that the Congress government is using Muslims as cannon fodder in its political games. In the process it has been and still is responsible for the spread of the communal cancer more

than any other group in the country.

Be that as it may, the point is that with such mistrust created about the Muslims, it is quite an uphill task for them to become a part of the mainstream of national life. Quite justifiably, they tend to find security within their own ranks and this in turn creates a sectarianism which naturally keeps them away from the mainstream. In the process, a new class of leaders too emerges. Some, genuinely religious, providing emotional sustenance to a people in distress. Others, frauds, who cash in on people's fears and exploit them for their own personal aggrandisement; these frauds have a strong vested interest in keeping the Muslims in segregation. They are the ones who then operate as managers of vote banks. In league with the Congress bosses, these leaders will use every trick to prevent the Muslims from joining the national mainstream. This is where a new movement among the Muslims is called for. Not to make them more sectarian and more communal. But to liberate them from the stranglehold of a leadership that has a vested interest in keeping them in segregation.

THE mainstream of Indian polity is not sectarian but pluralist. It is not communal but secular. And the struggle in which this mainstream is engaged is not for the preservation of the economic and social status quo but for a new social and economic order that believes in equality, in socialism. The fate of the Muslims is linked irrevocably with that of the other have-nots in the country

The first thing is for Indian Muslims to aggressively assert that they are a part of the national mainstream. In a country where about 60% of the people live below the poverty line, the ratio of Muslims in that category cannot be any less. If anything, it may be a little more For the simple reason that many of the traditional craft and industries in which Muslims traditionally found employment have been squeezed out of existence since the machine age dawned in our country, and more particularly during the last years of freedom. The weavers, the cobblers and other rural craftsmen have been rendered unemployed by the machines that now weave the cloth or stitch the footwear. In fact, when we speak of unemployment in the rural, and to some extent in the urban, areas, what we are also discussing is the problem of those who have been thrown out of their traditional employment by the machines for the capitalists.

A movement to recreate the cottage and rural sector of employment is now imperative if the large mass of unemployed in the country are to be provided with any gainful employment But this cannot be a movement of the Muslims alone. Nor is it my point that there are no weavers, cobblers and other unemployed craftsmen from other communities The point I am making is that Muslim cobblers and weavers should stop thinking of their problem of unemployment as Muslims, but make common cause with other artisans and craftsmen in an effort to solve their problem. This struggle will invariably put them against the nation's establishment, which again includes people of all religions and castes

In other words, an unemployed Muslim, a socially and economically deprived Muslim, is not different from an unemployed harijan or adivasi or Christian or rajput or brahmin. When such an identification at the class or craft level begins, the alienation ends, even if the socio-economic problems may take a little more time in getting settled. The Muslim now becomes a partner in the mass movement in the country for change, for a better life for everybody. With that will also go the sense of insecurity he felt when he was living in his own little shell.

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Shourie's diagnosis

Institutions in the Janata Phase by Arun Shourie Popular Prakashan Rs 60

RUN Shourte is surely the best Acolumnist in the country today His forte is not news but dissection He is not really a muckraker in the classic mould rather he insistently points his accusing finger at the muck that lies just under the surface of news-the muck which the media conscious elite of this country living on daily doses of self-deception re-tuses to see Shourie keeps cryingout-here it is see the rot for yourown sake sec the rot. The image that comes to mind is of a surgeon who cuts open the skin to reveal the bile—then takes the bile and throws it at your tace for why should you have the luxury of ignorance?

A piece by Shourie is a mixture of a lawyer's investigation, a surgeon's in cision a cynic's comment—all put together in a teacher's English Logical sharp acid simple. The qualities that make for good journalism. He has conviction chough not to be embarrassed about the use of harsh words. Thook ke chaat lena is headline for a piece on the 'd licious' letters which Chaudhury Charan Singh and his transitory finance minister. Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna exchanged in 1978 but only became public knowledge in the heat and dust of suicidal' 1979.

Indeed if anyone wants a quick, serious (and thankfully, not pedantic) analysis of why precisely the Janata experiment collapsed, there is little better to do than read this collection. I myself found it absolutely absorbing, even though I was reading many of pieces for a second time having read them earlier when they first appeared in the Indian Express or elsewhere After a long while I read a book which made me angry angry at the three old men who, in March 1977 promised to see, hear or speak no evil, and then in an unparalleled display of selfishness destroyed a dream. The Janata party did not collapse when Charan Singh left to form another government (in tact, if it had any credibility left, the betrayal" of Charan Singh would have only made the Janata party stron ger, not weaker), it collapsed when pettiness and arrogance took prece dence over the fairly simple principles IP had outlined for the survival of the party and the government

How ironically apt that the book should be dedicated to the memory of Jaya Prakash Narayan But then JP both created and destroyed, through a last minute failure of nerve, the Janata government The Janata govern ment's fate was sealed when JP, along with Acharya Kripalani, decided to make Morarji Desai the first Janata PM This was a pay off for the stub born man who lost the Congress civil war of 1969-not the logical culmina tion of a movement which was fuelled by a youth force demanding a change of not merely government but also a change of direction. It is even more ironic, and equally more revealing, that the three old men Morary Desai, Charan Singh and Jagjivan Ram, had only two things in common love for power and contempt bordering on hate for IP In their private conversa tions all three openly expressed their contempt, though of course not one of them (not even the "fearless" Morarii) had the guts to say this in public (Their tepid expressions of official regret when IP died said enough about what was in their hearts.) They consi dered IP an aberration an accidental misfit in the culture of the new politics created by the second rung of our pre independence leaders who took over after Patel Kidwai, Pant, Rajago palachari, Azad Nehru all succumbed to the demands of age. The reason for their dislike was obvious JP belonged to the same generation as they, but by his very presence showed up the rest of his generation to be the power seeking pygmies they were

Well, it was easy enough to be critical of the Janata when it was in power, they weren t ever threatening to send any journalist to jail It was easier still-indeed, even recom mended-to be critical of Mrs Gandhi then But Arun Shourie's honesty has glowed brightly enough even after Mrs Indira Gandhi came to power When some journalists had begun falling over each other to write editorials, within a week of Mrs Gandhi's return, which said that all had once again begun functioning like clockwork, Arun Shourie preferred to remain true to himself and his profession

There is one reservation, though More happened during the Janata ray indeed much more is happening now, than simply the exploitation of institutions There were Belchi and Jamshedpur et al then, there is Parasbigha, Kafalta, Moradabad et al now Shourie has rarely used his substantial talents to explore this side of the story-the tragedies of human cruelty, specific cases of either class or institu tional oppression which lead to death and devastation He has devoted his time and attention to ideas, institutions, laws, mechanisms, and of course the coterie of the powerful Necessary of course, since no one else seems to be doing this vital bit of journalism But an expansion of the scope of enquiry would add the one dimension that seems to be missing from the body of Shourie's work

M. J. AKBAR



INTERNATIONAL PEPORT

iraq and iran rej

HE battle Iraq is fighting, President Saddam Hussein has told his people, is against the Persians By describing the neighbouring Iranians thus, the Iraqi leader is deliberately recalling the long history of Arab-Persian rivalry that dates back to the days when Iraq was part of the Sassanian empire. This period of oppressive Persian rule was ended when the imperial army was defeated at the battle of Qadisiya in AD 637 by tribesmen sweeping out of Arabia.

In April, (this year), after an attempt on the life of his friend and vice-premier, Mr Tariq Aziz allegedly, and probably, carried out with Iranian help, Mr Saddam Hussein vowed that Iraq would fight to regain Iraqi territory held by Iran and cited the battle of Qadisiya as a historical precedent That war against the Persians had a racial and religious basis semitic Muslim Arabs were pitted against Aryan Zoroastrian Persians Today a semitic secular (though still Sunni Muslim) Iraqi regime has challenged an Aryan fundamentalist Shia Muslim Iranian regime

For the rulers in Baghdad, Sunni in faith and socialist Baathist in politics, the breaking of the power of Teheran's religious rulers is a golden goal From the earliest days of Iran's revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini has sought to export it by stirring up dissidence among Shias elesewhere With 65% of Iraq's population belonging to the Shia faith, this was something no Iraqi ruler could

The 1975 treaty between Iran and Iraq, signed by the Shah and Mr Saddam Hussein, then Iraq's vice-president, in Algiers, and ratified a year later, ended a 14-year period of dangerously strained relations between the two countries Since 1961 Iraq's Kurdish provinces had been in revolt and the Kurds' Pesh Merga guerilla army got invaluable back-up support from the Iranians across the frontier The Kurdish revolt threatned the unity of the Iraqi state, its suppression was using the resources that Iraquigently needed for its development Eventually, Iraq's rulers decided to end it, even at the cost of Iraqi pride

The Algiers treaty committed the Shah to stop supporting Iraq's Kurdsin return Mr Saddam Hussein made concessions to Iran over disputed border areas and the control of the Shattal-Arab waterway The Kurdish rebellion, unable to continue without Iranian support collapsed and within a year the Iraqi army had regained control of the Kurdish redoubt

The cost of the treaty to Iraq was not heavy. In 1937, when Iraq was under British control, a border treaty with Iran had set the Iraqi border at the low-water mark on the Iranian side of the Shatt-al-Arab except opposite Abadan and Khorramshahr, where it

was in mid-channel. Iran denounced the 1937 treaty, accusing Iraq of violating its provisions. The 1975 treaty set the border in mid channel—an eminently fair arrangement—and gave Iran, apparently subject to a commission report, some 200 square miles of border area to the north. It was this treaty that President Saddam Hussein abrogated on 17 September.

Getting that border area back, and regaining control of the whole of Shatt-al-Arab are the least of Mr Saddam Hussein's ambitions. He has his eyes on the Gulf islands of Abu Musa and the Tumbs (formerly part of two Arab' states now members of the United Arab Emirates), which were occupied by Iran on Britain's withdrawal from the Gulf in 1971. The Iraqis were deeply angered by this further evidence that the Shah saw himself as the new guardian, of the Gulf, and they broke off diplomatic relations with both Iran and Britain in impotent protest

Beyond that, the Iraqis seek to force Iran's rulers to grant a measure of autonomy to the Arabs in Khuzestan. This would be a mortal blow to the unity of the Iranian state. But Iraq, barely less than Iran, is divided along ethnic and sectarian lines If Iran's unity is threatned, so too could be Iraq's

Traq's bid to settle this long score with Iran erupted suddenly, changing from border_skirmishes in a disputed but relatively unimportant area to an armoured assault into Iran's vital oil country. The determination to

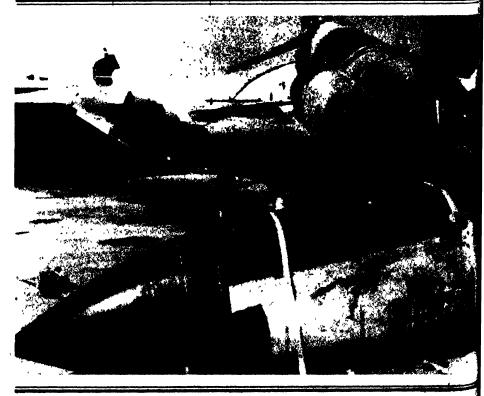
humiliate the Iranian regime is plain; Iraq's fruther ambitions are still unclear By midweek Iraq's main thrust had been carried to the outskirts of the refinery complex at Abadan and the oil port of Khorramshahr.

Clashes along the Iraqi-Iranian border, peaceful since the Algiers agreement in 1975, started again in January (this year) In early September the fighting intensified. The trigger may have been an Iranian attack on the border villages of Khanaqin and Zurbatiyah on 4 Semptember Piecing together the reports from both sides, and making wide allowance for propaganda, one gets the following picture of subsequent events

Ground fighting began in earnest around 12 September: by the 20th Iraq had captured a chunk of the disputed territory in Kermanshah province Both sides used aircraft in support of their ground forces At the week's end, on 19-20 September, a fight took place between naval patrol boats in the Shatt-al-Arab. Iran bombed an Iraqi naval base.

Iraqi troops continued to attack, their main drive now in the south, directed at Khorramshahr and Abadan On Monday (29 Semptember) Iraqi jets bombed several Iranian airfields including Teheran's, and struck the Abadan refinery, leaving it in flames and probably out of commission. The next day Iranian Phantoms bombed Baghdad; at least five of them were shot down

Iraq continued to press forward a three-pronged attack: two prongs to-



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wards towns in the disputed border area west of Kermanshah, the third towards Abadan. By Thursday (2 October) it claimed that it had occupied about half the disputed territory and had surrounded Abadan. Iran was clearly getting the worst of the ground fighting, but continued to send its jets deep into Iraq, attacking both Baghdad and the oilfields at Kirkuk and Mosul. Its navy and air force bombarded an Iraqi petrochemical plant near Basra and the oil terminal at Fao. Iraqı aircraft continued to attack Iranian airfield, as well as Khorramshahr, Abadan, Kharg Island and the petrochemical complex at Bandar-e-Shahpur.

So far as the west is concerned, the war is being fought in a cloud of unknowing about both the strength and the efectiveness of the combatants

On the ground, matters may be even more serious for Iran. Its army's main striking force is a fleet of British Chieftain tanks, backed up by some older American M-60s and M-48s The Chieftain is as good a tank as any that Iraq possesses, but has an engine that can be kept going only with meticulous maintenance. Now that the spares have stopped coming it is unlikely that Iran's tank force could last for more than a few days of hard fighting

Iran's purges did not hit the navy as hard as the army and air force, and most of its powerful feet is still in operation. One danger is that Iran, in desperate straits elsewhere, might use its navy to counter-attack indirectly by closing the Gulf at its narrowest point, the Strait of Hormuz The ships could remain out of reach of Iraqı air power while attempting to apply international presure to Iraq via nervous oil customers Iran could muster enough

| FI | GHTING | G POW | ER |
|----|---------|-----------|---------|
| | IRAQ | ESTRUCTES | IRA |
| | 200,000 | ARMY | 120-150 |

| | IRAQ | ESTRMATES | IRAN |
|----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| | 200,000 | ARMY | 120-150000 |
| T | 2,100 | TANKS | 1,100 ¹ |
| 1 | 1,800 | ARTHLERY | 800 |
| ** | 350 | COMBAT | 447* |
| ***** | 4,000 | MAY Personnel | 30,000 |

warships to keep at least one on station in the strait. But it would have to be willing to shoot if a bold skipper decided not to stop when ordered to. the Iranian forces could probably have got the measure of Iraq's in a few days. Although neither had had much combat experience, and had not shone in the little they did have, Iran's forces were larger and better equipped.

The old numbers mean nothing now Iran's forces have been purged of many of their senior commanders and diluted by untrained revolutionaries. Even more important the supply of spare parts and maintenance support for almost all the Iranian equipment has been cut off by America and Britain. Iraq has continued to get new weapons and supplies from Russia though how much and how recently is unclear The question is how long Iran can continue to operate its debilitated military machine

It has plainly managed to keep some of its Phantom and F-5E fighter bombers flying (although all its advanced F-14 Tomcat interceptors are grounded) However, as combat losses build up and irreplaceable parts wear out, the numbers of flyable aircraft could drop rapidly.

The Cost

appiest victim of the first few days of the Iran-Iraq war is probably the Japanese trading giant Mitsui Stuck with the lion's share of the nearly completed \$3.2 billion chemical complex at Bandar Khomeini, endlessly delayed since the eponymous Ayatollah took over Mitsui must have breathed a hidden sigh of relief when Iraqi aircraft bombed the plant on Wednesday.

The Japanese government has guaranteed 90% of the cost of the plant to encourage its companies to keep construction going, in order to foster good relations with an important if erratic oil supplier. If the war destroys the plant, the private sector partners will simply cash in the guarantees and happily write off 10% of the plant's costs—roughly the amount in interest payments they

were having to ante up each year the plant was delayed by Iranian procrastination.

So far the war might have been sponsored by the international process plant contractors, as both Iraq and Iran have concentrated on bombing the other country's expensively acquired hardware If Iraq and Iran suffer serious damage, companies will be needed to rebuild their fancier heaps of rubble. But if the two countries inflict more lasting damage on one another, their principal western trading partners may start to suffer as contracts are cancelled.

Although the arithmetic on oil supplies is not too worrying for the moment, a few customers may run into specific shortages of products Thirdworld customers of Iraq's heavily diversifying state oil company might find it difficult to pick up the quantity and quality of crude their refineries need. If the Iranian refinery at Abadan is indeed damaged, as reports at midweek suggested, Far East supplies of heavy fuel oil might be sharply cut

Japan and Singapore are already short of fuel oil, and prices there are rising. One major oil company has

removed its \$5 a tonne discount on fuel oil Spot prices on the Rotterdam market have increased by \$2 a tonne to \$165-167 These Far East gaps could lead to shortages elsewhere as traders rush to meet the shortage at higher prices.

The war has already increased oil tanker rates Freight rates for supertankers (250,000 deadweight tons and up) on trips between the Gulf and Europe or America started rising last month. At the start of August they were \$6 a tonne, but now they are \$10 a ton Fears of more than a skirmish in the Gulf helped to explain why tanker chartering and oil liftings were higher than usual this summer

If the Strait of Hormuz is shut to shipping, rates will plummet Without oil from the Gulf, there is nowhere for all those ships to go, except to join many of their kind in idleness About 2,500 oil tankers (and another 2,500 general cargo ships) sailed to the Gulf oil ports through the Strait of Hormuz in the first half of this year, according to Lloyd's Shipping Economist.

Insurance rates for ships and cargoes sailing in and out of the Gulf rose quite sharply



IN CORSICA

by GOSCINNY and UDERZO







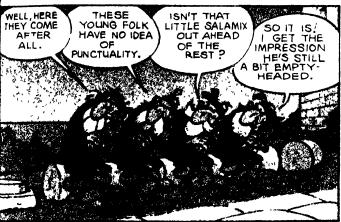


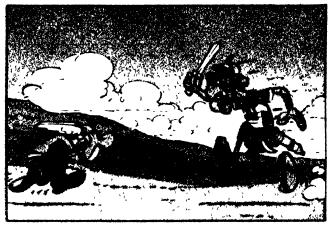




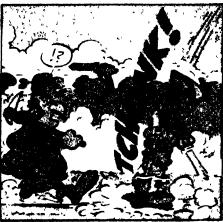








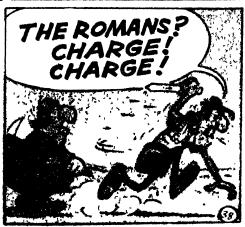












Orissa's worst communal riots

The target, for the first time in India, is Marwaris

Bhubaneswar: The instruction went out from Bhubaneswar over the telephone to Surva Bohidar, a student of G M College of Sambalpur town.
"Organise funds for flood relief" Bohidar, an activist of Biju Patnaik's Lok Dal collected a few friends on 21 September and set out for the Khetraipur area where the bulk of the town's marwari traders are concentrated. The traders refused to give any contribu-tion for flood relief saying they had already contributed enough An altercation between Bohidar and a local trader, Maniraj Jagiram followed Bohidar would not take "no" for an answer. In a stupid display of irritation, the traders asked their labourers to beat up Bohidar, some students belonging to an organisation called the Young Blood Association joined in against Bohidar With a fractured leg and deep injuries on the body, Bohidar was admitted to the hospital That was the spark which lit the communal fire All over the western districts of Orissa, the local people have resented the money-power of the marwaris, their clout and prosperity There was already anger and envy, and with the kind of spark that the 21 September incident provided, an explosion was inevitable Orissa's students launched a movement against the marwaris The irony of it is that Bohidar was never very popular with the students, he was generally dismis-

sed as a tough. But the beating he got from the traders made him an instant hero It became a challenge to Orissa's students. Two truck-loads of G. M. College students armed with stones and lathis went to Khetrajpur on 21 September, broke through a police cordon, started pelting stones at the shops, houses and parked vehicles, and beat up a number of marwaris. At around 4 15 pm when the students had worked themselves up to a frenzy the police finally fired a couple of rounds in the air. As the students were retreating, the traders and their musclemen retaliated. In the skirmish, 42 students were hurt and taken to hospital The police just stood by and watched the students being beaten up. Not a single person was arrested.

The next afternoon, the local students took out a procession. They stoned the town police station, and attacked a vehicle near G. M. College injuring its lone passenger. From inside the campus, students pelted stones at a posse of policemen trying to put a jeep belonging to a marwari trader back on its wheels; the students had overturned the jeep earlier.

A magistrate present at the spot promulgated prohibitory orders under section 144 Cr P. C. When this failed to check the violence, he ordered teargas shells to be lobbed into the campus, around 6.45 pm. By then one platoon of policemen had arrived as

reinforcement, but, the police were still unable to combat an almost uninterrupted shower of brickbats from the campus. More policemen were summoned. With them came the additional district magistrate. A lathicharge was ordered. It was only by 9.30 pm that peace returned after the police finally stormed into the campus and arrested 36 students. The four-hour battle accounted for 40 injured—22 of them policemen including two sub-inspectors and one inspector.

In the next few days rioting spread to other neighbouring towns and districts. The target was obvious: the marwaris. For weeks, hundreds of students swarmed through Orissa's streets venting their anger. The price rise too played a part in fomenting anger. "Jinish patrer daam kaam karo (Halt the price hike)!" "Kalabazarinku fansi diaw (Hang the blackmarketeers)." Slogans were against the marwari traders, who, as in so many places, control vital sections of the economy. Crowds of students clashed with police; and burnt and looted houses and shops of numerous marwarıs at different places. The marwaris also retaliated wherever they could, but most of them were seized by panic; many fled to Raipur and other cities in the adjoining state of Madhya Pradesh.

Following the violence, the state government sent in heavy police reinforcement to Sambalpur town. The students simply fanned out to the other parts of the district to keep their agitation alive. Processions were taken out in Jharsuguda, Baragarh, Burla, Godabhaga, Badarama, Barapali, Padampur, Rairakhol and other places. Even schoolboys and girls came out on the streets. At Godabhaga five marwari shops were looted and 27 persons, including four persons, were arrested; at Barapali, on the other hand, seven marwari shopkeepers were arrested Communal clashes took

The effects

Trade has virtually come to a standstill in the western belt of Orissa Transport agencies refuse to send their vehicles to the riot-affected districts despite the Orissa government's assurance of police protection Mustard oil is selling at Rs 26 per kg in Bolangir district. According to Kulbhushan Gupta, president of Bolangir District Traduct Association District Traders' Association, the loss due to loot and arson in the district amounts to roughly Rs ten crores In Bolangir town itself 1,150 tins of edible oil were burnt in just one godown. Even, in areas where communal riots have not occurred, trade has been abandoned by businessmen who fear an outbreak of violence. Traders' associations of Raipur, Bombay and Calcutta have expressed their concern and demand protection to the marwaris. The Bharatiya Janata Party has sent two MPs to Orissa to protect the interests of the marwari community.



place at numerous spots. Soon the violence had spilled over to the neighbouring districts of Sundergarh, Phulbani and Dhenkanal as students went on strike and held protest marches. Bolangir town saw the worst rioting.

On 24 September a group of Sambalpur students arrived in Bolangir to plead with the local students to join them in a common cause. But the Bolangir students were pre-occupied with the union election then, they neither had the time nor inclination to go on strike or hold demonstrations immediately The union elections got over on Friday, 26 September The exhausted students relaxed during a quiet Saturday On Sunday 27 Septem ber things started to happen At around 10 am the newly elected presi dent of the local Rajendra College, Ratan Maharana, a Congreess (I) activ ist, brought out a procession of some 300 students shouting slogans against the marwaris Trailing the procession were the district magistrate, the SP and an officer of the local police station (all of whom had joined their posts only a month ago) backed by a contingent of policemen The students had assured the authorities that there would be no violence or vandalism The procession was peaceful enough However, at around 11 am when the procession dispersed, scattered groups went on a rampage Sheer lawlessness ruled for six hours and a hopelessly inadequate police force could do no thing about it till reinforcements of the Madhya Pradesh police and CRP arrived Official reports say that dur ing this period 30 shops and 10 houses were looted and a number of trucks and minibuses were set on fire Things calmed down after a 24 hour curfew had been clamped down, and 31 per sons, mostly students, had been arrested

At about the same time, groups of students were looting shops and burn ing houses at Binka, another town in Bolangir district The police fired 11 rounds, killing a pan shop owner, Sridhar Beria (24), while he was run ning away At least 30 more were injured It was the same story at Sonepur, Patnagarh, Titlagarh, Kan tabhanji, Duguripalli, Birmaharpur, and Tarva Curfew had to be clamped at Titlagarh Worse, from the towns, violence travelled to the villages At Loisingh village, two rice mills owned by marwaris were set on fire and 14 shops were looted At Jharbhand vil lage, a school teacher asked his stu dents to raid marwari shops When the police came all the students, which included quite a number of girls, wanted to be arrested The police, however, arrested the boys only

From Bolangir, violence crossed the district borders to Bhawanipatna in Kariargarh and Khariar Road in Kalahandi district At Bhawanipatna, a garage was set on fire and several shops were looted. The police started as intensive search for the recovery of looted articles, but soon gave up as they found some of the looted property

Divide and misrule

Local seeple highlist that is band being brewing for a long disnet all it needed with a quark. Sundivision district has been neglected. The people of this area, mostly district has been neglected. The people of this area, mostly district with award by radius; makennias and patenties (rich limit lords). The other people who have rich were marwarly and Rejamble british were marwarly and Rejamble bitted to forms a close-built, forminabilish commercial elite. Comme were exploited. Not a single Grays in Santhappur was a wholeseler in essential commodities, almost every village grocer was a marwarl. Gajarstis were dominant in the Kende and timber

The feeded levels consoled according to the consequence of the consequ

at "embarrassing places" Embarras sing both to the police and the ruling

Congress (I) party

It was politics that really escalated the communal war-the worst of its kind in Orissa's history, and in a way novel too, because never before have marwaris been the victims of commun al frenzy anywhere in the country There is enough evidence to conclude that the marwaris refused donations to Bohidar in Sambalpur because the leading member of the community, O P Agarwal, was the district secretary of the Congress (I) and Bohidar be longed to the Lok Dal The floods in Orissa had already washed away some of the popularity of the Congress (I) government (see Sunday, 28 Septem ber) and no Congress (I) activist could possibly be expected to indirectly help the opposition by contributing to its flood relief drive

As violence raged in Sambalpur, people began believing that the ruling Congress (I) was supporting the mar waris The Congress (I) was in a fix especially, because soon chief minister B Patnaik would be fighting an election to get a seat in the Assembly and retain his job So the Congress (1) activists, just to counter the accusa tion that they were pro marwaris, now took the leading part in the students' demonstrations in Bolangir They went out of their way to be even more militant against marwaris than the supporters of rival political parties And, as if to leave nothing to imagina tion, the Congress (I) student leaders of Bolangir sent sarees, bangles and kumkum to Sambalpur students with a cryptic note calling the latter maichchias (effeminate) The message was We in Bolangir can attack the marwar is better' The marwaris, who are no saints either, caught between political crossfire, suffered None of the political parties really want them to leave Orissa, though overenthusiastic agita tors have sent stray notices to some marwaris, asking them to leave the state. But it will take a long time to restore confidence among Orissa's marwaris. Swarup Jena

RELIGION

rule is the policy.

Yesudas barred from Guruvayoor

Cochin: "God is neither Hindu nor Muslim nor Christian," sang the noted playback singer Yesudas sometime back But his ideas, alas, are not shared by the Guruvayoor temple au thorities The temple authorities have debarred him from entering the sanc tum sanctorum Yesudas, (it literally means servant of Jesus) has for a long time been known for his coldness towards Christianity and his deep faith in Hindu saints, especially Swami Ayyappan of Sabarımala Although, Yesudas has not given any reasons for his love and respect for the Hindu swami, it is generally believed that his son was born after years of prayer to the saint of Sabarimala

Meanwhile, Yesudas wrote to the Guruvayoor temple authorities to permit him to enter the hallowed portals The authorities are reluctant Consequently, the issue became the subject of public debates Hindu philosophers and prominent personalities partici-pated in two debates—one, sponsored by the Indian Express and the other by the Kerala Kaumudi Most speakers felt that the temple authorities should rid themselves of their hypocritical attitudes and allow all believers to enter the temple The sanctity of the temple would not be violated by the presence of those not born Hindus In the debate Abhedananda Swamı saıd that Yesudas was a true believer in Hinduism and should be allowed to enter the temple Political commenta tor, Narayana Pillai, said that since non-believing Hindus could enter tem ples there was no reason why a believ er should be debarred from doing so

While the Guruvayoor temple authorities have written to the Travan core Devasom Board for advice and a final decision, the fact remains that Yesudas will be kept waiting

Binoo K. John

Moments of happiness...



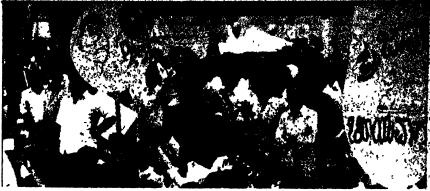
OPPRESSION

Gundu Rao's faithful censor the press

Bangalore: 22 September, 1980 9.45 pm The curtain went up on Costa-Gavras' explosive film "Z" and, a stone's throw away, the shutters went down on four major newspaper offices in Bangalore city By some bizarre coincidence, and almost as if it had derived its inspiration from the film, an identical drama unfolded itself on the second and night shift staff of Indian Express, Deccan Herald, Kannada Prabha and Prajavani However, whereas the film lasted two and a half hours, the ordeal of the stunned pressmen was to end 12 anxious hours later. Youth Congress "workers" had literally laid a siege around the offices of these papers for being critical of the government

It was only through the intervention of Governor Govind Narain, that the siege of the offices by Youth Congress(I) workers ended. The gates swung open at 8 15 am on 23 September to release newspaper vans and 700 employees The siege was directly prompted by a rousing call at Mangalore that morning by the Youth Congress(I)'s "beloved" chief minister R. Gundu Rao who roared "A day will come when the Congress(I) workers would gherao those who are circulating false news in the country I am prepared to lead them" The CM's diatribe against the press had, in turn, resulted from press reports that chappals had been thrown at a public meeting he addressed in Gadag (Dharwar district, North Karnataka) two days earlier The CM had some reasons for being upset. After all, the state had spent Rs 9,000 on a handful of journalists (half of them teetotalers) who were covering the CM's Dharwar visit Obviously, they were expected to file complimentary reports When they did not and four major newspapers of Bangalore carried the chappalthrowing incident prominently, Gundu Rao turned furious The irony of it is that after all the show of innocence and protestations against 'pernicious' attempts of the Fourth Estate to malign the CM, it was proved beyond any doubt that the chappals were indeed thrown. The confirmation came from a DIG of the intelligence branch D R Karthikeyan in a meeting between the CM and the representatives of four aggrieved newspapers following the siege And, Karthikeyan was present at the Gadag meeting.

Throughout the siege the police stood by and watched, while the hostages frantically appealed for help and protection against the Youth Congress(I) goons. Phonogram complaints to the IGP G. V. Rao and the police commissioner B. N. Garudachar went unheeded. "You can speak to the



Congress(I) demonstrators in Bangalore

police commissioner; he is the right man to deal with your worries. I have nothing to do with it." That was the IGP. The police commissioner went on assuring action "within fifteen minutes" from 9.30 pm to 2 am and finally took the telephone receiver off the hook.

Something smelt very foul in this situation. This seemed even more obvious when one recalled the changing attitude of Mr Yeshvantgol, DCP Law and Order (East) when he first confronted the goondas before the Indian Express and later before the Deccan Herald. At his first stop he behaved like a conscientious law enforcement officer-warning the crowd of impending arrests if they did not disperse "within 15 minutes." At the second stop it was a diametrically opposite "I-don't-want-to-have-anything-to-do-with-this-situation" and "my-handsare-tied" attitude. Obviously the stand of his immediate superior had been conveyed to him during his two km hop from one office to the other.

He stood in front of the gates, (locked and chained by the Youth Congress(I) hooligans) with his Bangalore (West) counterpart, H T Sangliana (of Chickmagalur by-election fame). They had a short chat, seemed

to shrug their shoulders and then melted away into the night. Mean while appeals were made to other authorities, from the Chief Secretary downwards. They fell on equally deaf ears The winners of the night were, undoubtedly, the exuberant and liquor-flushed youths whose enthusiasm was constantly being fed by behind-the-scene leaders like NSUI(1) president Hariprasad, Bangalore Development Authority member Shafiullah, and Karnataka's maverick Rajya Sabha member, F. M. Khan. When contacted at his residence Mr. Khan told a reporter: "Garam chai pee ke so jao." (take a cup of tea and go to sleep). With liquor, boiled eggs and bedding to back their vulgar display, the youths shouted obscenities at the stunned pressmen throughout the night.

Why was this blatant display of goondaism allowed? Why were no arrests made? Why was a drunken mob of 400 allowed to deprive the public of their right to receive news and to hold to ransom the freedom of the press? Certainly it could not be said that no arrests were made because this was a "peaceful demonstration." The foulmouthed, drunken youths were armed to the teeth with cycle chains, khukris

The Gundu Rad tape

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(small daggers) kerosene and petrol cans "We acted in a convenient man " ner," said a defiant Garudachar when posed with these questions at his weekly press conference on 24 September which was attended by around 50 pressmen wearing black armbands. But he volunteered no answer when the reporters parried "Convenient to whom" Instead, the obviously complacent law enforce ment chief shot back "Go to court if you have a grievance against us " At this open display of arrogance the newsmen staged a protest walkout As they filed out, one pressman remarked to another "What do you expect from a man whose spine has warped with the effort of bending to politicians over the years

On 24 September 3,000 press work ers and sympathetic factory workers marched to the Ray Bhavan, in pouring rain, to present a memorandum to the Governor The memorandum called for action against police negligence to protect pressmen when they were under siege by Youth Congress(I) workers on 22 September Following this protest, Youth Congress(I) work ers led by the state president K F George marched past the newspaper offices, hurled stones and shouted slo gans once again When they met the Governor to present him the memoran dum, Mr Govind Narain is understood to have taken a firm stand against hooliganism of any kind "If you don't behave properly, I as the constitution al head of the state, can call the army to maintain law and order," he is supposed to have said

Coincidentally, and one is not sug gesting that it was deliberate, Costa Gavras' scathing indictment of police turning a blind eye to the machina tions of politicians, went off the cine ma circuit the next day

Louise Fernandes

ARMS

India turns to the USA

New Delhi Is India on the threshold of acquiring American arms for the first time since the USA imposed an embar go in the wake of the Pakistani aggres sion in 1965? The recent exchange of visits between top defence ministry officials of the two countries seems to indicate that the Americans may, at last agree to sell arms to India It would be a major change (for the better) in Indo US relations if this deal came through The bitterness of 1965 may finally be erased India had re ceived a rude jolt in 1965, when, after agreeing to supply certain strategic stores to this country, the USA sudden ly clamped the embargo A delegation of Indian defence production experts which was touring the American arsen als in order to enter into a production tie up found itself stranded in a hostile country after the 1965 war broke out The Indian delegation was banned by the Johnson administration from visit ing the arsenals and had to return emptyhanded

In view of such a past, the very fact that defence secretary K P A Menon has gone on a "goodwill mission" to the USA and Canada, accompanied by two senior army and air force officers, within ten days of a visit to this country by the US under secretary for defence, Robert Komer, is significant The visit by Mr Menon, in fact, is the culmination of a move to buy some sophisticated American arms which was initiated by Mr C Subramaniam as the defence minister in the Charan Singh government last year Our gov ernment has been evaluating the va rious medium artillery guns and anti

tank missiles available in the international market for the past one year and the American 155 mm M198 howitzer and the TOW (tube launched, opti cally tracked and wire guided) mis siles have been found to be the most suitable in the comparitive evaluation

The M198 howitzer has been chosen in face of stiff competition from the French GCT SP howitzer, the Belgian GC 45 gun howitzer, the Swedish Bofors field howitzer and the Soviet D 20 gun howitzer Of these, the Soviet howitzer lost the battle in the first round because it has a 152 mm gun as compared to the 155 mm gun of the others The American howitzer is the lightest among the 155 mm medium being considered by India Moreover, it also has the longest range. The projectile weight (the weight of the shell fired) of all the guns is more or less the same around 43 kg, but the M198, with a weight of 6 920 kg, is the lightest of them all. This is the only gun in its range which weighs less than seven tons and fires projectiles weighing 43 kg. In terms of range too, with a firing capability upto 30 kms, it beats the others hollow The Swedish gun can fire up to a range of 22 kms the French up to 23 5 kms, the Belgian up to 30 kms (with certain modifica tions which will make the gun much heavier than the short range versions) and the British West German Italian gun has a normal range of 24 kms and can be modified (again making it heavier) to fire up to 30 kms. Accord ing to a defence analyst the M198 has been favoured by the Indian army because it gives a larger range with a lesser weight

The M198 will not replace any gun currently used by the Indian army, nor will it be a mountain gun, as reported in a section of the press It will be a medium gun which will augment the long distance firepower of the artil lery, which at present is dependent on the Soviet 130 mm guns besides the Indian manufactured 105 mm gun, which is also recognised as the "Indian field gun" by Jane's Weapons Systems -a recognition of the ability of this country to produce its own heavy artil lery Apart from these, the army uses the 75 mm Pack howitzers developed in India after amalgamating some fore ign designs. The 75 mm howitzers are portable and can be dismantled and loaded on to ponies for transportation in the mountains where it is used Jane's recognises this gun too as an Indian product and says that India is trying to replace the 75 mm gun with a 90 mm one for its mountain guns The pity is that while details about this country's defence production capabilities are freely available in foreign books, the defence ministry fights shy to inform the countrymen about these proud achievements

In the case of anti-tank missiles, the. main competition has been between the TOW missiles system and the French MILAN (Missile d'Infanterie Leger Antichar) missile system The TOW is priced lower and has a longer

Qurbani and Burning train for Rs 100

Calcutta: Come Bengal's great Pujas, and the drums heat the microphones blare out special Puja numbers and Hindi film songs and everyone wears new clothes and happy smiles. This is the season when the whole family makes its new purchases Shops re-main open long hours, and the whole trade gears itself for the great annual sale. And at the core of the buying and selling remains, as usual, the sari, the classic wear of the Bengali women

The marketing is unique Sophisticated advertisements on radio television and the print media sell the costlier saris to the affluent, or to the middle class which is tempted to middle class which is tempted to splurge just this one time of the year, fortified by bonu, But there as a great demand for light cheaper sarts and certain types are given exotic names. This year, the great demand among the suburbantes and the middle and tower middle class is for two kinds of says which have been named Qurbaniand Burning Train, after the two recent films. These are colourful synthetic saris which cost no more than Rs 100 each

The vounger generation, among those who can afford it, has gone in again for printed Bangalore saris. The more expensive zari-bordered south Indian silk, an old favourite, has been replaced this year by the entirely new silk Tangail-silk saris into which the traditional Tangail design is woven along the border and the pallar, Since they cost Rs 350 or more, only the well-to-do can afford it Among this class, the cotton Organiza and the shaded silk varn have found a healthy

This year's colour is magenta-although, maroon—an all-time favourish with Bengahs—is still very much in demand As for design, it is the more traditional floral/father than the psychedelic or geometric pattern, that remains in fashion Despite the economic hard-ships of the people which is best reflected mathe faces of shopkendays, Puiss provides to temping colourful.

5. Demilis Majumdar

range of upto 3,750 meters as compared to the range of upto 2,000 meters of the MILAN. It is also at least five times speedier than the French missile. Moreover, while the MILAN uses a hollow charge as the warhead, the TOW has an armour-piercing high-explosive charge. So, in the case of anti-tank missiles too, the Americans have an edge over their nearest competitors in terms of range and a better warhead. Moreover, the TOW is cheaper too.

Unlike in the case of the field guns, India has so far not undertaken its own designing of anti-tank missiles, though there is a missile manufacturing facility, the Bharat Dynamics Ltd., Hyderabad (a public sector unit under the defence ministry), which was set up in 1970 with French collaboration and which has been turning out anti-tank missiles of French design since 1973. The Indian manufactured missile, based on the French SS-11 design, is not very modern, and the necessity for buying the TOWs arose because the needs of modern warfare require more sophisticated anti-tank warfare capability.

The composition of Mr Menon's delegation does not suggest the possibility of a production tie-up being signed along with the purchase deal. The vice-chief of air staff, air marshal L. S. Garewal and the deputy chief of army staff, Lt Gen H. C. Dutta, have accompanied the defence production department—or, more specifically, of the Indian Ordnance Factories and the Bharat Dynamics Ltd—has gone in the delegation, which shows that the possibility of the USA granting a licence to India to produce the howitzer or the anti-tank missile is rather low.

The delegation's visit to the De Havilland aircraft plant in Canada does not seem connected with defence purchases, because the Twin Otter aircraft (seating capacity, 20) is among the aircrafts being considered by India for the proposed third-level airline and Mr Menon is in the evaluating committee, and perhaps he is using this visit to north America to visit the De Havilland complex too. The Twin Otters, however, are being used for military reconaissance and aerial mapping by some countries.

The Kanpur unit of the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd has been lying idle since the production of the Avros was discontinued. It may not be a bad idea to buy such an aircraft for the third-level airline which can also be used by the air force, and can possibly be manufactured by HAL at Kanpur.

But one question remains: will the USA stick to its commitment regarding the 155 mm gun and the anti-tank missile in a war between India and China, or Pakistan? Moreover, if a production tie-up is not envisaged along with the purchase deal, what will be the fate of the armed forces during a war if the spares are not made available? But surely our planners are aware of these questions too. Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

As a a control of

Cashing in on a belief

Calcutta: On October 19 or 20, Muslims will sacrifice an animal (generally, a goat) in homage to Allah on the occasion of Bakr-Id. The market for handsome, well-built goats goes up as devout Muslims search for the best, within their means, to offer to God. Two enterprising young men, Gyani Ram, and his brother, who live in a suburb of Calcutta, have found a very unusual and imaginative way to dispose of their two 15-month-old goats prior to Bakr-Id. The two make a handsome pair, and are much in demand among the local Muslims, and the brothers were even offered Rs 3,000 for the pair. But the brothers thought up a way in which they could earn even more—without the price being too high for any individual.

They decided to conduct a lottery for their goats. Tickets were printed and priced at one rupee each, and the brothers paraded their goats in the mohallas, tickets in hand, inviting one and all to join the lottery. The local 'Muslims, most of whom are poor labourers from Bihar working in the jute mills that dot the banks of the



Gyani Ram and his goats

Hooghly river, responded readily. Till the moment of writing, the lottery had already fetched Rs 5,000. Who says there is no enterprise in our land? And this enterprise has left only a trail of goodwill among everyone. Tirthankar Ghosh

ADMINISTRATION

The RAW end

New Delhi: "We are against the policy of carrying our problems to the press," said the vice-president of the Research and Analysis' Wing (RAW) union. He was referring to the current agitation of the RAW employees who are demanding that no one should be brought on deputation from other government departments since it hampered their chances of promotion. They have other demands too: special pay for security duty and recognition of their union. The rumblings which had been heard in the Intelligence Branch (IB), a sister organisation, sometime back has now surfaced in the country's espionage department.

The authorities, however, feel that for the effective functioning of the organisation, it is essential to induct people on deputation. The deputationists are normally experienced hands. This would not have been possible with people from the IB and the direct recruits. Besides, they say, the cadre rules provide for the presence of deputationists in the organisation. The authorities to justify the presence of deputationists say that there are competitive examinations for promotions conducted by the UPSC only for the departmental candidates.

According to the authorities the demand for special pay should not be given much consideration. Assistants looking up confidential files and papers at the end of a working day are not unique to RAW. The practice is followed in most government departments and there is no reason, argue the authorities, why RAW assistants

should be given special pay for their normal duty. One of the other causes of dissatisfaction is foreign postings which depend entirely on the senior officers.

The dissatisfaction in the ranks of the RAW perhaps started in 1968 when RAW was carved out of the Intelligence Branch as it was felt that the IB had been burdened with the collection of internal and external intelligence. Besides it was felt that the country needed a specialised agency dealing only with the collection of information relating to foreign intelligence. Initially, only people working on the foreign desks of the IB were brought over to RAW. The organisation was given shape with IPS officers and army personnel who were brought

Long Live Our Unity!

MINISTERIAL EMPLOYEES OF REAW

WITH WHOLE HEARTED SUPPORT FROM

Cabinet Secretariat (R&AW) Fmolover Association(Regd.)

Leaflet issued by the union

over on deputation in senior positions. Some people were directly recruited to the department as ministerial employees and junior executives and the practice continues. The direct recruits discovered that those brought on deputation were being given senior ranks. Consequently, their chances of promotion decreased. The problem is acute in RAW since the department is smaller than most departments. A Special Correspondent



You who check your rice and dal -

Checking grains at home for one family, before cooking a meal is quite simple and may involve only one check But just compare this to what the Food Corporation of India does FCI checks lakhs of tonnes of foodgrains at several stages Starting from the procurement of grains in the mandis. right through to storing, transporting and finally distributing to the public distribution agencies—each check being thorough and complete

The checking of foodgrains is made even more complex by the fact that there are over 4,000 varieties of rice and over 45 varieties of wheat grown in India Out of these, FCI buys about 700 varieties of rice, grouped under three major classifications, and about 25 varieties of wheat Yet in the midst of such variety, quality is never allowed to suffer These grays are continuously scientifically gradimmigated and aerated in storage by trained and experienced personnel

In addition, FCI's 130 quality testing laboratories spread across the country ensure that these foodgrains retain their essential healthy and edible qualities Sometimes you may get grains from ration shops which may not have the shine you would like. But this fustreless look of the

grains should not be thought of as poor quality For the FCI makes sure of the edible quality of grains, while procuring the various varieties grown by the farmers and also before distribution.

FCI's complex operations at every stage of the maintenance of food-grains as also transport. storage and related services, naturally result in a great deal of expenditure Yet despite all this, the Corporation issues grains to the distributing agencies wherever they are -- in Delhi, Imphal or Kanyakumari--at a fixed price which is much lower than the actual cost of the grains Take for instance wheat A quintal of wheat which costs FCI Rs 161 05 is sold to the distributing agencies for Rs 130 00 The difference of Rs 31 05 is absorbed by the Government, to make foodgrains available to the consumer at a fair price In other words. the consumer receives this Government subsidy of Rs 31 05 through the Corporation For all these various operations, what is spent on administrative overheads constitutes



imagine inspecting billions of foodgrains.

only 1% of the total cost FCI carries out every stage of these numerous activities with the utmost

economy, in the best interest of the both the farmer and the consumer

The estimated Consumer Subsidy on wheat in 1980-81 (Per Quintal)

| Price paid to farmer Statutory and | 117 00 | Storage, handling, godown expences, etc | 5 92 |
|---|--------|---|--------|
| other charges like mandi purchase | | Interest on loans | 5 54 |
| tax, mandi labour, cost of gunny bags temporary storage,etc on | | Total cost incurred by PCI | 161.05 |
| which FCI has no control. | 20.64 | Cost charged by FCI from distributing | |
| Freight charges | 10.24 | agencies | 130 00 |
| Administrative overheads | 1 71 | CONSUMER SUBSIDY | 31 05 |

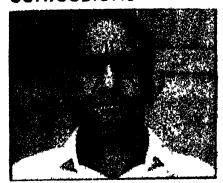


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DECEPTION

A conman's confessions



Madras: John Theosophilus Williams, alias Phillip Prabhakar is no stranger to trouble. A career in conning spread over three action-filled decades took him to a number of places, including jails, all over the country. On 18 May this year, the long arm of the law caught up with Williams once again and packed him off to what is virtually his second home—the jail. Reason: Posing as Phillip Prabhakar, 39-yearold IFS officer, and marrying Dolly, a pretty Madras schoolteacher. But the girl's brother, a space scientist working at Thumba, found out that Prabhakar was not what he claimed to be and alèrted the Madras police.

Before Prabhakar could give the slip, he was nabbed outside Madras' Egmore station moments after he had persuaded a Malayalee waiter to part with Rs 350 for a visa to the Gulf Soon the cops realised that Prabhakar was no small time cheat but the notorious John Theosophilus Williams—the gentle predator, and witty charming conman who had been in and out of jails since 1946. Trained as a pilot, Williams was later made an operation officer because of his deteriorating eyesight In 1946, he was arrested in Colombo for the first time Along with the flight commander and air hostess Williams was found guilty of conspiring to smuggle gold and diamonds from Beirut and put behind bars for three months
"That's how I started my long affair

"That's how I started my long affair with crime," Williams told this correspondent inside the Madras central jail. "But I have no regrets: I like blowing up money, gambling and drinking. And only by swindling ordinary people and the government could I survive. But believe me, I have never deceived god. A good amount of my earnings was used to bring up nine foster children." If this claim to philanthrophy is true, the nine foster children must indeed be missing his money for he admits having swindled Rs ten lakhs from the various handloom emporiums in the early Fifties alone."

Williams had somehow become the manager of Delhi's first handloom emporium which was inaugurated by the then President Dr Rajendra Prasad, When the police began probing his background, Williams fled Delhi

ster 1 1

and came down to Bangalore where he realised that "people were just waiting to be cheated." So he went right ahead and cheated two Bangalore silk factories to the tune of Rs one lakh. This happened 20 years ago and since then Williams has never looked back convinced that providence wanted him to be a successful career-comman.

Williams invested his "earnings" in two cloth shops which he opened in Hyderabad. "But fate caught up with me and I was sentenced to four years' rigorous imprisonment. Once I left jail, my mother asked me to take up social work for self-purification. So, with false, cooked-up bio-data I managed jobs in several welfare organisations. I was an honest worker but I found out that the do-gooders were pocketing neat sums of money. I emulated them. And unlike them I was caught."

After his release, Williams became a travelling conman. He worked at Pondicherry Ashram and the popular Catholic Shrine at Vellankani. He also offered the gullible unemployed visas for the Gulf countries. At one point, Williams decided to call himself the branch manager of a Bahrain firm, Mohammed Abubacker and Co. Ltd. Neat letterheads were printed and fictitious correspondence typed out.

He served jail sentences for cheating the school for the Blind and the Guild of Service. According to Williams, the Guild of Service was run in the Seventies by a capable lady who was livid with anger when she discovered Williams' true credentials. She asked him to pack off. Williams packed off but not before laying his hands on two drafts worth about Rs three lakhs. He was however arrested before he could cash the drafts by forging her signature and sent to jail once again

Williams' first wife had left him many years ago while he was serving a jail sentence and began living with another man. Now Williams had decided to acquire another wife. He answered a number of matrimonial advertisements enclosing false biodata. Apparently, there was no response. One day while casually flipping through a Madras school magazine, he chanced upon Dolly's photograph. The magazine described her as a schoolteacher interested in social work. Her pretty face set Williams' heart aflutter. He wrote to her and later met her. To impress Dolly and her parents, Williams stayed in expensive hotels and entertained them lavishly. And to cover his notorious past, he acquired a fake baptism certificate from a Colombo church.

Finally on 23 April, Williams and Dolly got married. Williams recounted in jail: "As the wedding preparations were going on, I repeatedly thought of revealing my past to Dolly."

Williams claimed marriage would have reformed him. Instead now he is in jail regurgitating memories of his pretty schoolteacher-wife.

Arthur Pais

MADHYA PHAUESH

Minister in criminal case



Indore: A criminal case has been reopened against Suresh Seth, the local self-government minister in the cabinet of Arjun Singh, and three others. The charges: cheating, forgery corruption, criminal conspiracy and criminal breach of trust.

In 1969-70, when Seth was the mayor of Indore a dozen wheels for municipal road rollers were purchased and Rs 1.36 lakhs paid to an alleged bogus firm for what had reportedly cost Rs 24,000. The matter came up in the municipal corporation and in 1972 a state vigilance commission was set up. The commission submitted its report in 1974 and allegedly recom-mended action against Seth and five others. However, neither the Congress. government, nor the Emergency Law Department took any action. The Jana ta government, subsequently, decided to act, but ultimately, the investigation was scattled It was on 6 December 1978, that the vigilance commis-sion arrested Seth and two former employees of the corporation: P.K.Dix. it and Himmat Singh Jain, in connection with the case.

The case was pending in the Indorecourt, when on 5 June 1980 a cryptic message was transmitted by police wireless to the Law Department instructing the government pleader at Indore to "immediately" withdraw the criminal case. On 6 June the additional government pleader of Indore moved an application in the court of the first additional sessions judge, Miss Usha Shukla praying for a withdrawal of the case "because the state thinks that it shall not be in the public interest to pursue this prosecution further." A week later, on 13 June 1980, Seth was sworn in as the local self-government minister in Arjun Singh's cabinet—and was given charge of the department he had allegedly bungled.

Matters would have rested there, had not Purushottam Vijay, ex-mayor of Indore filed a revision petition against the withdrawal of the case. The petitioner alleged that the criminal case was withdrawn in "undue" haste to facilitate Seth "in being ushered to the ministerial chair with our embarrassment to him and him

81

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party." The petition also pointed out that Seth's election as a Congress(I) nominee could not be constitutional. legal or just ground for the withdraw-al Justice P.D.Mulye of the MP High Court admitted the petition in which the state of Madhya Pradesh as well as Seth and the three co-accused were made repondents, for the hearing on 20 September.

A Special Correspondent

DRUGS

Goa's police: finders, keepers?

Goa: On Saturday 30 August, three foreigners looking for parking space drove a minibus to a garage at Saligao, a village near the famous Calangute beach Daniel Bernard Burr (26) was at the wheel. He was visibly exhausted after the long drive So were the other occupants the second driver P.S Collett (33) and the mechanic C. A Bolger (26). Just as they disembarked after parking the bus, a posse of policemen led by sub-inspector Arun Bandodkar stopped them "Could vou let us have a look into your van?" asked the police officer Flashing their British passports, the trio aggressively demanded an explanation "Is this the way you treat your foreign guests?" asked one of the three

But the officer stood his ground and ordered his men to search the van And they struck rich Concealed in the false ceiling of the van's roof were large quantities of hashish around 500kgs, worth Rs 23 lakhs at the current market price The three foreigners were arrested Understandably, the police started propagating their catch, after all, this was the largest single haul of narcotics in the country But within a few hours, police inefficiency was manifest

The inspector-general of police, Prabhakar Sinari, arriving at the garage a couple of hours later, discovered that his men had not drawn up the panchanama, the seizure list Some people were hurriedly assembled-quite a few of them professional witnesses—to rectify the error A local reporter and Alı, a man conspicuous on the beach for his dealings with foreigners, were the two main witnesses. No sooner had the police made the reports public than Mrs Grace De Souza, the English wife of the Gon Pradesh Congress(I) president, Dr Wilfied De Souza, claimed that the police haul was much larger than what the police cared to admit Mrs De Souza had been talking to the three Britons whom the police had arrested, and she says she learnt that the police had actually confiscated hashish worth at least Rs 50 lakhs in addition to foreign currency worth Rs two lakhs. If her claims are true, then a part of the booty is missing. The police are yet to forward an explanation

Another local resident, Martinho Cordeiro, a retired assistant drug controller and a witness to the police raid, corroborates Mrs De Souza's statement. But when Mrs De Souza approached the authorities she was told that the contraband goods had already been dumped into the sea as the law stipulates. The three Britons are already out on bail. Mario Cabral e Sa

obscure authors, seem to be a rearing success. The front of it is their sident one of these front of it is their sident one of these front of it is their sident one of these front again (which is being touted at the only such as the course of the first of the course o

Both the records are kits.

This is not all, Uttam's death brought alive a dying Bengali film, magazine whose seles hardly aver-

from er least three flins with in the lead which had been su Calcutte before the cineses Tooshar Pundit

ENTERTAINMENT

Taj-Md.Yunus joint venture

Delhi: The Taj group of hotels have gone 'public'. No, the government has not taken over the prestigious Tataowned hotel chain yet. Instead, government space has been hired by the Taj hotels to cater to the people at the Pragati Maidan in New Delhi, the venue of round-the-year trade fairs The unutilised grounds on Mathura road (named Pragati Maidan, after the Asia '72 exhibition eight years ago) will now throb with activity, thanks to the imaginativeness of the Trade Fair Authority (TFA) chairman, Mohammad Yunus, who has allowed the Tai group to set up three restaurant-cumcultural complexes around the Mansarovar pond in the centre of the fair grounds

The three complexes are: Phoolwari, a five-star restaurant, serving Indian cuisine; Jhatpat, a fast food joint; and, an art gallery-cum-restaurant complex, Udyam, which will be a close cousin to the Jehangir Art Gallery of Bombay and apart from regular art shows will serve the same kind of snacks and food served by Samovar of Bombay. The Phoolwari promises rich Indian fare at a reasonable price (the management says a family of four, including two children, can have a meal for Rs 35) and the other two restaurants will mainly cater to the fair-goers and art lovers. But the Taj complex has a unique feature. A courtyard has been allotted adjoining the Phoolwari complex in which regular theatrical performances and folkcultural shows will be held. According to Ravi Dubey, the Taj sales manager in Delhi and a theatre buff himself, the first group to perform in the open-air theatre will be Bombay's IPTA (Indian People's Theatre Association). They will be performing the Hindi adaptation of Brecht's Caucasian Chalk Circle (Safed Kundali in Hindi) directed by M. S. Sathyu. The production scheduled to be staged in Delhi between 25 and 28 October will star Shabana Azmi. The total cost of the production, Rs 1,10,000, will be borne by the Taj group. The price of the





People trust the Godrej

Godrej

tickets for the drama will be nominal and the patrons will not be bound to visit the restaurants. Mr Dubey hopes to organise nautankis and tamashas in the open-air theatre. His later plans include the formation of a Taj Theatre Club which will patronise the local theatre talent of Delhi.

The main idea behind the ventures, according to Dubey, was publicity for the performing group. As for profita-bility, the Taj hoped to attract at least ten per cent of the 600 foreign tourists who visit the capital daily. A meal at the Phoolwari every night could well be the mainstay of the venture. The Taj group will be paying a rent of Rs 45,000 per year and also pay seven per cent of the turnover (estimated around Rs 20 lakhs annually, as fees to the Trade Fair Authority). Apart from utilising the Pragati Maidan, the Taj venture will ensure a revenue of around Rs two lakhs to the TFA. Good business for a piece of land lying unused most of the year! Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

The *ghazal* tapes piracy

Jaipur: Hotel Welcomgroup Mansingh, Jaipur (under the management of ITC) has snapped its contract for advertisement and subscription of the monthly publication Jaipur Vision. The hotel sales manager, I. V. Singh, communicated this decision in a letter (dated 13 September, 1980) to Ms Tripti Pandey, the magazine's editor, without, howev-

rent," says Ms Pandey who was also the co-sponsor of the musical programme featuring the famous Pakistani singer Ghulam Ali on 26 June orga-nised in the Jai Vilas hall of the hotel. Ghulam Ali had agreed to visit Jaipur at the invitation of Ms Pandey's sister,

proposed visit to the city, the hotel management requested the sisters to arrange a programme at their hotel. They offered facilities to the star which included a public address system free of charges. Considering their good relations' with the hotel, the sisters consented but they made it clear that they would not allow any recording of the programme. Suresh Bahadur, the hotel manager apparent-

ly agreed to the condition. On 26 June, Ghulam Ali held the audience spellbound for three hours. The programme was a success. Radiating with happiness, the singer stepped

Two days after the programme, on 28 June, tape-recorded cassettes of Ghulam Alf's songs were sold freely in

Matchless powers



Raipur: Baljit Singh Jabbal (22), stared at a dry wick kept in a dry earthenware lamp The audience of the packed hall of Chhattisgarh Muslim Educational Society waited in hushed silence, when it happened once again on 5 September. The wick suddenly caught fire and continued to

burn for a minute and a half. This was the second exhibition of Baljit's meatal powers. The first was in London, where Baljit lighted an electric bulb with his mental energy, around mid-

July, this year.

Baljit, who holds a diploma in automobile engineering and works in an engineering concern, discovered his mental powers around the age of 19 when he joined the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi Transcendental Institute to learn meditation. He is now using his mental powers to cure patients suffering from various kinds of diseases, free of charge. Baljit believes that regular meditation develops mental powers and eliminates mental and spiritual weaknesses. He is planning to design a machine that would record mental waves and vibrations of a person and that would prove his theory that the close connection between meditation and mental power has a scientific basis M.V. Kher

SHOWBUSINESS

er, stating any reason.

But "the reasons are quite appa-Mrs Ila Arun.

On knowing about the singer's

in to the hotel; beautiful girls wel-comed him in Rajasthani style and the manager offered him rose garlands.

the city's market. The bewildered singer immediately contacted Mrs Ila Aran to find out the facts. "We were

simply puzzled," was Ms Pandey's initial reaction. "After all, how was it possible? We had not seen anybody recording the programme in the hall," she told this correspondent.

To 'verify the truth' Ms Pandey went and met Suresh Bahadur who finally confessed that a recording was done in the sound control room. "But on knowing about the recording I stopped it," said the manager to the sisters and organisers. Mr R. G. Sharma, the assistant incharge of the sound control room confirmed the allegation by saying that the recording was done only "for the purpose of testing" their recording system. But Ms Pandey suspects that the management had "made prior and fool-proof arrangements for



Ghulam Ali and Ila Arun

Later Mrs Ila Arun sent a written complaint to Suresh Bahadur. She has not received any reply yet. She also wrote to the ITC chairman but could not get any acknowledgement. What they received instead was the letter severing links with the magazine. "We have been cheated and are now being hurt. But we don't bother"said the confident Ms Pandey. Milap Chand Dandia

MASSACRE

Villagers kill langoors

Jaipur: 10 September: 12. 11 September: 16. 12 September: 17. 13 September: two. Total: 47. That is Murli's score for four days. And he is just one of many professionals hired to massacre langoors by the residents of Talab village, barely thirty kms from the famous Sariska Wild Life sanctu-ary in Rajasthan. The langoors had been causing widespread damage to

the standing crop.

First, villagers tried the conventional methods like beating tin cans and putting up scarecrows all over the place. The langoors of Talab weren't to be scared so easily. Next, the villagers sought the help of Bawarias, a community of poachers. But the Bawarias knew killing langoors was a criminal offence. Besides, their religious beliefs were against such killing. "How dare you ask us to kill the descendants of Lord Hanuman?"

So, the villagers finally decided to do it on their own. They met at Mahant ka chabutra (the platform from where the village Mahant delivers his sermons) discussed the strategy and agreed to hire professional killers. For this funds were also raised. Soon, the killers were on the langoor trail; the villagers themselves providing reinforcements. They surrounded the big banyan tree at the centre of the village from where the langoors had been carrying out their forays into the fields. Maize was offered as bait. The rest was easy. As the langoors came down from the tree to lift the maize, the hired men caught them by their tails, tied their hands and legs and packed them in gunny bags. The day's catch was then carted to a densely forested hill at a distance of about ten kilometers away. There the langoors

were left to die of hunger, suffocation and multiple fractures.

The carcasses naturally attracted a large number of vultures. And this attracted the attention of the forest officials who stumbled upon dead langoors strewn all over the place. Two members of the Tourism and Wild Life Society of India (TWSI) after a detailed investigation came to the conclusion that the killing of the langoors started on 9 September and continued for five days. They were not, however, sure how many of them were killed during the period The estimates vary from 100 to 500 The TWSI team however failed to spot a single langoor in and around the entire Sariska sanctuary stretching out to over 25 kms and embracing some six villages.

The villagers will not say a word about it. But the gory details of this mayhem was offered by Murli, one of the killers in his confession before a munsif magistrate in Alwar For this however, Murli faces social ostracism from the villagers. To the magistrate he said: "I am doomed. They will never let me live in that village again." However, the villagers of Talab themselves are facing ostracism from the neighbouring villagers What shocked the others most was that it was the Brahmins of Talab village who took the lead in the massacre. "They are not Brahmins, they are butchers," says the headman of the neighbouring Tahla village.

ABSURDITIES

Milap Chand Dandia

Elizabeth Taylor and the principals' principles

Raipur: Dr Dharamvir Bharati, editor of Dharmayug, the leading Hindi weekly of the country; Phaneshwar Nath "Renu", one of Hindi's major short story writers; Sharad Joshi, nationally famous satirist and writer, Mohan Rakesh, the celebrated play-wright, have all indulged in "erotic" writing, according to a section of Madhya Pradesh's teachers. The story begins with the Hindi (Special) tex-

tbook published by the Madhya Pradesh Textbook Corporation for students of class eleven. This is a collection of the works of major contemporary writers, and its introduction has led to a storm in academic circles. A large number of principals of higher secondary schools have announced their decision not to teach some sections of this book because they are allegedly "erotic"

Now what precisely is "erotic"? In Dr Bharati's story, The Third Journey of Gulliver, a sature, he gives an aged Gulliver a young wife, and this young wife, during her husband's absence, entertains herself by visiting the cinema, and going on picnics with a neighbour. This apparently is what is "erotic" about the story. Lal Paan Ki Begum is one of the late Renu's greatest short stories, and in this a mother angrily calls her daughter a harjai (a loose woman), and says, "Why are you sitting with your legs spread out?" That is what the teachers

felt to be objectionable

But apparently what has really up-set the teachers is Sharad Joshi's story, Everyone is afraid of Virginia Woolf In the story a wife remarks her husband while seeing the film, Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf? that Elizabeth Taylor did not look particularly virginal to her. Her husband explains that Virginia Woolf is not supposed to be a virgin And that is considered "erotic". But the truth is that what has upset the teachers and petty bureaucrats about this story is that Sharad Joshi has written a scathing satire on government servants and how they behave

Such is the stupidity of the antibook lobby that they want a poem of Nirala, one of the modern pillars of Hindi poetry, withdrawn because it has a reference to wine, and "this might inspire the students to start

drinking.'

One reason why some powerful teachers and principals are against this book is because they submitted their own efforts at creativity for inclusion in the collection, in the hope of lucrative royalties, but their work was turned down by the editors as below standard. So now they are after their pound of flesh through other means. M. V. Kher

(Left to right) Bharati, Renu and Sharad, Joshi: writers of erotica?







MARUTI

Nationalisation for respectability

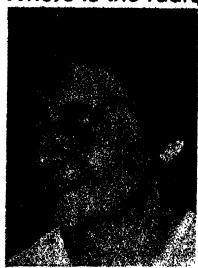
Delhi: On the night of 13 October Mrs Gandhi's government issued its thirteenth Ordinance since January. By a Presidential proclamation the VVIP firm of the late Sanjay Gandhi, which has been the subject of umpteen parliamentary debates and a probe by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court in the past few years, Maruti Limited, came under the ownership of the state. But even at the time of its nationalisation, the company, situated on the Palam-Gurgaon road off Delhi in Haryana, retained its extraordinary status. The news of the nationalisation could only be published by the newspapers on the morning of the 15th, that too after the Press Information Bureau had taken an extraordinarily long time to cyclostyle and distribute the 16-page document. The Maruti Limited (Acquisition and Transfer of Undertakings) Ordinance is perhaps the only Ordinance in the history of free India which was reported in the press, a full day after its promulgation. The veil of secrecy which had shrouded the activities of the late Sanjay Gandhi's company in his lifetime had not lifted even three-and-a half months after his death. The debts of the late Sanjay Gandhi will now be repaid from the state's coffers. The creditors of Maruti, led by Lalit Suri of Delhi Automobiles (the younger brother of Sagar Suri) had filed a suit for liquidation of the company in the summer of 1977 before the Punjab and Haryana High Court at Chandigarh. After the return of the Congress(I) to power the creditors had told the Court that they were formulating "alternate plans" for the utilisation of the assets of Maruti Limited and therefore the Court did not go ahead with the liquidation of the company and distribution of the spoils among the creditors, though the case was in its final stages. As per the Ordinance, the liabilities of the company, amounting to around Rs 4.3 crores, will be paid up by the government within 30 days of the promulgation of the Ordinance. Thus, the distribution of the money to the creditors of Mr Sanjay Gandhi will be completed by 14 November, five days, before the winter session of the Parliament starts. This has raised many eyebrows. Firstly, it is unprecedented for a company under liquidation to be nationalised and furthermore, the government has not been able to show any urgent ground for the takeover and the payments arrangement, which ensures that the money will be disbursed before the Parliament can discuss the step. Mrs Gandhi may give any plea for the nationalisation, ranging from the need for a new car with economical fuel consumption to the demand made by the opposition for the nationalisation of the company, but none of these would be tenable.

Moreover, this nationalisation is a case in point illustrating the present ruling party's regard for the Parliament and the Courts. The Janata government, too, could have nationalised the company. In fact, it had plans to do so. But Sanjay Gandhi's friends had preempted the move by going to Court against him so that the matter became subjudice and any government with the rule of law at heart would not have thought of nationalisation at that stage. In fact, the move for liquidation was a very wise one. On the one hand the move ensured, during the Morarji Desai and Charan Singh regimes, that the company was not taken over, on the other it hindered the work of the Maruti Commission. The files of the company kept on moving between the Commission's office in New Delhi and the High Court at Chandigarh. Therefore, neither the Commission nor the Court could fully examine the affairs of Maruti Limited. It was, therefore, not surprising when the creditors suddenly told the liquidating body, the High Court, that after the return of the Congress(I) to power, they had given up their plans to have their pound of flesh and had instead decided to examine avenues for putting the assets of Maruti to use.

After the return of his party to power in January this year, Sanjay Gandhi was not keen to continue with the Maruti project. He was keen to pay off the creditors and sell the plant to anyone who was prepared to pay off all the debts. Four parties showed interest. Two were from creditors, the Suris of Delhi Automobiles and Charanjit Singh of Coca-Cola fame. (This deal was reported by Sunday in its Delhi Diary column in June this year.) The Modis and Nandas of Escorts too showed interest. While the Suris had signed an agreement with Volvo of Sweden for the manufacture of passenger cars, Charanjit Singh had become the agent for MAN of West Germany for the manufacture of heavy trucks. The Nandas were interested in acquiring the property for setting up a diesel engine manufacturing unit. The Modis have manufacturing facility, though the foreign collaboration had not been specified. So, if the government today feigns ignorance, it is indeed strange. But none of these parties were either willing to pay off the creditors in full nor did any of them have liquid cash which would have been necessary for such an exercise.

What would be the future of the Maruti premises? It has, at present, only bodybuilding facilities and there is no machinery to manufacture the 'peoples' car' which was envisaged by Sanjay Gandhi while setting up the plant. The prototypes of the Maruti were only assembled in that plant on Sanjay Candhi's design. No manufacturer ever sets up a full fledged plant before getting the prototype passed and Sanjay Gandhi was no exception. But according to knowledgeable sources, the land and buildings of Maruti would be ideally suited for the setting up of a car, manufacturing

Where is the rudraksha?



Bombay: Has Mrs Gandhi given up wearing her chestnut brown string of rudrakshas? On her first trip to Bombay after the Congress(I) victory in the Assembly elections, the Prime

Minister was seen without her nowfamous rudraksha beads. There was a time when she could not do without it, It was the barometer of her faith in gods, the supernatural and godmen. The string of rudrakshas was said to have been given to her by Anandemal of Pune. Once, according to those close to her, the mala (string of beads) broke and an unnerved Mrs Gandhi sent a confidante flying to Pune for a replacement. The Prime Minister however, has given a different reason for wearing her rudraksha. Once in Gujarat, she told newsmen that it was Mr Krishna Menon who forced her to wear something around her neck since a bare neck, especially a woman's, did not look good. Since Mrs Gandhi did not like wearing jewellery she selected the string of rudrakshas. To her they had no significance.

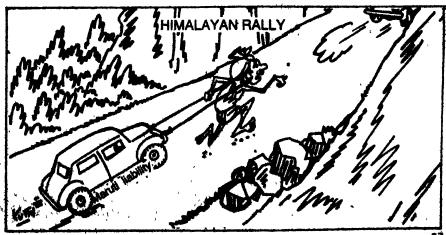
Perhaps, after her last personal tragedy, she has had enough of god-men and godwomen. She even seems to have given up temple-hopping having visited around 32 of the 56 temples suggested by the godmen.

Olga Tellis

facility. And according to the proclamation, it is the express purpose for which the nationalisation has been done. The factory has around 70,000 sq. metres of built-up area. What any company planning to manufacture a car at the Gurgaon complex would need to do, would be to set up an entire car-manufacturing complex. Only in the case of bodybuilding, can the existing facility be utilised.

Many foreign car manufacturers are at present vying with each other to sell India the knowhow for a fuelefficient car. The present Indian ones have an average fuel consumption ranging between eight to 12 kms to a litre. The minimum fuel consumption in many foreign cars which are in the fray for the proposed tieup is 15 kms to a litre. The manufacturers in the fray are Renault of France, Toyota and Honda of Japan, Volkswagen of West Germany, British Leyland, Fiat and Volvo of Sweden. Of these, Renault seems to be the present favourite. This

French public sector firm had displayed a model of Renault-18 passenger car in the Pragati Maidan exhibition last year. An added advantage for the Renault is that this company has the largest number of foreign tie-ups (in 27 countries). And it being a publicsector company, ultimately may prove to be the most suitable partner for a public sector Maruti Ltd. The move for a new car in the Indian market, however, will be met with stiff resistance from the present oligopolists controlling the market. The first attempt to introduce a small, fuel-efficient car was made in Fifties. The oligopolists then had successfully staved off the attempts to introduce VW Beatles in the Indian market. While the government's attempt to go in for a scientific, modern, fuel-efficient car is laudable, how does one justify the blatant manner in which the nationalisation of Maruti was carried out, flouting both the judiciary and the Parliament? Shubhabrata Bhattacharya



INDHRA PRADESH

Mr Anjaiah takes charge

Hyderabad: For over two months, it was said that the Andhra Pradesh crisis would be resolved in a "day or two" That kal parson (yesterday or day before, or tomorrow or day after), finally came on the afternoon of 11 October when Mr Tanguturi Anjarah was sworn in as the new chief minister of AP replacing the controversial Dr Marri Channa Reddy That ended the 100 day war in the ruling Congress(I)

Mrs Gandhi's verdict in favour of Mr Anjaiah marks the "triumphant" return of the one-time trade unionist to state politics after a gap of 31 months In the February 1978 Assembly elections, Mr Anjaiah had lost in the Musheerabad constituency of Hyderabad to a Janata candidate by a very narrow margin. He was later "rehabilitated" in the Rajya Sabha in 1979 and inducted into the central Cabinet as Minister of state for labour on 8 June 1980

The drama in the state's politics had begun from the day Dr Reddy dropped eight dissident ministers who accused him of being authoritarian Dr Reddy's rule turned out to be "mis rule" with political, economic and so

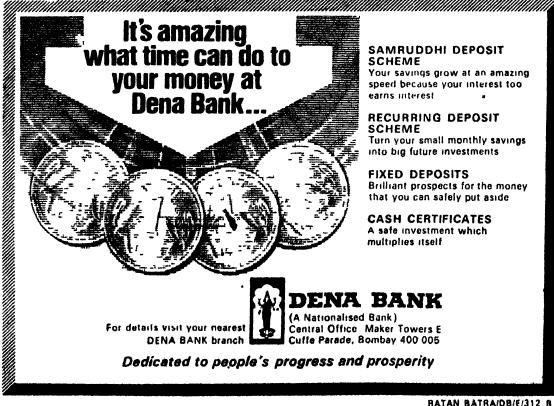
cial crises Soon after Sanjay Gandhi's death the crisis reached its climax On 1 September, Dr Reddy was asked through a last minute firman to hold back his resignation On 17 September, the consensus bid on Mr Anjaiah as Dr Reddy's successor failed A few days later, the state Assembly rejected the second no confidence motion against Dr Reddy's ministry with the "qualified" support of the then dissi dents who declared that they would oppose the no trust move provided there was no going back on the deci sion to replace Dr Channa Reddy

When the drama was appearing to be overplayed, messages came from Delhi that a meeting of the Congress Legislature Party(I) would be held on 11 October Dr Reddy's followers claimed that there was no question of change in leadership since he enjoyed a "majority" in the CLP(I) Dr Reddy himself declared confidently that he had the support of 160 legislators but made it "clear" that he did not want any confrontation with the Centre On 10 October at 6 30 pm Dr Reddy final ly submitted his resignation to the Governor, Mr K C Abraham and ended his 31 month rule. On the afternoon of 11 October Mr Anjaiah was duly elected as the CLP(I) leader at the Committee Hall of the state Assembly and at 1 56 pm was sworn in as the new CM The 51 year old Mr Anjaiah faces an arduous task as the thief minister of Andhra Pradesh Since the quarrels

in the ruling party had degenerated into inter-regional bickerings in the last two weeks, he has to weld all the factions of the party together into a close-knit organisation. As a first move, Mr Anjaiah has sought the cooperation of the former CM, Mr Kasu Brahmananda Reddy Probably he would accommodate Mr Challa Rambhupal Reddy, the 50-year-old son-inlaw of President Sanjiva Reddy He has to "retain" some of the former ministers who were "loyal" to Dr Red

Once the cabinet-making formalities are over, Mr Anjaiah will have to address himself to other pressing prob-lems which need immediate tackling Besides toning up the administration and restoring the morale of the state government employees, Mr Anjaiah has to initiate measures to boost up the sagging economy, curb the price rise, redress farmers' grievances, pro-vide adequate relief to the droughtstricken and flood affected people, contain student unrest, solve labour problems and check growing corrup tion The CM has promised to shake up the police force. He also said that his government contemplated to enact the Lok Pal bill, and to form "flying squads" to punish corrupt officials

But Mr Anjaiah has some "inherent limitations" Mrs Gandhi has reported ly assured the ruling party members from Andhra and Rayalaseema re gions that a change of leadership



would be considered after the 1983 Assembly elections. She has also suggested that a deputy chief minister from Andhra or Rayalaseema region could be appointed. The dissidents might raise their ugly heads once again. On the day, Mr Anjaiah assumed office a few "staunch" loyalists of Dr Reddy secretly sowed the seeds of dissidence. Among the new dissidents are some legislators from Andhra and Rayalaseema and a few from the Telengana area. There is no immediate threat to Mr Anjaiah from the new dissidents but they can always spread discontent in future. Syed Majeedul Hasan

SPORTS

Will the Games go on?

Delhi: Will the preparations for the 1982 Asian Games in Delhi and Rai be completed in time? The question seems to be on the minds of many sports lovers all over the country. But the progress so far has not been inspir-

Ever since 1976, when it was decided in Montreal at the meeting of the Asian Games Federation that India would host the 1982 Games the entire project has been running into problems Although Mrs Gandhi's cabinet approved the India Olympic Association's (IOA) bid to stage the Asiad, there was no allocation for the Games in the 1976-77 budget When Morarji Desai came to power the Asiad received its first setback. He asked the various ministries to submit the estimates of the total costs involved in hosting the Games. The estimate was drawn up and the total was Rs 40 crores. However, once the estimate reached the cabinet it was rejected

Vijay Kumar Malhotra, the head of the Asian Games Organising Committee, which was derecognised, "ran from pillar to post" pursuing the matter with the government. He met the finance minister, the home minister and held meetings with architects and planners. It was finally decided to limit the costs to Rs 26 crores out of which the central government would provide Rs 20 crores, the New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) Rs five crores and the Delhi Electric Supply Union (DESU) Rs one crore. On 6 December 1978, the government passed a resolution saying that it stood committed to the Asian Games and that a sum of Rs 26 crores would be spent on it.

The final blow came on 6 September, when the IOA derecognised the Malhotra-led organising committee. The IOA's decision itself was worded carefully: "Taking into consideration all the factors it is decided that in the interest of the efficient holding of the Asian Games, it is necessary to constitute a new special committee of the IOA which will accept the responsibil-

ity of holding the Asian Games. Therefore, the IOA withdraws the recognition given earlier to the Asian Games Organising Committee." V. C. Shukla was made the chairman of the new committee and the IOA adopted the resolution with a 67-8 vote. V. K. Malhotra had been finally rendered useless, and the new special committee was packed with people who were virtual nominees of the ruling party. Ironically, the vice chairman of the special committee was none other than the minister of state for shipping and transport, Mr Buta Singh, who had first proposed Malhotra's name as the head of the AGOC. Inspite of the derecognition Mr Malhotra instisted that the AGOC continued to exist, with the result that now two committees exist: one headed by Mr Shukla, which is the effective committee, and the other headed by Mr Malhotra, which has no function. Malhotra admitted, "To be very frank, we do not have much work now."

But this has triggered off a controversy about the increasingly dominant role that politics is now playing in sports in this country. And people are pointing their fingers at the IOA president, Raja Bhalindra Singh, who they say

allowed it to happen. Funds, at any rate, has not been a problem since the Congress (I) came to power. The costs, which the Janata government had once estimated at Rs 26 crores, may now go well beyond Rs 100 crores. The Lok Dal leader, Mr George Fernandes, has issued a statement saying that it would cost India Rs 300 crores to hold the Games. Though no one from the organising committee is stating the amount expected to be spent for the Games, Raja Bhalindra said, "Money is no longer a problem now. There is no haggling over money. The only aim is to complete the job, even if it costs a lot. There are some who say that so much money should not be spent on the Games by a nation like India, but these are the people who know nothing about sports and the importance of physical education." In spite of the massive expenditure, will the preparations be completed? In Delhi itself an indoor stadium, with a seating capacity of about 25,000 is to be built at Rajghat, a 75,000 capacity stadium at Lodi Road, a swimming pool, besides of course, flyovers, bridges, electrification of railway lines and numerous other projects. Bhalindra Singh said, "After two years of inactivity, work has at last started. We are now working on a time bound schedule with engineers and others reporting regularly to the steering committee. The government has given the Games top priority and if the present pace continues, then we knowledge to finish our work." But should be able to finish our work." But there are many problems ahead and as Ashwini Kumar said, "The Games can only be held, if the preparations are treated on a war footing and work goes on 24 hours of the day. Even if the Games are held, it will be a maimed and mauled Games." Saumitra Banerjee

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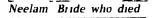
Neelam Jain did not die in vain

Calcutta An unparalleled revolution is taking place in the city's conserva tive Marwari community after the dowry death of the beautiful 17 year old Neelam Jain (Sunday 21 Septem ber) Marwari women have suddenly come onto the streets to protest against the pernicious dowry system, and their fury has converted this protest into a fullscale movement Oppressive in laws and violent hus bands are now literally being dragged out of the closets, and have become subjects of scorn and ridicule. The women of the land where purdah and sati have coexisted are finally deman ding justice

On 21 September 6,000 women gathered in the city's Satyanarayan park to hear speaker after speaker recount the torture that Neelam Jain underwent before her cruel death on 7 September Many women cried openly and loudly. One speaker was so overcome that she turned hysteric al and collapsed Pushpa Devi (haucharia, a barrister who presided pointed out that the nation's laws were not rigidly administered to prevent crimes against women Kusum Jam advocated a militant movement, her slogan was simple "Dowry be damned" Shakuntala Chintamani and Savitri Devi Kanoria demanded 'direct action' against those Marwari tamilies which gave or accepted dow

The meeting was organised by the West Bengal Provincial Lederation and the Harvana Nagrik Sangh, both affiliated to the All India Marwari Lederation which was founded in 1935 On 24 September a number of Guiarati organisations joined hands with these groups and condemned the dowry system at a public meeting in Burrabazar Marwari women have also received considerable support from the Women's Coordinating Council, West Bengal, which has simultaneously launched a campaign against dowry and crimes against women Mrs Renuka Roy the coun







Demonstrators protest against down



Kanoria addressing women at Satyanarayan park

cil's president, believes that women should be taught self-defence in schools and colleges to prepare them selves for a hard future

The Jain family, into which Neelam Jain was married, is facing a social boycott Hundreds of women have demonstrated outside the sari shops owned by the family, and poten tial customers are being urged not to buy anything from the 'murderers' On 22 September a minor scuffle broke out outside one of the shops

owned by the Jams and the police had to be called in Angry women shouted slogans outside the courts on the day Neelam's mother in law husband and brother in law were produced before a magistrate, and later hundreds de manded that the accused should not be granted bail at any cost. However on 6 October the accused were granted bail with certain conditions The hearing will commence on 20 November

The passion of the women leading the movement is truly amazing, their dedication laudatory. On 19 Septem. ber, the Jains had invited priests to their Camac street residence to perform certain rites. Agitators came to know about this, and promptly gathered in front of the Jains resi dence to prevent the priests from entering the house. In fact, they then went up to the open terrace of the Mansarovar building (from where Neelam Jain is supposed to have fallen to her death) and took an oath to punish the murderers. A few days later angry demonstrators pro tested before the offices of a local Hindi daily which was accused of playing down the tragedy in its col umns (Its iival was picking up cir culation and support by providing day to day coverage of the move ment)

The movement has already met with some success. Besides the power ful social impact, which has begun to be felt by every Marwari family, almost a hundred newly married women have already written to the West Bengal Marwari Federation complaining of specific malticatment The federation plans to investigate each case before taking action. From November, when the mairiage season restarts, the federation will hold de monstrations in front of pandals where down is suspected to have changed hands

Sixtyfive years ago a Bengali ladv. Snehlata Devi committed suicide be cause of her downs problems and left behind a letter for the Bengali community The letter created a storm among Bengalis Something even more than that is happening to the Marwari community at the moment S. N M Abdı

Women crying at a meeting



Profit to self and loss to the nation

EOPLE have always wondered how the government makes important investment decisions. Those who are interested in case studies of the same should study two proposals and the process of their evaluation. The first is the BHEL-Siemens tieup proposal, and the second is the current scandal—the Thal-Vaishet and Hazira fertilizer project.

The crucial choice in both cases was "who should be the foreign collaborator consultant" who will ensure the "maximum return for the minimum costs,"—viz, optimum results During the process of decision making, politics entered in both decisions, and the final choice came on the basis of "minimum return for the maximum cost"! The

question is, why?

I will not deal with the BHEL-Siemens deal in this column. It has become an old issue Those still interested should read the Report of the Public Undertakings Committee of Parliament, which was prepared by a sub-committee under yours truly as convener Although the CPI(M)'s P Ramamurthy had raised a shindig about the deal, no one in the Janata government had taken him seriously because the weakness in Ramamurthy's approach was to openly lobby for Soviet technology Records show that it was my letter to the Prime Minister just before the crucial cabinet meeting-which was circulated at the meeting-that stopped the deal from being rubberstamped After that cabinet meeting the proposed deal was as dead as a dodo. The most significant aspect of the BHEL-Siemens tie-up proposal was that it passed through various committees right up to the cabinet without a formal costbenefit analysis and any examination of investment alternatives! The two persons who chaperoned this deal were George Fernandes and V Krishnamoorthy

In the 1970s, a lot of natural gas was discovered in drillings off the Maharashtra Gujarat coast So, in November 1976, an expert group was formed to find out how to utilize this gas. This group examined the various alternatives in the use of natural gas and the cost options, and came to the conclusion that utilizing modern technology to convert the natural gas into ammonia and thence to urea would ensure the optimum utilization of this gas In the mean time, the Janata government came to power and the new government set up another



By SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY

expert committee, this time to find out how to get hold of this modern technology. They concluded that much of the work could be entrusted to the Rashtriya Chemicals and Fertilizers (RCF), a public sector organization, and to the Indian Farmers & Fertilizer Cooperative (IFFCO), but for the process technology a complete transfer of tech-

nology was necessary.

The Janata government then took a step further by setting up yet another expert committee to prepare a "shortlist" of international engineering companies who could act as consultants in arranging for an efficient transfer of technology This committee recommended six names. C. F Braun, Haldor Topsoe, Humphreys and Glasgow, Pullman & Kellog, Technimont, Toyo Engineering. Afterwards, a working group was set up to devise economic criteria for the final choice of the technology and the consultant The following economic criteria were listed by this group, quoted fees for consultancy, the fixed cost of setting up the plants on the basis of the consultant's advice, the variable cost of running the plant for 10 years, cost implications of delays, cost benefit analysis of the technology transfer that would take place This sound economics was taking root in the decision process

In March 1979, the Janata government set up a negotiating committee of experts to evaluate the bids from the shortlisted companies They did a thorough technoeconomic analysis based on the above criteria which they presented in a Bid Evaluation Report around May 1979. Now the decision-making had reached a crucial stage—after $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of committees. The negotiating committee was unanimous in its recommendation-give the ammonia plant consultancy, both at Thal- Vaishet and at Hazira to C. F. Braun—an American company Braun outstripped other companies in all the important criteria. The overall project would be cheaper by Rs 55 crores if Braun got the contract.

Now the bureaucrats took over from the experts. The special committee of secretaries—the "steel frame"— held three meetings in May and June 1979. After making a lot of knowledgeable sounds, they unanimously upheld the negotiating committee recommendation—give it to C F Braun. Then the Janata government fell, and a Lok Dal-Congress(U) government came to power on Indira Gandhi's crutches But they did not interfere with the well-documented decision In fact, in August 1979 they told the RCF to write out the contract for signature This was done and the contract was sent to the special committee of secretaries which gave it approval on 31 December 1979. Now all that was required was

a formal okay from the cabinet
But in first week of January
1980, "a government that works"
came to power Since Janata's meat
was Congress(I)'s poison, the new
government refused to ditto the
recommendations Instead they set
up yet another expert committee to
reexamine all the bids But word
got around that under a government "that works" what works most

is easy money

There was grease oozing all over Delhi The newly appointed expert committee threw a spanner into the works by unanimously recommending Braun's name for the Thal-Vaishet project As for Hazira, the seven member-committee was split Three said, give it also to Braun, and four said. "Why put all the eggs in one basket even if the basket is made of stainless steel?" The four were however terribly divided on the consultant for the Hazira project

Now the matter went to a cabinet sub-committee, where five wise politicians gathered P C Sethi, Vasant Sathe, Virendra Patil, R. Venkataram, Shiv- Shankar. Before this sub-committee was a note from the secretariat It said Braun should be signed up for Thal-Vaishet right away because everybody so far was unanimously for it. and as far as Hazira is concerned the ministers for agriculture, chemicals & fertilizer and finance all think that, everything considered, that contract should also go to Braun. However, since the cabinet sub-committee consisted of wise politicians-wise enough to know what's what in Delhi, it simply said. "Experts don't know what they are talking about. We do!" No Braun! Yes, Haldor Topsoe! Who are they? Well, they are 50° Italian. Credulous me asked, "How can Italians pack such a clout in Delhi?" My inner voice replied: "You are merely a nam ke vaste Swamy. Become a genuine brahmachari, then you will know."



SPORTS

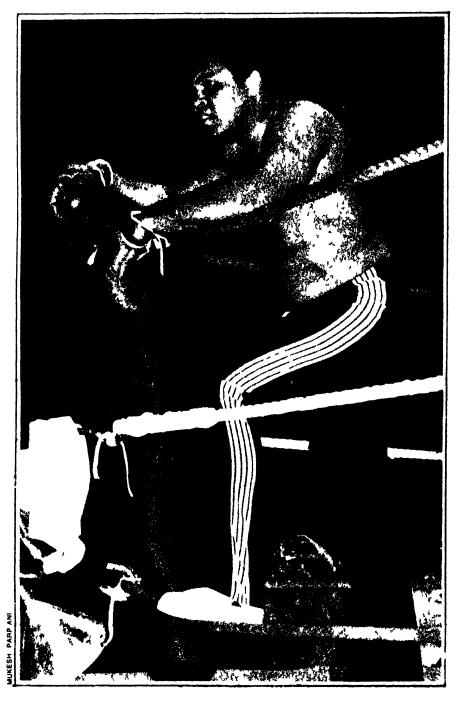
You were the greatest... ow, goodbye Ali

By AMITABH KRISHNA

ECONDS out of the ring Eleventh round begins!" The words of referee Richard Greene made no impact in one corner of the ring in Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas For the first time in his career on 22 October this year, Muhammad Alifailed to answer the bell and thus drew the curtain on a spectaular era in the history of boxing "The greatest of them all" announced to the world "Take your hearts and turn them over to Larry He's the heavyweight cham pion—until I return"

It was in the autumn of 1978 that All had reclaimed the heavyweight crown-for the third time-by defeat ing Leon Spinks After accomplishing that incredible feat, Ali spent most of his time consorting and counselling kings and presidents, making movies and raising tunds, he jaunted around the world as an ambassador of good will He saw a good part of the world and enjoyed the delight the world took in seeing him. In the course of this he progressively ballooned to a self indulgent, blubbery 254 lbs Boxing, however, did not venture far from Ali's mind, in his reckoning, a well muscled nonentity had usurped the crown But Larry Holmes, once Ali's sparring part ner, had an impressive record un beaten in 35 fights, including 7 title bouts all of which had been won by knockouts—a record which Holmes shared with Joe Louis And, of course, Holmes was younger to Alı by eight years

The lure of another 8 million dol lars forced Ali to retreat to his training camp in the Pennsylvania mountains After rigorous workouts he declared "I'll chew him up, I'll spit him out!" Muhammad Ali failed to realise that merely shedding 37 lbs and loosening his tongue was not quite enough to take on an opponent who was younger, swifter, and tougher And worse still, Holmes was familiar with Ali's style and strategies The inevitable hap pened at Las Vegas Holmes went for the kill from the very first bell In ten long rounds Ali only succeeded in casting a mere shadow of his former



self. Goue were his lightning reflexes; his aging legs were wary. Ali's punches had lost their sting. 60 fights and 60 million dollars later, the most glorious star and exponent of boxing surrendered to Larry Holmes.

"If you want to lose your money, be

a fool and bet on Sonny."

Sonny (Slugger) Liston was some kind of a legend in the mid-Sixties, Cassius Marcellus Clay was only a young, flamboyant braggart. But in Miami in 1964 Sonny liston lay on the mat; Cassius Clay stood above him screaming, "Get up!" Liston failed to rise and thus began the most incredible era of boxing. The new heavyweight champion announced his conversion to the Black Muslim faith—with a zeal that was later dscovered to be no less passionate than his love for boxing. He gave himself the name of Muhammad Ali

Then came the traumatic years. Stripped of his title and boxing license for draft eviction (he refused to go to Vietnam), Ali was fined \$ 10,000 and sentenced to five years imprisonment. "What can you give me, America?" he asked. "You want me to go fight a war against people I don't know nothing about I ain't got no quarrel with those Viet Congs. You want me to get some freedom for other people, when my own people don't have freedom at home." All spent three years in pugilistic wilderness, waging legal battler against the establishment. He finally won his case and returned to the ring with his convictions and confidence more firmly entrenched He began his "comeback campaign" with a display of ruthless power against Jerry Quarry (whose wife, sitting among the spectators, screamed each time a blow landed on her battered husband). But Ali lost in his bid to regain the heavyweight title; he lost on points to Joe Frazier in a bout which will long be remembered for the brutality and courage with which the two pounded each other. Frazier retained the title but soon lost it to one of the most brutal punchers the world has seen-George Foreman. So Ali went to Kinshasa, Zaire, and in a 10-million-dollarextravaganza he knocked out Foreman. He was once again the world heavyweight champion. After that only three people—Joe Frazier, Ken Norton and Leon Spinks—managed to get the better of him. But Muhammad Ali avenged his defeats by beating all of them subsequently—establishing the unique record of having regained his title three times

The saga of Muhammad Ali is not just a story of victories and defeats in the ring. From his dingy ghetto home he rose to heights where only immortals dwell. In the course of his spectacular career he rubbed shoulders with one and all. A man with a large heart, the epitome of courage and compassion, only he could have taken the sport to regions as far apart as Kuala Lumpur, Manila and Zaire where Ali was no stranger Nowhere could one lose sight of Muhammad Ali, blood-spattered and punch-drunk, exuding guts, sheer guts, and charm Who else could have put it better than Larry Holmes, the man who battered Ali into submission: "He's one hell of a fighter, one hell of an athlete, one hell

of a man."

Age-old battle

ONLY two people before Holmes came anywhere near knocking out Muhammad Ali. Henry Cooper (who paid the price with a mutilated eye) and Joe Frazier On 2 October Larry Holmes battered Ali for ten rounds after which Ali's faithful trainer, Angelo Dundee, decided to call an end to the ignomy at Las Vegas. Holmes, once Ali's sparring partner and still a friend, wept. Ali had lost not to Holmes, but to his own age.

not to Holmes, but to his own age
Muhammad Ali is one of the very
few sports stars who have dared to
challenge the barriers of age. At 38,
he has lost that "swiftness of blow"
which Francis Galton discovered in the
last century. According to Galton, a
man of 25 is capable of striking a blow
at the speed of 56 thousandths of a
second per foot of travel. However,
after the age of 25, this speed declines
steadily. "Reaction time," on the
other hand, increases with age. A man
of 20 may take 0.86 seconds to react to
a flashing light. At 30, the same
person may take roughly 0.99 seconds
as his responses would have slowed
down by then. A man in his twenties
can grip a 42 kg weight for a minute;
in his thirties he can grip 40 kg for the
same time—a decrease of 4%.

These limitations can, in some cases, be overcome by acquired skill and a high level of fitness Example: Miruts Yifter, the middle-aged runner who won the 5,000 and 10,000 metres at Moscow recently; Joyce Smith who, at the age of 42, broke the record for the British Women's marathon last year; Hashim Khan, who won the Open Squash Championship at the age of 42; and Reg Harris who, after 20 years of retirement, won his fifth world title in sprint cycling at the age of 52.

Boxing demands incredible stamina, endurance and power Innumerable boxers have tried, in vain, to regain lost glory. Even Joe Louis (perhaps the only genuine rival to Ali's claim of being the greatest) suffered a similar fate. He retired undefeated at the age of 35, but within 18 months was back in action. He lost to Ezzard Charles. Next, he took on Rocky Marciano, who knock ed him out in the eighth round. If anyone has ever succeeded in violating the old adage of boxing—"they never come back"—it has been the irrepressible Muhammad Ali. He came back thrice—but not the fourth time.



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THE WORLD

Israel's conscience

Arabs are not the only problem that the Israeli army has. What is troubling it at the moment is not so much enemy soldiers, but a small group of teenage Israelis, drafted into the army, who are saying that they will gladly defend Israel if required but will not fight to retain the territories occupied by Israel after-the 1967 war. This Group of 27 (named

so, because orginally there were 27 such conscientious objectors; the group is now actually 100) high school pupils feel that Israel should initiate moves towards peace and return the occupied territories. The publicity that this group is getting is obviously embarrassing both to the army and the Begin government.

Could Bhutto have lived?



Had Pakistan's late President Zulfigar Ali Bhutto been tried this year, the chances are that the judges would have been unable to send him to the gallows however much they may have wanted to. Reason: the aggressively Islamic Pakistan's new shariat laws. The shariat court re-cently ruled that certain sections of the nation's law dealing with murder are invalid. While not objecting to the death penalty per se, the court maintained that there could always be exceptionsif, for example, the victim's family settled for blood money, the murderer must be freed. Ryen if convicted, Bhutto could have got away by negotiating blood money terms with the victim's family Acqually though I classics. ly. Actually, though Islamic punishments have been introduced in Pakistan, they have

not really been implemented. The much publicised whipping was more an act of Pakistan's military brutality than an exercise in Islamic punishment. Under Islamic law, the person who is flogging is required to carry a copy of the Koran under his arm. Since the Koran cannot be dropped in the process, this under-standably reduces the power of the lash. Moreover, there are inconsistencies (all gory) in the interpretations of the punishment between the majority Sunni sect and the minority (but powerful) Shia sect. Example: Shias agree that a thief's hands should be cut off, but do not agree with Sunnis about where they should be cut. Shias argue that only the fingers should be chppped off, since the rest of the hand will be needed for prayer. Amen.

One man's meat is another man's sugar



The economic gospel according to Egypt's Anwar Sadat goes: If you can't control the exorbitantly high prices of meat, ban it. As we reported earlier, this is precisely what he did in the beginning of September. End result of the gospel? Failure. The meat of course disappeared, but the prices of substitute foods went up, up, up. Eggs vanished from the market. Finally on 8 October meat returned officially to the market, and at a much lower price. But the price had

to come down because of the ban. It came down because the government (to save its face?) simply decided to subsidise the price. Then came further repurcussions. Traders of other foods, seeing the harvest meatsellers were reaping, raised their prices: prices of cooking oil and sugar shot up. Irate customers burnt down shops, and the government stepped in with more subsidies. The subsidy bill, already \$.1 billion, continues to go up. Come in, foreign aid.

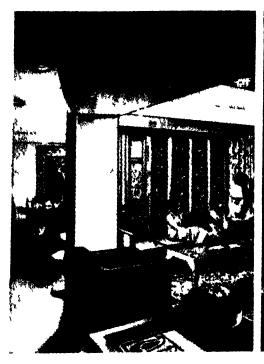
Come back, Nixon?



And is all forgotten? There is, indeed, a good chance that former President Richard Nixon might have a role to play in the US administration if fellow Republican and cobeliever in the rightness of the right, Ronald Reagan becomes the next President of the USA after the elections of 4 November, Nixon himself has said that he could be of use to Reagan as a counsellor and negotiator in foreign poli-

cy affairs. Henry Kissinger and Alexander Haig, both stars of the Nixon administration, are already top-level advisers to Reagan. If Nixon returns to power, one nation's worries are over China has been upset at Reagan's friendly overtures to Taiwan. If the men who created diplomatic history by going to China become Reagan's foreign policy advisers, Peking might have easier nights.







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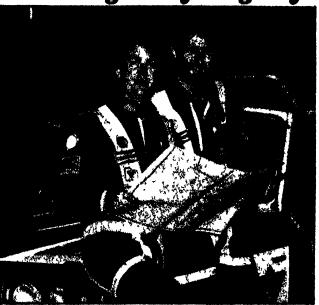
One exciting world after another

India Tourism Development Corporation (t)

LIVING

Zooming away to glory

Gray Sowerby and Ken Lang--both Canadians-were still hopeful of accomplishing their mission when Ashish Rajadhyaksha met them in Bombay. Their Volvo had been seized by the Customs in India-a serious setback to their plans of breaking the record for the fastest roundthe-world tour by car. They had already covered roughly a third of their total route of 26,514 43 miles and were stuck in Bombay because they had no money to pay duty for their 4-cylinder car. "We've managed to get spon-sorship from Volvo by keeping our costs down to the minimum-about \$260,000and this is it! The end of the road, if they insist on duty," complained Langley, a student of law. "It's Day 1 and Day 77 for us," said Sowerby, a driver by profession, refer-



ring to the 77 days in which they had hoped to cover a distance roughly equal to the circumference of the globe "They (the Customs) aren't concerned with what happened between that," he added.

The record which they were planning to break is that of Phileas Fogg's, the fictional here of Around the world in 80 days. Sowerby and Langley appeared to have taken H. G. Wells quite seriously. And the time lost while dealing with the Customs in India did not seem to bother them. Said a none-too-modest Langley: "We did 600 km a day in the US. We travelled something like 1,500 km on dirt roads in Australia at 60-70 kmph. The car is running like a top and we are going to find ourselves in the Guinness Book before the year is out!"

Pathological singer



Dr Viswanatha Natesa Bharadway is a chief medical officer in the Indian Airlines. But nowadays he spends most of his time in the recording rooms of film studios in Madras, reports Arthur Pais. Dr Bharadwaj is trained in classical singing and has had re-citals all over the country. However, he is convinced that he can make better use of his talent in films. His first song was for Adhisaya Ragam which he sang with the popuar Vani Jairam. He has since recorded ten numbers and, topes to bag a few Hindi assignments in the near fu-ture. Said Dr Bharadwaj: When my grandmother used o pour cold water on me in winter to wake me up, and hat too at five in the mornng, I used to get angry, But low I appreciate her concern or my music training."

The unborn star

The "final challenge" and the "last horse in the Raj Kapoor stable", the youngest son, Rajiv (Chimpu) Kapoor got himself into a spot of trouble recently. On 14 September he drove out of Oberoi Towers in his car—'drove out', according to eyewitnesses, being a tame description of the blur that, swung on to Marine Drive—and drove into two cars belonging to Deepak Shah and Moosa Sheikh. No one was injured. Only the pride of the Kapoors suffered when the two gentlemen hauled Chimpu to the nearest police station. The matter was eventually settled, without the police.



A word for all seasons

'Incognito' is a popular word in Punjab these days, thanks to the novel functional methods adopted by some senior government officials. It hit the headlines when Chief Minister Sardar Darbara Singh, a hard taskmaster, went on a mission against hoarders dressed in Kameespatloon instead of his usual kurta-pyjama Soon 'incognito' was heard again, when chief secretary I C Puri went to Rajpura and stood in a

queue for half an hour to buy a bag of cement. All very commendable, but in the whole process Punjab is doing serious damage to the English with its prolific and quaint use of the newly-learnt 'incognito' Example protesting against the political corruption in the state, many legislators recently urged the Chief Minister to replace his "incognito style of functioning" with a more practical one

Wrong foot in the park



The park, which once belonged to the Scottish Orphanage School on Bombay's Cadell road, was taken over by the municipal corporation in 1972, on the assurance that it would become a public park. Nothing happened. In August 1977, the corporation began thinking of handing the park over to the adjoining National Hospital. Nothing happened again. Recently, the corporation, probably not knowing what to do decided to convert a third of it into a mortuary, an underground car park and a private, terraced garden. That did it. The local residents, including the principal of Scottish Orphanage School and former state minister Hashu Advani, got together under the banner of Seve Scottish Public Park Committee (SPARKOM). Something might happen now.



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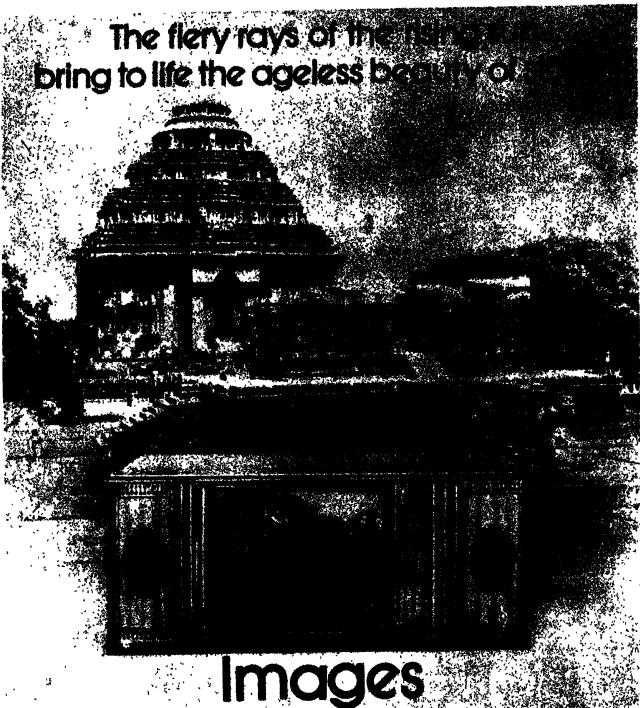
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as is well as



Navketan insider feels A that Zeenat Aman may do a film with Dev Anand now that she is finished with Abdullah and Qurbani. Despite the success of Ali Baba and Qurbani, Zeenat is feeling rather insecure. This is where Dev Anand comes in. Even after she broke up with Dev, Zeenat maintained that he would be at his service y time. But can Dev Anand over the fact that Zeenat. his "discovery" went to Raj Kapoor for a role in Satyam Shivam Sundaram?



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KHAAS BAAT

FTER I. V. Sasi and A Seema got married at Mangadu temple, more film celebrities are being seen at the shrine. Surely star-crazy fans too will start patronising the temple soon. The temple authorities, we learn, went out of their way to persuade Sasi to wed Seema in their temple. And though Sasi wanted to have a quiet, private wedding, over a dozen stars turned up to greet the couple. If things work out well, the Mangadu temple may become as popular as the Vadapalani temple, which was also made popular by star patronage.

DESPITE what Pramod Chakravarthy has to say of I. V. Sasi and his troubled relationship with Shoma Anand, a number of respected heroines in the south are prepared to work with Sasi. Both Lakshmi and Srividya have done films with Sasi, and they are hoping to work with him again.

Hier of the whale.

- 1. Oru Talei Rangun
- 2. Vandichalerem
- 3. Guru
- 4. Sujacha
- 5. Mairwel Mari
- 6. Reman Paraburamen

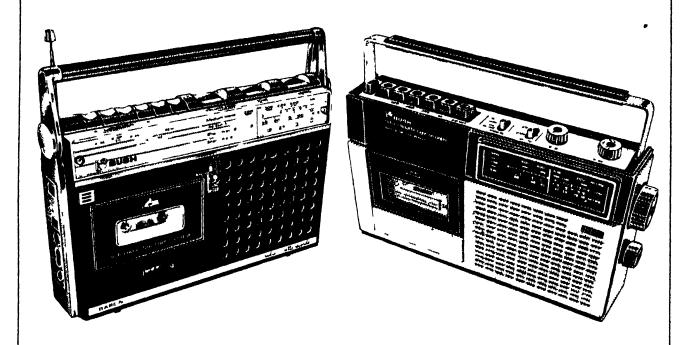
THOUGH Tamilian by birth, Lakshmi is more popular in Kannada films. And Makkala Sainya, the first film directed by her, is doing excellent business in Karnataka. Its Tamil version was a success but the Kannada version is raking in even larger profits.

SHEELA Vayassakku
Vanthutha (Sheela has
come of age) exclaims a popular Malayalam producerdirector whenever ageing actress Sheela's name is linked
with some young hero!

THEY say that south Indian actresses who make it big in Hindi films don't fancy marrying men from the south. Vyjayanthimala chose Dr Bali, Mumtaz, who's from Hyderabad, fell for a Sindhi;



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Beginning 2 Navember

This week the Sun and Mercury are in Libra, Mars, Uranus and Neptune are assembled in Scorpio, Ketu is in Capricorn, Rahu is in Cancer, Jupiter, Saturn and Venus are in Virgo. The Moon will be moving through Virgo and Libra from Leo



ARIES (March 21—April 29) You will be very busy this week. Financially you will be under great strain. Many of your professional ven-

tures may be postponed for a later day. This is actually the time for planning out your future. Keep a watch on legal matters. Take care in your dealings with those in authority Do not be guided by intuitions. Seek the advice of an elderly friend in matters of importance. Look after your health Good dates:3, 5 and 6 Lucky numbers: 2, 5 and 9 Faveurable direction: South-west.



TAURUS (April 21—May 22) This week you will be faced with some unforseen problems But you will find yourself mentally prepared to

tackle these problems. A journey is also signified. You might have to go in for fresh loans. You might incur medical expense as well. Letters from distant places will bring bad news. Be tolerant and concentrate on your business. Avoid getting into conflicts. This is a good time for love and matrimonial affairs. Good dates: 4, 6 and 7 Lucky numbers. 2, 7 and 8 Favourable direction. North



GEMINI (May 23—June 21)
Your financial condition will
improve steadily this week
Original ideas in business
will bear fruit. You will ar-

rive at good decisions. Womenfolk are advised not to write any confidential letters or sign on any official document this week. The time is also favourable for matters of the heart. Your domestic front will be peaceful. Follow your hunches and do not be afraid to take reasonable risks in connection with your profession. Good dates: 2, 3 and 4 Lucky numbers: 1, 5 and 10 Favourable direction: East



CANCER (June 22—July 22)You will enjoy a fair measure of good fortune and success this week Your industry and initiative will

be rewarded. You might, however, suffer some disappointment in love or domestic matters. You are advised not to get into disputes especially with partners. Do not take unnecessary risks. Translate plans into action. Keep up your correspondence with friends in distant places as this will be to your benefit. Good dates: 3, 4 and 5, Lucky numbers: 4, 5 and 7. Favourable direction: South



LEO (July 23—August 22) There will be beneficial changes in your business this week You will also gain financially Excessive

socialising will be an unnecessary waste of time. This is not the time for love affairs. Your domestic front may be the source of some anxiety. You are advised to keep a strict eye on your purse. Do not plan new ventures now Conserve your resources for the weeks ahead. A letter from a friend will bring good news. Good dates: 2, 3 and 4. Lucky numbers: 1, 2 and 9. Favourable direction: North.



VIRGO (August 23—September 22) This week will prove good, provided excess expenditure and unworthy friends are avoided Finan-

cially this is a difficult time. Courtship and marriage are well signified. You will also be forced to make unexpected changes in your plans. You are advised to exercisetact while doing this. Pay attention to property matters and domestic affairs. Look after your health and also the health of an elderly family members. 2, 9 and 11 Favourable direction: East



LIBRA (September 23—October 22) Domestic and love affairs are well signified this week You will also enjoy a fair measure of success in

your profession this week A secret friendship or association will be to your benefit. There will be changes for the better in your profession. You might, at the same time, incur medical expenses. You are advised to stay clear of disputes. Take full advantage of the opportunities that come your way **Good dates**: 3, 5 and 7 **Lucky numbers**: 3, 6 and 9 **Favourable direction**: North-west



SCORPIO (October 23— Novembor 21) Social activities will progress well this week Sports and speculative ventures are well signi-

fied A change of place or job is also likely. Family members will acquire new clothes Differences with your colleague are likely to be patched up. You are advised to keep away from bad company, worthless friends and extravagant ventures. Be careful in your perusal of official documents and legal papers Good dates: 2, 3 and 4. Lucky numbers: 2, 3 and 7. Favourable direction: weat



SAGITTARIUS (Nevember 22—December 22) This is a good week in many respects Your financial condition will improve steadily

Much social activity and sound health are also signified. You will have to be prepared to share the problems of a close friend or relative. A new friendship will develop by the end of this week. Love and matrimonial affairs make steady progress. You are advised not to let your emotions overrule common sense. Goods dates: 3, 6 and 7. Lucky numbers: 4, 6 and 8. Favourable direction: North-east



CAPRICORN (December 23— January 29) Despite minor misunderstandings with those in authority, your affairs will progress well

this week Some womenfolk may cause anxiety but others will contribute to your well-being. The time is favourable for property dealings and speculative ventures. Use your intuitions in planning the future. Rely on the advice of a close friend in matters relating to the heart. You might have to undertake a journey. Good dates 2, 4 and 6 Lucky numbers: 4, 7 and 9. Favourable direction.



AQUARIUS (January 21— February 19) This week is good for completing unfinished work You will be helped in this task by a-

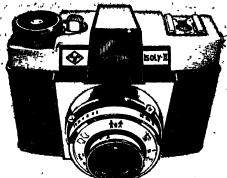
member of the opposite sex Financial gain through inheritance or lottery is likely Look after your health which is bound to cause you some anxiety Do not take unnecessary risks Avoid gambling and speculative investment Your domestic front will be happy Love and matrimony are well signified Good dates; 3 4 and 6 Lucky numbers 1, 9 and 10 Favourable directions. North and East



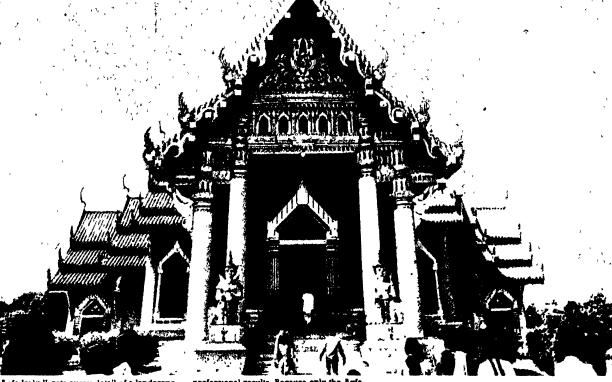
PISCES (February 20—March 20) You may have to go in for fresh loans this week However your business activities are well signified

You might face opposition from those in authority but you will overcome this A secret matter will make steady progress and will be the source of great happiness to you You may have to undertake a journey in connection with your work Good dates: 3, 5 and 8 Lucky numbers: 3, 9 and 10 Favourable direction North

M. B. RAMAN



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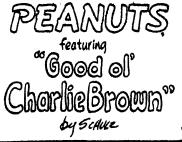
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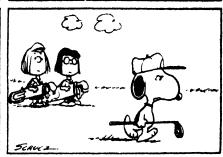












How to save for the little joys of life

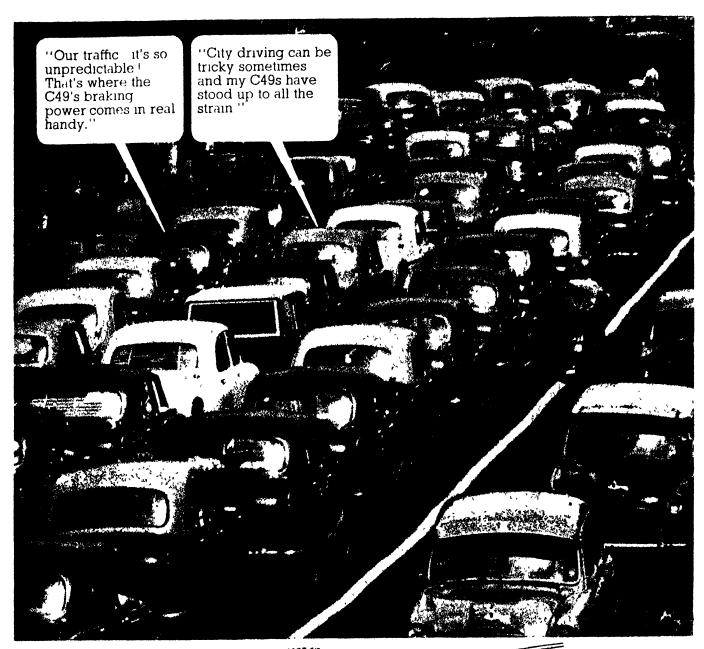
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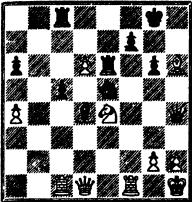
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chess

Kraidman (Black)



Cost effective chess

The growth of a new generation of chess players has started the growth of a new generation of chess tournaments. These are the Swiss Master tournaments, so called not out of any geographical connection, but because they are master tournaments played under the Swiss System, a system by which a relatively large number of people can compete over a relatively small number of rounds without anyone having to bear the humiliation of being knocked out it is doubtless no coincidence that the

players and the tournaments have evolved almost concurrently, though it is more difficult to decide which is the cause and which the effect. Possibly neither is the result of either but both are symptoms of the increasing commercial sponsorship in the game. There are certain analogies here with the growth of limited-over cricket

with the growth of limited-over cricket.

The one-day game was not engineered specifically by the players, nor did it in itself produce any new generation of cricketer, but it came about by the need of cricket to make itself more attractive to potential sponsorship. Similarly chess has always suffered from a shortage of funds, and the Swiss Master tournament is the most conomical ways of running an executor. economical way of running an event of international status.

Certainly these tournaments have been a great success. The two major ones in the chess calendar, the Lloyds Bank Masters and the Aeroneon Masters have attracted strong international entries and produced a lot of exciting chest I give an example taken from last year's Lloyds Bank event.

White, Botterill, Black: Kraidman write. Botterill. Black: Kraldman King's Indian Delenos, 4 Pawns Attack.

1. P.—Q4, N.—KB3; 2. P.—Q84, P.—Q84; 3. P.—Q6, P.—Q3; 4. N.—Q84, P.—KR3; 5. P.—K4, B.—N2; 6. B.—K2, Q.—O; 7. P.—84 More normal here is 7. N.—S3 leading to a slow positional struggle. With the move plauset Reference steeper the name into the played Botterin steers the game into the 4 payer soteriff steers the game into the spanne attack, one of the sharpest variations against the King Indian Defence.

P—QR3; a. P—QR4, P—K3; a. N—B3, P x P; 10, BP x P, R—K1; 11. P—K6. A sharp thrust leading to a pawn sacrifice, well known without the moves.... P—QR3 and P—QR4. 11. ... P x P; 12. P x P, N—N6; 13. O—Q, N x KP; 14. B—KB4, QM—Q2; 16. P—Q6) This pawn gives White strong compensation for his sacrifice. 8 x N, B—Q6+ 17. K—R1, N—R4 Hoping to surriound the QP. 16. B—Q6, B—K3; 16. B x B, R x B; 26.

N-K4 The only move to hold his passed pawn, but one move is enough if Black now tries to dislodge the knight with 20. , P-B4 there comes 21. N-N5, N-K1, 22 Q-N3+ P-B5, 23. Q x NP with a mating attack. 28. . . , P—KR3 A curious move whose only visible point is 21. 8 x P. Q—R5; 22 B—B4, N—N5 with a strong counter-attack 21. R—GB1, P—N3; 22. P—GN4! R—GB1; 23. P x P Good, but maybe 23 P—R5 was even stronger
23....PxP;24.BxP! Finally accepting the Dail 24..., Q.—R5? Overlooking a new element in the position. (DIAGRAM).
25. Q x B1 For if 25..., P x Q, 26 R x R + K—N2, 27 P—Q7 makes a new queen 25..., Q x B; 25. R x QBP, N—B3; 27. R x N1 Another sad blow— 27. C x R; 28 bait P-Q7 Black could resign here 27. . . ., R—Q1; 28. N—86+ K—81; 29. P—KR3, P—QR4; 30. Q—N6, R—R1; 31 P—Q7 Resigns. The QP worked wonders

bridge

MICHAEL STEAN

Holding

You open Two Clubs and over the expected Two Diamonds you rebid Two Spades Partner bids Three Hearts. It is tempting to go to Six. Spades, although one knows from experience that while partners sometimes have what they promise, they seldom have what one hopes.

South hoped to find his partner with 9 x x of spades - even 9 x might be enough - or one of the minor suit Queens. Finding none of these good things, he gave up too soon Yet the contract cannot be defeated after the lead of Φ Q South should win, draw trumps, and cash the minor suit winners arriving at this position

Declarer leads the 2 of hearts to dummy's 9. East, obviously, must hold off. South ruffs the third dismond and exits with a heart, forcing East to present dummy with another trick in hearts

Precision Blading for Everyone, by Charles Goren and C. C. Wei (Robert Hale, £4 95), contains an acknowledgement to Ron Andersen, who, one suspects, is the effective author. The book is a clear and sensible account of the system, though I found the American insistence on hard-and-fact rules a little off-putting.

TERENCE REESE

stamps



The Faröe Islands, north-west of the Shetlands, have been part of the Danish king-dom since 1380 and they did not have distinctive stamps until 1940, when British Forces seized the islands to forestall a German occupation. The 1940 issue consurcharged with new values in ore, issue con-surcharged with new values in ore, issued in small numbers, these provisional stamps are now very scarce. After the British with-drawal Danish stamps were again in use until 1975, when the Faroes began issuing stamps of their men. East-prince level visions stamps of their own Featuring local views, flahing vessels and wild birds, these issues rianing vessels and wild birds, these issues have become very popular. The latest series comprises five stamps showing wild flowers, among them lady's mantle on this 4-kroner stamp. The new series has been designed by a Farbes artist, Bardur Jakupsson, and printed in Poland. The Faröes Post Office runs its own philatetic service to provide collectors with leaflets describing new issues, mint stamps and first-day cov-ers. The address is Frimerkjadelidin, Post-verk Føroya, 3800-Torshavn, Farbe Islands.

C. W HILL

quiz

QUESTIONS

- Morphology refers to the systematic study of the structure of living things. Who was responsible for coining the word?
- 2 Who was the founder of the Arya Sama₁?
- On 1 January 1979, a new system of spelling Chinese names in English was introduced by the Chinese government in news reports sent abroad. What is the name given to the this system?
- What is the Holocene Epoch?
- Who is Kamban?

end of the glones of Tamil literature fameyama ni limaT ofni anayamaR of the earth's first of the earth's first over 10,000 years of the earth's first over 10,000 years of the first over 10,000 time, covering approximately the last it is the latest interval of geological Sometimes referred to as the Recent. Chinese.

3, Pinying, it means 'transcription' in

figures of hierature.
The Samaj was founded in 1875 by
Dayananda Sarasvah

1. The German poet, Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), one of the super

VINSMEHS





A MADHYA PRADESH newspaper recently conducted an interesting survey. A simple question was put to Ministers, MLAs and teachers in Bhopal and In-dore. The query was: 'Who is the Union Education Minister?' Only 12 of the 43 MLAs approached—or 28 per cent—could name him correctly as "Shankaranand." Of the eight Ministers polled only three could answer. As many as 11 of the 12 former Ministers who were approached were non-plussed. So also were all the four women legislators Not to know the name of a Union Minister ay not be too great a disaster But morance of the Madhya Pradesh politicians is more pervasive. For instance though most Congress (I) leaders swear by Mis Gandhi's 20-point economic programme they would be hard put to recount what they actually are In fact, during the Emergency the then Chief Minister, Mr S C. Shukla, posed this question at a crowded party meeting. To his dismay he could find only two party workers who knew the answer—The Times of India (S. M. Nematullah, Patna)

KADUR: Hold all classes with a 'face all' teacher in a single room—that is rural education at the primary level at present. The Chaturmuka Brahma lands in the middle of the room and is virtually on musical chairs teaching four classes in a single room. By virtue of his position he is centre of attraction (gravity?) with a difference—he physially gyrates on his own axis so as to be

accessible to all students of all the four classes. Leave alone being the central force, he is a hold-all task force himself. He is the headmaster, the clerk, the peon and everything of the institution. Of course, he is the Atlas of rural education—he bears the burden of teaching arts, science and what not Besides himself doing physical exercises in the single chamber of four classes, he coaches the students in physical education. Such is the state of rural education, observed Mr Thammaiah; MLA at a taluk-level function on the Teachers' Day—Indian Express (C. S. N. Murthy, Bangalore)

COIMBATORE: Three teenage girls of Peelamedu near here, allegedly committed suicide by jumping into a well, unable to bear the prospect of separation consequent on the marriage of one of them a week ago. The bodies of the girls, reported missing since Tuesday (2 September) were found in the well by police and handed over to their relatives after a post-mortem According to the police the bond of friendship between the three—Sivagami (19), Indrani (16) and Krishnavelı (16)—was so strong that they decided a separation among them as a result of the marriage of Sivagami could not be borne Police said that the bodies were found floating with each girl holding the hands of the others and their saris tied together--The Statesman (S. Joshi, New Delhi)

CUDDAPAH: Tongues are their tools So a majority of the teachers of the Government College for Women here went on a "tongue down" strike on Wednesday (17 September) to register their protest against what they alleged as failure of the government to act on their representation They said they had represented to the government several times against the principal of the college but their grievances were not even enquired into so far The principal when contacted by PTI said she could not understand the reason for the "tongue down" strike, but would meet the teachers and try to sort out their problems—Deccan Herald (Kishore Kumar B. N., Bangalore)

ia abroad

NAIROBI: Indian pop singer, Usha Jihup, suffered two broken ribs after being attacked by a drunk at a casino here on Monday (September 22) night bedridden Usha said she was standing it the main gate of the International Lasino here talking to two friends when he saw a scuffle going on outside, juddenly one of the persons involved in he scuffle came up to her and hit her.

The others attacked her friends "I did not scream but I was worried about my friend, Anita When I found that that she was OK, I managed to walk to my house and then collapsed," he said. Police have arrested one of the alleged assailants, believed to be a South-Korean. Usha said she had missed a show for the first time in her career. —The Statesman

Even if a man looks at a woman who is his own wife (lustfully) he would commit adultery—Pope John

Why must a Hindi writer wear rags, drink country liquor and eat dry roti?—Kamaleshwar interviewed in Onlooker

Indian (film) audiences have never been allowed to grow up—Shyam Benegal in India Today

Pahadia: joke of a chief minister— Headline in Blitz

The Congress(I) is not a party at all. It is a one-leader organisation—Sharad Pawar interviewed in Current

Whatever we do, we are not going to tell the press—Indira Gandhi's reply to a question whether India was mediating between Iran and Iraq to end the war

The "discourtesy" shown to Mr Sanjeeva Reddy was a clear indication of the Soviet Union's displeasure over India's unwillingness to ditto 100 per cent the Soviet action in Afghanistan—L K. Advani's comment on President Brezhnev's absence at President Reddy's dinner in Moscow

The only crisis is that while (our) society is healthy, it is ruled by a terribly sick and awfully ill government—Chandra Shekhar, Janata party president

If there was a referendum in Afghanistan today, 99 per cent of its people would vote against the Soviet presence—Kuldip Nayar in Indian Express

I am ready to die or ready to ride a donkey if the government wants— Morary: Desai

I do not think I am a funny writer— Busybee, humourist

I do not see why workers need a union at all—what are we here for then?—A Tata executive quoted in Debonar

I take (an) injection only when I go abroad—Indira Gandhi

Thefts are going out of fashion now, because the ruftians can easily commit decoities with impunity even during daytime—Jagjivan Ram

I write poetry in a language which is exotic—not as exotic as Gujerati—but still exotic—Czeslaw Milosz, Polish nobel prizewinner for literature

CASH, COAL, CASINO

MR K D MALVIYA, former pet roleum minister and senior Con gressman, has written an interest ing letter to the PM in which he has said that Arab petrodollars can be available for investment in our country—if we are agreeable to one condition. He wrote that he has been approached by one Aiab group which is willing to invest between 500 and 1,000 million dollars in the country on coal development projects in our country—if the government allows this group to open a casino in India

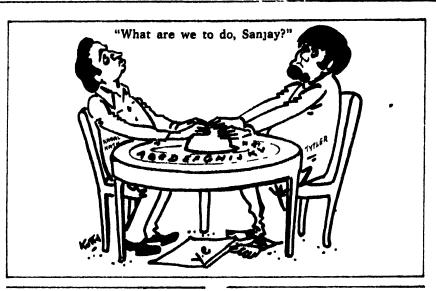
PUBLIC MONEY, PRIVATE RELIEF

THE Yuva Janata is up in arms against the minister of state for agriculture, R B Swaminathan they have alleged, in a letter to the PM, that Mr Swaminathan misused government machinery and min isterial facilities during his son's marriage on 22 September in Mad ras According to the Yuva Janata, the minister took many of his staff by air to Madras to help in the ceremony. The names that have been mentioned are B. Vinayakam, personal secretary Shankar Narayan Shankar Pandiyan and Govind Rajlu, all personal assis tants And all went at the expense of the government or India On official files it is shown that these people went to Madras on important government work

MP EXTRAORDINARY

MRS Usha Malhotra, Congress (I) member of the Rajya Sabha recent ly elected from Himachal Pradesh is no ordinary MP. She is the wife of the engineer in chief of the Himachal Pradesh public worke de partment, Mr H C Malhotra, who is also the all powerful secretary of the Himachal government's PWD and the secretary in charge of the state's housing board Mrs Malhot ra made her debut in Parliament thanks to the votes of the Janata defectors who are the mainstay of the Congress(I) government in Himachal Pradesh But her arrival in New Delhi heralded many changes among the Himachal PWD officers working in Delhi on the new Himachal guest house coming up at Sikandra road Before Mrs Malhotra came to the capital the Hunachal PWD unit there had only

one jeep. Now it also has an Ambas. sador car, HPS 2091, which was sent to Delhi for the "top brass" of the Himachal PWD only after the election of the new Rajya Sabha members earlier this year. That is not all Throwing all conventions to the winds, the Himachal PWD men working in Delhi have been paying undue attention to the upkeep of the bungalow allotted to the MP, at Seven Ternmurti Marg This house will be the envy of all junior minis ters and senior MPs after the Himachal PWD unit (working at the Sikandra road guest house, but now temporarily diverted to the MP's house) is through with its work While the possession of the house was taken by Mrs Malhotra sometime back, till mid-October she continued to live in the Himachal guest house at Greater Kailash, her house, meanwhile, was being 'readied' at Teenmurts Marg.



DISCIPLINE FIRST

WHY did Ram Sevak Choudharv resign from the general secret aryship of the Congress (I) in such haste and secrecy? Reportedly for three reasons First, he mishandled the Channa Reddy affair, telling the press too much The second and third reasons involve two other chief ministers Congress (I) dissidents in Rajasthan and Haryana had submitted memorandums against Jagannath Pahadia and Bhajan Lal, respectively, complaining of corruption Enquiries by the high command revealed that Choudhary had encouraged them too much Whether their charges were true or not seems besides the point

POLICE PROTEST AGAINST MP CM

MADHYA Pradesh chief minister Arjun Singh has now achieved the distinction of being the first of the current Congress(I) CMs to face a hostile police demonstration On 2 October he had promised to go to Sidhi district to inaugurate the function of the local branch of the police association at 9 am sharp, the invitation had come from Mr Jagdish Prasad Shukla, president of that branch The CM did go to Sidhi on that day, but for some reason did not attend that police function, and instead went on straight to Devsar Angered by this shoddy behaviour, more than 300 policemen along with more than 100 government servants got onto trucks and went to Devsar where they gheraoed the CM and demanded a public apology from him Slogans like "Arjun Singh murda bad'" and Arjun Singh wapas jao!" were raised But what was more serious was that the local police, in sympathy with their angry compatriots, withdrew security arrangements, and angry policemen seized the police wireless and captured the Sidhi police headquarters The demonstration continued for nearly half an hour CM Arjun Singh could leave Devsar only after a public apology

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INDIA

By Prime Minister Indira Gandhi





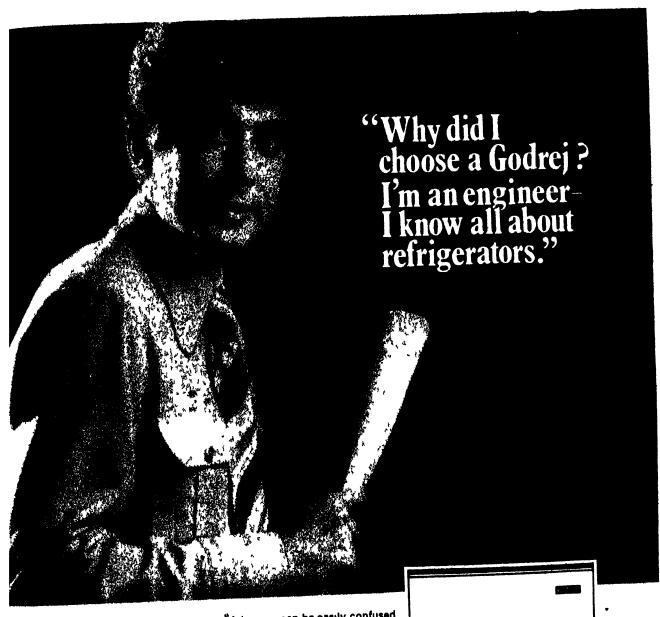
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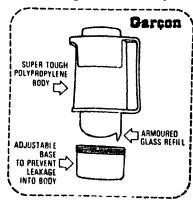


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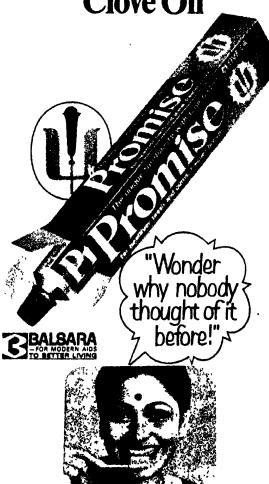
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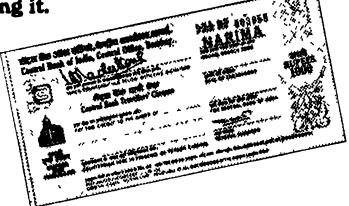
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SUNDAY VOLUME 8 ISSUE 14 RS 1 50 AN ANANDA BAZAR PUBLICATION

November 9, 1980



On the night of 3 October Chabirani the young wife of an Orissa journalist Nabakishore Mahapatra was gang raped and killed near Biridi village in Cuttack district of Orissa Among the accused are two local Congress(I) leaders who have since been expelled from the party. It is now clear that Chabirani was raped and murdered because her husband had exposed the rackets of local politicians and bureaucrats. An in depth investigation by TOOSHAR PANDIT and SWARUP JENA.

After Independence our leaders initially tried to maintain a facade of public morality. But since the mid-Seventies all pretences have been shed. The hypocrisy inherent in our Victorian morality has been laid bare. There is now one set of standards for the people and another for the ruling family says DR ASHOK MITRA.

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Why was Sanjay Gandhi s secretly demolished samadhi at Shantivana in Delhi recently occupied by angry Youth Congress(I) workers? Exclusive pictures of the 'occupation'







"Until you discard all labels and preconditioning, India will not reveal itself. India is unlike anywhere else." writes Prime Minister India. Gandhi in Eternal India, whose text complements Jean-Louis Nou's photographs. We publish exclusive extracts and pictures from Eternal India. Page 28

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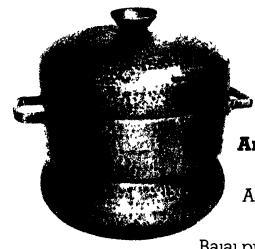
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Picture of Chabirani Mahapatra is by Prasanta Kumar Patnaik and colour photograph is from Eternal India

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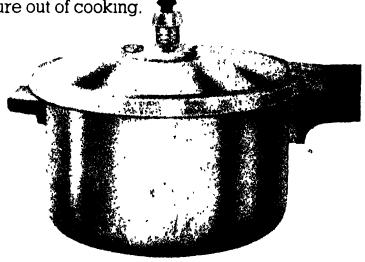
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The Government

Reluctant ministers

The Prime Minister's office is now keeping a close watch on how the various ministries are handling the tenders floated by them in the international and home markets. Obviously stung by a spate of exposes in the press about some of the unsavoury activities of ministers, Mrs Gandhi's office has directed all the ministries to send in all the information about the pending tenders and contracts valued at Rs one crore or more. The information was to have been sent in by 8 October, but many ministries failed to do so, and fresh circulars had to be issued. For example, in the case of the commerce ministry, an office memorandum, number 1-34/38/80 O and M, was issued and marked 'most immediate' on 14 October, and the officers were asked to furnish the required data by 16 October. It might be recalled that soon after taking over power, the PM's office had asked the various ministries to send in information, by the eighth of every month, about what they had done to implement the promises made in the election manifesto. But the response was so poor that a fresh circular reminding the ministers of this obligation had to be sent in June. Will the ministers continue to remain lax?

Down and nearly out

How important is which minister? Sarkari employees were discussing this "crucial" question at the Udyog Bhavan coffee house the other day. One person said that Pranab Mukherjee was more important than the others. Not only did he hold two important portfolios, commerce and steel, but he was also alphabetically higher in the order of precedence than other ministerial bigwigs. How? Well, M definitely came before V (the first initial of the powerful finance minister's surname) and R (ditto, our respected foreign minister) and obviously S (ditto, the all-powerful home minister). Well, point. But whatever happened to the Cs? Why were they completely ignoring the energy minister (A. B. A. Ghani Khan Chowdhury) and the state industry minister (Charanjit Chanana) from their category of powerful ministers? A sign of the times?

Agriculture vs Commerce

Several rounds of talks between the commerce and agriculture ministries have not solved a basic problem: Release more stocks for internal consumption and thereby bring down prices, or export and earn hard currency to pay for vital imports which will raise output and bring down prices? Currently the two ministries are bickering over a Rs 75-crore proposal for the export of groundnut, cottonseed and rice bran extractions. While the agriculture people want internal consumption raised, the commerce ministry people point out that with a good monsoon and a good groundnut crop round the corner, there will definitely be an exportable surplus. Also, industrial capacity for the use of groundnut extraction is said to be grossly underutilised: 1.2 lakh tonnes against a capacity of eight lakh tonnes. Where commerce seems to clinch the argument is with its proposal for the release of stocks, both for internal consumption and exports, all based on a fairly sensible -reading of the next season's demands in the context of the good monsoons.

Poor conductors

A lack of coordination between the finance and the commerce ministries has hampered the prospects of setting up a number of projects in the country with the assistance of the International Development Association (IDA), a soft-loan affiliate of the World Bank. Not only that, funds already earmarked for certain projects will lapse Why? Most of these projects will no longer get supplies of aluminium conductors. Why? Their manufacturers are faced with a funds shortage caused by a sudden withdrawal in September of the duty drawback on aluminium conductor steel reinforced (ACSR) and all aluminium conductors (AAC). As many as 300 conductor units have been hit hard by this decision.

Puzzling excuse

The statement made by the chairman of the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation, Mr D K Dhaon, at the corporation's annual meeting in New Delhi on 7 October is puzzling He had said "It will be necessary to ensure that our infrastructure, particularly of port facilities, is comparable to those offered by our competitors "Mr Dhaon has obviously never visited our ports. The truth is that the existing facilities are not being utilised fully, not that there is any drawback. Special facilities have been set up at four major ports. Visakhapatnam, Madras, Goa and Paradip, for maximising ore exports. The Vizag outer harbour, commissioned in 1976, and the Madras outer harbour, commissioned in 1978, have been designed to accommodate bigger vessels of 100,000 to 120,000 DWT for quicker loading. What is more, all the ports have now mechanical iron ore loading plants, built at a huge cost. They are equipped to handle far more ore than they are presently getting



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Zimals. Now

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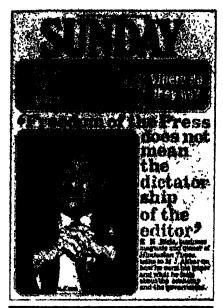
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Smooth talking

While I appreciate M. J. Akbar's probing, practical and straightforward questions (Freedom of the press does not mean the dictatorship of the editor, 14 September), I admire Mr K. K. Birla for his answers. He handled the questions very well

V. Subramanian, New Delhi

The Sundar Rajan episode has made me lose all faith in the press lords and the Congress(I) government. Mr Rajan, a conscientious journalist, was kicked out of the Hindustan Times for writing the truth, and calling a spade a spade.
Noor Muhammad, Bombay

Mr Birla comes through as a man of integrity. As a professional businessman, he cannot be expected to compromise his business interests with the ideologies of journalists. M. K. Başu, Delhi

Obviously, freedom of the press does not mean dictatorship of the editor but freedom to expose the truth. D. S. Bhanja, Bhubaneswar

Mr Birla says, "I have always been in favour of higher wages for workers; unless there are increased wages, how can we generate more purchasing power in the public?" I do not see how in-creased wages will generate more pur-chasing power. Whenever there has been an increase in the wages of workers, prices have also risen. Inflation has been growing at an alarming rate over the past six or seven years. Dimple Wazir, Bhadarwah, Jammu and

Kashmir

I am yet to read such a penetrative and revealing interview in any of our magazines. With his incisive questions, Mr Akbar took the wind out of Mr Birla's sails.

Paladi Mohan, Bombay

According to Mr Birla, I suppose, freedom of the press means the freedom of an editor to dance to the tune of his master.

K. P. Andavan, Gobichettipalayam

In answer to "The businessman...has no permanent friends or permanent enemies, just permanent interests," Mr Birla replied "...I stood by Mrs Gandhi; I stood by her even during the Janata regime... Mr Birla's answer was not honest, though, I admit, he is clever. R. Karunakaran, 99 APO

Trustees of poverty?

Mr Birla should have been asked one more question. Mahatma Gandhi had asked the rich to be the "trustees" of the poor. Are big industrialists in particular, and the rich in general, fulfilling that role?

Nityananda Sen Gupta, Purulia

Mr Akbar was paid in his own coin when Mr Birla snapped back to ask whether Mr Akbar could ever get a job as editor of Organiser, an RSS publication, with his views. Every person—whether he is the editor of a publication or the managing director of a large company—should work according to the guidelines and policies laid down for his functioning. P. C. Bhattacharjee, Bhilai

Mr Akbar has kept alive the freedom of the press with his bold interview. Raymond Misra, Chhapra, Bihar

Freedom of the press does not mean dictatorship of the editor; perhaps it means dictatorship of newspaperowners.

V. Ramesh Babu, New Delhi

Mr K. K. Birle is among the smarrest businessmen in our country. Each of his statements reflects the matured skill of a

businessman who runs after the powers that be.

Ratna Guha and Shyamal Kumar Guha,

The interview gives the impression that it is business magnates, not politicians, who rule the country. Sujit Mitra, Cuttack

Mr Birla lists impartiality and a capacity to look at each issue without prejudice as important qualifications for newspaper editors. He has called Mr Verghese "stale" and defined that word as "an incapacity of taking an objective view" and being obsessed with the notion that "whatever one party does is always bad." But his appointment of Mr Khushwant Singh as editor of the Hindustan Times contradicts his stand. One has to only read Mr Singh's column to understand his "capacity" to take an objective view. Mr Verghese became "stale" because his staleness showed an anti-establishment facet; Sundar Rajan's staleness became visible with the change of government. If by any chance there is another change of government, Mr Birla will discover staleness in Mr Singh too.

P. N. Duda, New Delhi

Fate of refugees

Dacca's miserable Pakistanis (14 September) by Tirthankar Ghosk was heartrending. Although nine years have gone by since the 1971 war, Bang ladesh and Pakistan are yet to decide the fate of the so-called refugees. Will the Pakistan government look into the matter?

S. M. Fakhrullah, Gomoh, Bihar

Capital question

hough a hater of capitalists, our CM is proud of his capitalist son who is a partner in a biscuit company with a capital outlay of around Rs 29 lakhs and a total involvement of Rs 41 lakhs (Marxist CM's capitalist son, 14 September). It is amusing to note that Chandan, being the son of a briefless barrister who has dedicated all his life for the uplift of the downtrodden, dared to be involved in such a project. The question is: how could Chandan Basu contribute his share of money for the project without financial assistance from his father, who is the West Bengal CM?

Chitta Ranjan Mazumder, Murshidabad While the sons of India-Kanti, Suresh and now Shubhabrata-are expanding their empires, their fathers-Morarji Desaı, Jagjivan Ram and Jyoti Basushouting themselves hoarse, calling for the uplift of the semi-starved masses. Is this not shameful?

Girija Sankar Mishra, Cuttack

If Chandan's father does not interfere in his venture, will it be possible for him to cross all hurdles? Everyone knows that the CM's son will get favours which others cannot hope for. Dipankar Debnath, Calcutta

From the report, Tooshar Pandit appears to be one of the best friends of Chandan Basu Far from writing anything about the relationship between the marxist father and capitalist son, Mr Pandit has merely given Chandan publicity. Rabindra Dutta, Tinsukia, Assam

That is wrong

Please refer to Nehru and his pub-lishers (31 August). The statement made in the third column of page 17 by Mr M.V. Rajan, that we quoted Rs 5,000 for each photograph is totally misleading and incorrect. The fact is that we submitted a list of photographs, and the rates of these photographs varied, the lowest being as low as Rs 100 only. The state-ment of Dr S.C. Kala is also based on faulty recollections. It was not the centenary of the 1857 uprising for which we supplied photographs in 1957. It was in the year 1969, when the UP govern-ment was belebrating the Gandhi Centenary that we were approached. The initial quotation by us was Rs 19,660 only and not Rs 50,000 as alleged by Dr Kala. Further, the deal was settled for Rs 15,000 only and not Rs 23,000 as quoted by him.

P. N. Varma & Co, Allahabad

Spare parts deals: the defence ministry defends itself

A. K. Wanchoo, Information Officer, Government of India, Director of Public Relations, Ministry of Defence. New Delhi, writes

want to take this opportunity to strongly refute various allegations and insinuations made in an extremely misleading and factually incorrect 'special report' published in the 14 September issue of your periodical under the caption Where do our Centurion tanks and spares land up? It would have been in the fitness of things and the interest of the country if the author of the article had made an effort to check back facts with the ministry of defence before basing his piece on misinformation, which, in this case, could have been deliberately planted by interested parties.

Mention has been made of the sale of 200 Centurion tanks to one Mr W R.M Mitchelle who was connected with a British firm involved in the purchase of certain Centurion tanks. from the government of India and which, according to certain reports, found their way to South Africa Truth would have been served better if it was stated that this particular deal had been struck before the arriv al in the South Block of Mr C P N.
Singh, the present minister of state
for defence and Mr K P A. Menon,
the defence secretary It was in the
beginning of June that Mr Singh
after carefully considering offers from various firms, ordered (before the beginning of the last parliamentary session) that there should be a re-tender for the sale of the Centurion tanks

As regards the sale of Centurion spare parts the highest offer received on behalf of a Canadian firm for approximately 5,000 tons of spares had been under the consideration of the government from the month of May With the full concurrence of the finance ministry and after holding a number of consultations with them and the department of steel inministry of steel and mines it was decided that only 3,000 tons of spares should be sold to the Canadian firm at a price of \$9,00,000. This was the price originally quoted for approximately 5,000 tons of spares In consultation with the department of steel and the ministry of finance it was also decided that the remaining 2,000 tons of scrap materials will be sold within the country to the best advantage of the

The tank spares were sold to M/s. Levy Auto Parts Ltd, a Canadian firm recommended by the Canadian high commission as a reputed and wellknown Canadian company holding an international import certificate. The bidder had agreed to do the shipment directly to Canada through Indian vessels. As such, there was no possibility of these spare parts being diverted to any other country. The Canadian high commission has also confirmed that once the goods are in Canada they are subject to export

controls under the Export and Import Terms Act of that country if they are to be re-exported. Since Canada does not allow the sale of any kind of military ware to South Africa or Israel, there is absolutely no question of the tank spares ever finding their way to either of these countries.

It may also be mentioned in this connection that the decision to delink the sale of tank spares from the main deal has also been offered by Mr C.P.N. Singh, minister of state for defence, in the beginning of June before the last parliament session started. As already mentioned in the earlier paragraph, re-tender for the Centurion tanks had also been ordered by him in the beginning of June. Where then is the question of a fresh look into the deal and the possibility of fresh tenders being called when a re-tender had already been ordered months ago by the minister of state?

Mention has been made that the tank spares sold to M/s Levy Auto Parts Ltd., had a book value of Rs seven crores It may be clarified here that what is being described as book value is the price at which it was purchased nearly 30 years ago All engineering goods are generally com-puted at scrap value after ten years This was also applicable to the present case. This point was carefully examined by the ministry of finance and it was decided that only 3,000 tons should be sold to the firm at the value offered originally for the whole lot. The balance of 2,000 tons is being sold as scrap in the Indian market.

Reference has been made in the article to Major General P. N. Anand, officer on special duty, who has re-cently been transferred from his post. The officer had been given only a local rank by the previous government and made uncharge of the export cell During his tenure, the returns of the cell fell from Rs 37.42 crores in 1975-76 to a miserable figure of Rs 85 lakhs in 1978-79 Consequently he was transferred. Army headquarters had been complaining that spare parts and scrap materials were occupying valuable storing space thereby taking away the space that could be utilised for current and modern equipment. The point raised by one of the

officers from the army

headquarters on the

scrap value had

been fully

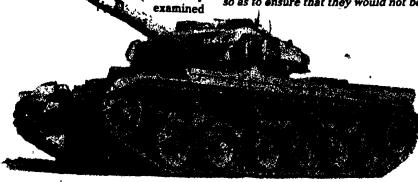
by the ministry of finance in consultation with the experts of the department of steel. This transaction had been examined and fully supported by Major General P. N. Anand. The army headquarters had no reservation about the sale of spare parts.

This kind of malicious propaganda on this transaction is evidently the work of certain people, whose motive is to embarrass our friendly and cordial relationship with the friendly Arab and African countries.

I would request you, dear editor, to bring these facts, which will speak for themselves, before the reading public so that they are not led away by malicious propaganda.

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya replies. Should we feel privileged that the defence ministry has decided to refute the allegations made against it regarding the sale of Centurion tank spare parts to Levy Auto, and the proposed sale of 200 tanks to Mr W R. M. Mitchelle, only after Sunday did an investigation into the two deals? It is surprising that when the allegations were made on the floor of the Raiva Sabha on 6 and 18 August, the defence ministry never opened its mouth, though Mr Wanchoo would like us to believe that the decision to re-tender the tank sale deal was taken by Mr C. P. N Singh in June, before the last session of Parliament, and not after the expose made by Mrs Margaret Alva in the Rajya Sabha, as we have reported.

Mr Wanchoo has not made clear as to why the sale of tanks was delinked from the main deal. It is well-known that reconditioned Centurions are being used by many countries all over the world, and it should have been common sense for the people entrusted with the task of running the defence ministry that if someone was interested in buying the old tanks, then naturally the spares too could interest the buyer. Certainly the spares could fetch a better price if sold along with the tanks. Moreover, if the spares were really sold to the Canadian firm as scrap, then why was this not done through the Metal Scrap Trading Corporation, the public sector undertaking under the ministry of steel and mines, whose job is to deal in scraps? Did the defence ministry take the precaution to break up the spares, or melt them, before handing them over to a foreign firm as 'scrap, so as to ensure that they would not be



used to recondition the tanks of un-

friendly countries?

Mr Wanchoo is totally silent about the allegation that Levy Auto is the same firm which was the subject of censure by the defence ministry in the 28th report of the public accounts committee of the second Lok Sabha in 1960. He, however, has gone out of his way to assert that because the buyer had assured that the spares would be shipped to Canada in Indian ships, "there was no possibility of these spares being diverted to any other country." He has further asserted "that since Canada does not allow the sale of any kind of military wares to South Africa or Israel, there is absolutely no question of the tank spares ever finding their way to either of these countries." One wonders how he is so emphatic about the credentials of the Canadian firm, and the intentions of Canadian traders vis-a-vis South Africa On what authority has Mr Wanchoo based these statements? He may benefit a lot if he were to read some literature on the activities of international gunrunners. Apart from other things, he would also learn that the firm represented by Mr Mitchelle, the proposed buyer of the 200 Centurions, is a major company in the international market dealing in second-hand arms.

Coming to the proposed sale of 200 more tanks to Mr Mitchelle, Mr Wanchoo says that the deal was struck before the arrival of Mr C P. N Singh and Mr K P A. Menon to the defence ministry. We have never said that the tanks which found their way to South Africa were sold by these two gentlemen. We have clearly stated that the defence secretary during the earlier sale of 90 Centurions to Mr Mitchelle was Mr Gyan Prakash, the present comptroller and auditor general of India, and that the deal was struck during the Janata regime, and that the name of Mr Kanti Desai was linked with it. We have also pointed out that the earlier deal was the subject of a lengthy report by the estimates committee of the sixth Lok Sabha, and that this report was not made public on the plea of "national interest." What we have exposed is the fact that despite the British press having exposed the fact that the ear-lier 90 tanks sold to Mr Mitchelle had found their way to South Africa, the defence ministry was again entertaining him.

Now, before Mr Wanchoo goes on to charge us with "misleading and factually incorrect" reporting, he would do himself some good by refreshing his memory—the allegation that Mr Mitchelle sold the 90 Centurions to South Africa was made by the Congress (I) when it was in the opposition. Would a party led by a responsible leader like Mrs Gandhi have made a serious allegation of this nature if the information was "misleading and factually incorrect"? Mr Wanchoo has not said anything to contradict the fact that Mr Mitchelle was in New Delhi in the recent past, and that he received VIP treatment from Mr C. P.

N. Singh and his ministry, as alleged by Mrs Alva in the Rajya Sabha. We only truthfully reported the speeches of Mrs Alva on 6 and 18 August, which were not refuted by the government then. Moreover, Mr Wanchoo has furnished no proof to show that the decision to sell the tanks was taken during the Charan Singh regime.

Mr Wanchoo has made a startling revelation about the reason for the removal of Major General P. N. Anand from the post of OSD (A) in the export cell of the defence ministry. We are not in a position to verify the figures about the drop in exports during Gen Anand's tenure, and, as such, have to accept the data prima facie. But since Gen Anand's transfer coincided with the visit to this country by Mr Mitchelle and the negotiations for these two controversial export deals, it left an unmistakable impression that his transfer was ordered to ensure congenial negotiations.

Mr Wanchoo has not contradicted the fact that Maj Gen A D Mohoni, the deputy director of ordnance services of the army headquarters, had objected to the sale of the spares as scrap and that the observations made by him on the deal, at a meeting chaired by the defence secretary on 23 May, were not even recorded in the minutes All that Mr Wanchoo has to say is that "the point raised by one of the office? of the army headquarters on the scrap value had been fully examined..." So, Mr Wanchoo does admit that "one officer" of the army headquarters had in fact raised objections.

It is unfortunate that when investigative reporting is done with the national interest being kept as the prime consideration, and top functionaries of the government are exposed for their unsavoury activities, the information officers of the government not only describe the reports as "malicious propaganda" (which is their prerogative) but they also try to attribute motives to the reporters, and accuse reports of being "deliberately planted by interested parties." Let me assure Mr Wanchoo that it is not possible for anyone to "plant" stories in this journal. The charges made by us are open to an enquiry.

Moreover, in exposing the unsavoury deals with international gunrunners, and trade by proxy with racist and zionist regimes, it was never our intention to "embarrass our (India's) friendly and cordial" ties with the Arab and African nations. On the contrary our attempt was to ensure that inexperienced ministers and secretaries in a sensitive ministry like defence do not deviate from India's policy of boycotting the South African and Israeli regimes. When Joe Kozarecks and Isenbergs haunt the corridors of power, can our relations with the Arabs remain cordial? What more proof of the closeness of these people to the powers-that-be is needed than the fact that the ill-fated Pitts aircraft of the late Sanjay Gandhi was a gift from Kozareck?

Nation in terror

Thanks for Tirthankar Ghosh's incisive report Zia, the army and Bangladesh (7 September). The name of the organising secretary of the Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal, and not Jatiyobadi Samajtantrik Dal, is Nur-e-Alar Ziku. The author should have ment ned the late Lt Col Abu Taher, an extraordinarily courageous freedom-fighter, who set free Maj Gen Zia, from the captivity of Brig Khaled Mosharraf after the "Sepahi Janatar Gono Abbhuthan" (the uprising of soldiers and masses) on 7 November 1975 Later, Maj Gen Zia hanged Lt Col Abu Taher, on 21 July 1976.

It may be relevant to note that around the time of the author's stay in Dacca, about 1,800 junior doctors were on strike to realise a six-point charter of demands. The strike paralysed eight medical college hospitals which handle 75% of the total number of patients in Bangladesh. The first of the doctors' demands was for government jobs after completion of inservice training (IST) Zia's government chants the slogan "health for all" and wants there to be a doctor for every 5,000 people, to our utter surprise only one doctor is available for 10,500 people while roughly 1,200 doctors still remain unemployed. During the strike, 18 doctors were imprisoned and tortured. Perhaps the languages of Bangladesh's Zia and Bolivia's General Luis Garcia are the same

Dr Shafiqul Islam, Bangladesh

The report is based on misconceptions and wrong information. Being a newspaperman myself for the last 30 years, I can definitely say that the press in Bangladesh now is freer than in India. Mr Ghosh's remark "The press is still gagged All it needs is a telephone call from the information ministry to stop a news item from being published," is just not correct. Has he cared to read the comments of opposition journals in Dacca? Mr Ghosh writes again. "The hardline Saudi Arabians even pressurised the President to remove the women constables from the Dacca police force. And they were removed." For 'his information, Dacca police is going to recruit more women constables in October 1980. Anis-ul-Moula, Dacca, Bangladesh

A maestro

Doth Rafi and Lata are regarded as famous playback singers (Rafi or Lata: Who has the record? 14 September) and it is difficult to make a distinction between the two impartially. The Guinness Book of World Records mentions Lata as having "reportedly recorded not less than 25,000 songs," because she sang songs in various languages—including Tamil, Gujarati, Bengali and Marath—which were equally popular. Although Rafi too sang in many languages, he did not repord as many songs as Lata did. Anyway, the listeners recognised Rafi. L. R. Dass, Calcutta

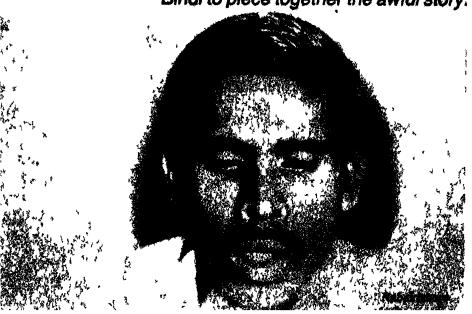
Last letter

Couple of kilos of sugar?
George Idiculla, Venmkulam, Kerala



WAS RAPED AND MURDERED

During the evening of 3 October, Chabirani, the young wife of journalist Nabakishore Mahapatra, was gang-raped and killed on a desolate river bed. TOOSHAR PANDIT and SWARUP JENA went to Biridi to piece together the awful story.



COVER STORY

OCTOBER 8

ABAKISHORE MAHA PATRA, 30, was an earl riser Being an agent for number of Oriya news papers and periodical (including the Cuttack daily Sama the Bhubaneswar daily Pragativadi, Cuttack weekly Nirvika and two Cut tack monthlies Durmukh and Niank hunta) he could not afford to sleei late The dailies were dropped off a the bus stand, some 15 minutes' wall from his mud bamboo thatched hut ii Biridi village, every morning at around seven and he had to be there to picl them up From the bus stand Naba kishore and a hawker employed b him would set out on bicycles to distri bute papers to his 500 subscriber scattered all over Biridi block (area about 12 square kms) That was Naba kishore, doing quite well, with around Rs 400 every month in commission

Of late, Nabakishore had also be gun filing local reports for Pragativa di, Niankhunta and Nirvika This die not fetch him any money, indeed, he was actually losing some money had to pay for the postage and station ery from my own pocket" Naba kishore says Rabi Das, managing edi tor of Pragativadi, said that wher Nabakishore offered to write for his newspaper, he readily agreed because he was selling quite a few copies in that region "But, payment? The ques tion does not arise" Nor was Naba kishore expecting any payment The temptation was the designation news paper reporter This would offer not only access to the local power centres. but also influence and prestige

On Friday 3 October, Nabakishore woke up even 'earlier than usual, not only to do his work, but also to catch the first bus to Cuttack, which is some 25 kılometres from Bırıdı He wanted an identification card from the editor ot Durmukh for his wife Chabirani (born 4 March 1956) that would for mally establish her bonafides as the magazine's authorised correspondent for the Biridi area For over four months now, Chabirani too had been working as a journalist. She had been sending despatches to the magazine from the village, and some of her pieces had created problems As Naba-kishore shaved, Chabirani prepared some tea After they had drunk the tea, she washed their two-year old son Dany and dressed him in a flaming red shirt and cream-coloured shorts. Nabakishore put on a starched, carefully pressed blue cotton shirt and brown terrycotton trousers Chabirani washed her face, dabbed on some cream and powdered herself, After putting on lipstick, she selected a blue

and red check saree and a red blouse to go with it. By 6,30 am she was dressed, looking prim and pretty. "Now we can go," she said. Nabakishore nodded. They would have their breakfast at the bus stand. Just after Nabakishore ordered

Just after Nabakishore ordered breakfast at the bus stand, he saw five of the villagers, Nakul Behara, Baga Tanti, Kelu Das, Madhav Tanti, Babaji Mania, coming towards him. "Be at Dibakar Nayak's place by 7.30. He wants you there," one of them said abrasively. Nabakishore replied that since he was going to Cuttack he could not possibly be at Dibakar's place at that time. "Can't he want till we return in the afternoon?" he asked. They said, no. Their tone was threatening Nabakishore decided to give up the idea of going to Cuttack and returned home. Fresh summons came there. Chabirani insisted that if Dibakar wanted to talk to her husband he could come to their house After all, he was no stranger to this house; at least thrice before he had come there.

The hoodlums sent to fetch Nabakishore said it was Nabakishore who must accompany them They even tried to force their way into the house. but Chabirani in a flash, displaying typical courage, picked up a kitchen knife and stood at the door. "Come, try to get him," she shouted. The goons dispersed then, only to reappear after a while, this time led by Dibakar Nayak, the convener of the local block Congress(I), Sudhir Parida, another local Congress(I) bigwig, and Bira Mania, a dealer in illicit country liquor Bira Mania made the first move He snatched the knife which Chabirani had picked up again, brushing her aside, walked into the room. While he dragged Nabakishore out, some of the others snatched away Chabirani's gold ring and earrings. Outside, Nabakishore was being beaten up. Nayak and Parida too joined in kicking him. It was then that Nanda Mohanty, the local block youth Congress(I) secretary arrived on the scene. "Your obstinacy can be very costly to you," he told Nabakishore. Then he gave an order: "Let us go to the Congress office."

The Congress(I) office is located I right at the centre of the village bazaar in a concrete building which is actually the property of the local panchayat (the panchayat obviously could not prevent the take-over). A Congress flag flies at the top of the building. Dibakar Nayak uses the office; indeed. many consider it Nayak's personal office. There, Nabakishore was asked to sit on a stool facing Mohanty. It was now around 9 am. Till then Nabakishore did not know why he was being harassed. Now he was told. "What is this theft business?" Mohanty shouted out.

The reference was to an incident that took place in early September. Nabakishors and Chabirani were out one night in the open in front of their house when some people pounced upon Nabakishore while others en-

tered the room and took away a leather suitcase full of clothes. "They threw a towel over my face so that I could not recognise them," Nabakishore says The next morning, he lodged a complaint against four persons-Babaji Mania, Babaji Buna, Madhav Tanti. and Gudia Barik. The police arrested three persons, Madhav Tantı and Gudia Barik (two of the four named by Nabakishore) and Sibaji Mania, a brother of another accused Babaji Mania. The rest absconded. The local politicians were soon active on the side of the accused persons. Mohanty and Nayak joined hands to help bail out the arrested persons. And, as soon as they came out, they started crying for Nabakishore's blood. Sibaji Mania's uncle Bira Mania kept threatening publicly that he would avenge his nephew's humiliation. What angered them most was that the story of theft and the assault had also been published

Now, Mohanty wanted Nabakishore to withdraw the case or face worse torture. First, Nabakishore refused. But he gave in eventually. On Mohanty's instructions he wrote down on a piece of paper that he had lied about the theft. As a precaution, Mohanty made him add a postscript that this signed statement was not being written under duress. But this did not end Nabakishore's ordeal. His tormentors wanted more.

Nayak now raked up an old issue. Some five years ago, Nabakishore as a teacher, had collected Rs 35 each (Nabakishore says Rs 20) from 60 boys, as fee for admission in the Gopalpur Sanskrit tole, at Bodhpur in Cuttack district. Worse, the certificates which they deposited with Nabakishore werc also lost. Nabakishore explains: "What can I do? I deposited the money and the certificates with the secretary of the school. If he has not paid it back it is his fault, not mine "But some of the local applicants are convinced that the fault lay with Nabakishore and it was he who must pay back their money and return the certificates.

Only a fortnight before some of these boys had accosted Nabakishore in the bazaar and demanded their money back He had then expressed his inability to repay them immediately, but promised that he would pay them back very soon. Nayak asked Nabakishore what he had done to make good that promise. As Nabakishore listened, somewhat dazed and speechless, Nayak and a few others started calculating on a piece of paper how much Nabakishore owed the local boys. Then someone said: "We can pawn this gold ring and pay up the boys." Looking up, Nabakishore saw that it was his wife's ring which had been snatched away from her earlier in the morning. A couple of men went out, and returned with the news that they had sold the ring for Rs 213 to Krishna Rao Dora, the youngest of the three Dora brothers who, between themselves, own most of the trade. land and the houses of the village.

By this time, curious villagers had massed outside the office. But Dibakar's men quickly chased them away. and then all of them left the office to have their lunch. It was 3 pm already. The last to leave the office was Sudhir Parida. As he left, he closed the door and locked it from outside: hungry Nabakishore was still inside, left to reflect on his fate and the future. The door opened at 5.30 pm. Nayak had come alone. "Leave the village as fast as you can if you value your life," he said. To Nabakishore it sounded like an ultimatum It was. Nabakishore asked if he could leave the next morning "It is already dusk and my (native) village is about four hours' walk. Besides, I have not eaten throughout the day I am tired and exhausted. Can't you let me have one more day?" Nayak did not say anything, but with a sweep of his hand he signalled that Nabakishore could leave the office

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RETURNING home, Nabakishore found his wife busy shredding vegetables She too had not eaten the whole day Nor had the child Prevented from accompanying her husband to the Congress(I) office where Nabakishore was "interrogated," she, tense and afraid, had been waiting for him to return. Hardly had Nabakishore stretched out on the bed when somebody knocked at the door. It was Nayak, again He was there to warn him again that if Nabakishore did not leave the village soon he was likely to be hurt. When Nayak left, it was 6.30 mm.

Chabirani stopped cooking Hastily leaving all their belongings, Nabakishore, his wife and son were out on the road by 7 pm "We did not take anything with us, not even a piece of cloth. We thought we could come back the next morning and collect our belongings," Nabakishore says. A trek to Nabakishore's native village was out of the question that night, so they decided to take shelter with a friend at Manguli village just across the Biluakhai river, which was not more than an hour's walk away The Biluakhai river at this time of the year hardly looks like a river What is left are two narrow channels and a massive sand bed forming an island in be-tween. After Nabakishore and Chabirani had crossed the first channel they sat down on the dry bed for a while to regain their breath and splash some water on their weary faces People were still walking about. One or two from Manguli village returning from Biridi asked Chabirani what she was doing there. She offered only an anaemic smile in reply When the place was lonelier, she picked up her hungry son Dany to breastfeed him. Having fed him, she handed Dany over to Nabakishore.

They resumed their journey Just as they crossed the second channel, Chabirani heard footsteps behind them. Nabakishore shifted Dany to his left shoulder and, turning round, pressed the switch of the flashlight he

was holding in his right hand Two persons were running towards them on the dry bed Bira Mania and Babaji Mania Nabakishore knew they were coming to attack them "Run, Chabi, run," he told his wife He too started to run But Chabirani, hungry, tired, and with a wet saree coming in the way, failed to keep pace with Nabakishore Suddenly, a scream pierced the still air Nabakishore froze, and switched on the flashlight again They had got her Nabakishore could spot eight of them Bira Mania, Babaji Mania, Madhav Tanti, Baga Tanti, Surendra Barık, Kelucharan Das, Raju Dora and Dibakar Nayak Nabakishore saw her struggling, then limply she fell on the ground Two were now holding her down One of them was trying to disrobe her That was all Nabakishore saw, as he found three of the gang coming his way Protecting his child, Nabakishore ran

He took a detour through a bamboo grove for another village, Kukundra On the way he tripped twice and lost his torch He finally reached Kukundra at around 8 30 pm, deposited his son with one of his friends, Anam Padhi and then went to tell the village elders what had happened Within an hour 500 angry people had gathered and in another hour they reached the place where Chabirani had been waylaid The time was now 10 30 pm

It took a while and quite a bit of searching before she could be located The villager who spotted her first screamed and fainted She was lying on the sand bed, her blouse was in shreds, the breasts were hanging out The lower undergarment, the saaya, was rolled up baring her thighs and the buttocks The saree had been taken off and was lying some distance away A trickle of blood had frozen midway between her nose and the upper lip There were scratches on her neck and chest Nabakishore touched her body, and found it cold She was dead, and a violent death it had been

doctor found the sperms, but all of them dead. That was why he would not categorically say that Chabirani had been raped "Technically, I cannot After all she was a married woman How am I to differentiate whose sperms it was? Dead sperms do not carry marks," Dr Jena says Of course, there is enough evidence to indicate that she has indeed been raped For example, the doctor found injuries in her posterior vaginal wall. This could happen only if there was a struggle, only if force had been applied Then there were those scratches on the body These were sure signs of inter course against the victim's will In cidentally, not one grain of food was found in her stomach

Nothing can justify the delay in police action And, no number of ₹ suspensions or dismissals (the OC of Jagatsinghpur police station R N Prusty and the ASI, Baral have since been suspended) can right the wrong Even after Nabakishore reached the police station, and that was at about 7 on Saturday, 4 October morning, the police wasted at least three valuable hours arguing over trivial things. Their attitude was, to say the least, shocking S Baral, the ASI on duty instead of taking any action, took Nabakishore to the OC, Prusty Prusty was shaving and without disturbing his routine, he heard Nabakishore's story Did this trigger immediate action? Not a chance Prusty simply asked Naba kishore to wait for him at the police station Much later, Prusty came to the police station "First things first," he said "Write out a tirst information report " Nabakishore wrote his report, but Prusty did not like it "Drop that mention of the phone call and delete the names of the politicians from the report," he commanded Nabakishore wrote a fresh report, saying that he could not get a connection to lagatsinghpur police station because the phone line of the station was dead. He also deleted the names of Nayak and Mohanty "What else could I do?" Nabakishore says He thought that he had done all there was to do and the police would certainly act now But

more frustration was in store for him Prusty decided that his number two, Bhagaban Mishra would take charge Mishra, however, thought that the FIR written by Nabakishore on the promptings of the OC was not in proper order "No, this won't do," he told Nabakishore, and suggested that he sign a blank paper and leave it with him "We can settle the matter when we are free," Mishra said Nabakishore obliged A little before 10, Nabakishore was asked to proceed towards the spot where his wife had been murdered along with a gram rakshi (village chowkidar) Travelling by bus, and then walking, they reached the place at around 12.30 pm. Mishra was already there with a couple of constables. The enquiry continued till about 1.30 pm. Strangely, the police had forgotten to bring a photographer with them. How are the

THE DEADLY NIGHT



River Biluakhai on its bed Chabirani died

Nabakishore then left for the nearest telephone, at Anikhia post office, some five kilometres away. He wanted to phone the Jagatsinghpur police station, ten kilometres down the road from Anikhia. The call was booked at 12 30 am and it came through quickly "This is Nabakishore Mahapatra. I want to report a muider," Nabakishore said. A lazy voice on the other end asked, "Whose murder?" "My wife's Can you call the bar labu," Nabakishore urged. The lazy voice (later, it was found to be long to a constable) said he would have to talk to the ASI on duty (later identified as S. Baral). After a pause he said that barababu was sleeping

and could not be disturbed. Then he hung up

Nabakishore waited till 6 30 am for the first bus to Jagatsinghpur All this while, Chabirani lay naked and coid on the river bed. It was lucky that the foxes did not get the scent, otherwise by the time the police reached the place the next morning at about 10 30 her body might have been totally man gled. The police acted extremely negligently, the body of Chabirani reached the doctor doing autopsy, Dr. Kulamani. Jena, 36 hours after her death. There is no doubt that Chabir ani was raped, most probably by more than one person, and then killed. The

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Birdii Congress(I) office chamber?

police going to establish the location. the position or the state of the body in court? Or, do they expect the court to depend on their oral evidence alone? Stranger still is the fact that, when the police came to Biridi on the following day (5 October), after an angry mob from the neighbouring villages had raided and ransacked the house and the godowns of Raju Dora, one of the suspects, they remembered to bring a photographer in tow to record the extent of damage. The police were clearly biased. The villagers cannot be faulted for thinking that the police had been deliberately callous and were deliberately trying to shield the rapists and murderers of Chabirani.

After this, some of Nabakishore's friends and relatives carried the body to Jagatsinghpur for the autopsy Nabakishore did not accompany them. He came to Jagatsinghpur with the police party by a shorter route. The body arrived at 6 pm, and was delivered, after the post-mortem, to Nabakishore's relatives for cremation at around 9 pm Nabakishore was not present at the cremation. His younger brother lit the pyre "I didn't feel like being there," Nabakishore says. (This has led to raised eyebrows

among many villagers, who are wondering whether Nabakishore really loved his wife or not. But, that is an issue secondary to the brutal rape and murder)

But while Chabirani was being cremated Nabakishore was writing out another FIR at the police station No version seemed good enough for the police officers. "They made me write six or seven times but still they were not satisfied," Nabakishore says. Finally, at three in the morning, he wrote one what the officers thought was all right. In it the names of Dibakar Nayak and Nanda Mohanty had been omitted. So also the mention of the phone call. "Now," Mishra told Nabakishore, "you can go."

EANWHILE, what were all the Laccused named in the FIR doing all this while? It seems that after the incident they came back to Biridi and went straight to the BDO's office, where Nanda Mohanty was waiting for them. They were in a panic. Presumably, because Chabirani was dead and perhaps they had wanted only to rape her, not murder her The post-mortem report says that Chabirani died because one of her ribs (the fourth on the right side) snapped under pressure and pierced her lungs, leading to profuse bleeding and death. Perhaps in the lust of rape, the assailants accidentally broke this rib.

Anyway, having met Mohanty, Dibakar Nayak and his men went to the residence of the BDO, Sultan Mohammed, (since demoted, transferred and suspended). They wanted him to lend his jeep so that they could go to Jagatsinghpur The BDO summoned his driver, Sudarshan Senapati, and asked him to get ready for the journey "I went to Jagatsinghpur to discuss relief matters (the area had recently been ravaged by floods) with the SDO Bata Krishna Das," is how he now explains that journey The SDO Bata Krishna Das however, says "There was no reason why he should have come at such a late hour to discuss relief with me, and indeed he never came to me" The driver, Senapati, also exposes Mohammed "I left the BDO near SDO's office which was closed by the time we reached. The BDO then asked me to go and change a defective bulb in the jeep's headlight. So, I left for the bazaar." According to Senapati, Nanda Mohanty, Bira Mania, Mahendra Mohanty and one other person whom he did not know were the other occupants of the jeep

If they did not go to the SDO, where did they go then? One presumption is that they went to the police station, which was next to the SDO's office. Why? Could it be to brief the police officers? Was it to make sure that police did not act that night (of 3 October, when Nabakishore was desperately wanting their assistance), but wait till the trail was cold? Could it be that because of this the police did not respond to Nabakishore's phone call (that he called has since been estab-

lished)?

By the time the police had taken up the investigation the next morning, Dibakar Navak had fled from the village. The others were too dazed to run. The police arrested eight of them, including businessman Raju Dora. Another accused, Sudhir Parida, had taken shelter in the neighbouring Anikhia. Later on, he too was arrested. without any difficulty on 4 October. This is now being drummed up as evidence of how active and efficient the police had been, conveniently suppressing the fact that the principal accused Dibakar Nayak had escaped

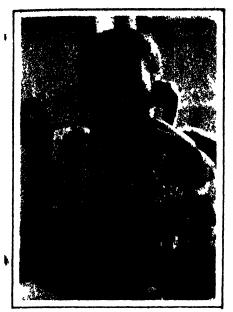


Wrecked barrack where Chabirani staved

and could not be traced till he himself surrendered to the police 18 days after the incident And that too only after his mentor Lakshman Mullick, MP, publicly said that Dibakar Nayak should surrender for his own good.

Having left the village, Dibakar Navak first went to the neighbouring village Anikhia, and hid in the vegetable garden of a technican working in the local primary health centre. When stray dogs started barking, the technician came out of his house and saw Dibakar Nayak, whom he knew well, crouched in the garden. "I am in great trouble," Nayak told him. Could he give him shelter for the night? The technician refused to do so. So Nayak left the place and took shelter in the house of a washerman for the night. The next morning, he left the place by the first bus going to Cuttack Since then, Nayak's whereabouts till his surrender have been a matter of conjecture and controversy The opposition has accused Congress(I) leaders of sheltering Nayak during this period.

The Lok Dal leader Rabi Ray, who had contested the last parliamentary election from the area and lost to Lakshman Mullick, claimed that Nayak was being sheltered by an MP and an Orissa minister. He did not name them. But Lakshman Mullick. MP. and Basudev Mahapatra, the agriculture minister, came out with statements that they were not protecting Nayak. Nobody had named them, but they responded of their own accord. This intensified the speculation that Nayak was indeed staying either with Lakshman Mullick or Basudev Mahapatra and that was why the police could not arrest him. "This is absolutely false," says Lakshman Mullick. The rumours, he thought, had been de-liberately floated by Rabi Ray and his followers to avenge Ray's humiliation at the parliamentary poll. "If I was sheltering Nayak, would I have recommended his expulsion from the par-



Rabi Das, Managing Editor Pragativadi

ty?" asks Basudev Mahapatra. Of course, as the president of the Cuttack DCC(I), he did recommend Nayak's expulsion to the PCC(I), but that was nine days after the incident By that time almost everyone in Orissa had started to believe that both Mullick and Mahapatra were involved in the incident in some way or the other. The incident had already become the talking point all over the country, so much so that several days later, OPCC(I) president Chintamani Jena, had to publicly promise that if the culprits were being sheltered by any party member he too would be expelled, and even ministers would not be spared. The situation had become so hot for Mullick and Mahapatra in particular and Congress(I) generally, that the expulsion was the least that could be done. Nayak was formally expelled on 19 October; he surrendered at the Jagatsinghpur police station at 6 am on 20 October.

Initially, Nanda Mohanty felt smug enough and safe enough, and did not move out of Biridi. After all, he had not been named by Nabakishore in his FIR. But the crime branch of the police, who had taken over the investigation on 8 October, decided 'to arrest him. Even if he was not involved in the incident, he was certainly a party to the confinement of Nabakishore at the Biridi Congress(I) office earlier on the day Chabirani died. Strangely again the local police could not find him till 8 October, although several newsmen who had gone to Biridi to investigate the incident found him moving about freely in that locality. Some newsmen even talked to him on 8 October. On 5 October he was seen with Lakshman Mullick in that locality. Even Mullick does not deny this. "Yes, he was with me, but then I did not know he had anything to do with the incident," Mullick says. On the same day Mullick had also seen Navak.

THE PRICE OF JOURNALISM

HABIRANI would surely have lived if a childhood dream of hers had not come true. From her school days, she had nursed a secret wish to be recognised as a writer. The poems she wrote had been admired by her classmates "Even at that tender age she could write beautiful geets (lyrics)," Nabakishore says (these lyrics apparently played their part in his pre-marital love affair with Chabirani). Two of her poems were even printed in Durmukh

early this year.

It was not Nabakishore's idea that he should file reports in his spare time. Chabirani, by far the more articulate and ambitious of the two, literally goaded him into it. For, she thought, through him she would be able to realise her own dreams. And she did. Chabirani, whose family is from Bengal, was barely 16 when she met and fell in love with Nabakishore. Having completed a five-year sahityacharya course in Sanskrit from Puri's Jagannath Veda Karma Vidyapith in 1970, Nabakishore had come to work in the Krishna Balaram Math which Chabirani's eldest brother, Achyutananda Das Mahapatra, 34, manages. Nabakishore stayed with her family in the math. Proximity led to intimacy, and finally to their marriage at the famous Jagannath temple. The same year, Chabirani passed the matriculation examination and gave birth to their first son, Lalu. Leaving Lalu behind with her parents (he has been staying with them since then) she moved out of Puri with her husband when Nabakishore wanted to seek his fortune elsewhere Two-year-old Dany was their fourth child; two children born between Lalu and Dany had died.

When Nabakishore, an incorrigible drifter, walked into Biridi, a fairly prosperous village some 25 kilometres east of Cuttack on the bank of Biluakhai river, with an irrigation canal cutting right through its rich rice fields, he had no pretensions of being a journalist. For him, Biridi was just another stop; one other place to try his luck. Biridi was close to Dihasahibari, a village some eight kilometres away on the other side of the river, where he was born and where his parents still live with Nabakishore's four brothers (one of whom is a graduate and another is in college) and two sisters (studying in class eleven and eight), tending a four-acre farm If Nabakishore failed again he could just cross the river and return to his parents.

Nabakishore's ambition was to become a Sanskrit teacher, and he got his first break in 1972 at the Lal Bahadur Memorial School, at Salepur in Cuttack district. His salary was Rs 227. But after about three years, he left for a better job, at Bantakar High School in the same district; his salary now was Rs 375. He left this after

about a year to take up another job closer to his native village, at Sadansa High School at the same salary. Within a year, however, he was sacked. "This is because I got into trouble with the school inspector," Nabakishore explains. Drifting into Nimapara in Puri district in 1978, he picked up a clerical job on a monthly salary of Rs 300 to work in the government's land consolidation programme. After the project was completed early this year, the job ended.

Then, to Biridi. Nabakishore knew quite a few people in this village. But nobody could get him any employment. Then someone suggested: "Why don't you take up the agency for newspapers? Quite a few of us read newspapers, but to get them, either we have to go to Jagatsinghpur or depend on stale copies reaching us by post." That was an idea. Nabakishore secured the agency for Pragativadi on 28 May 1980. Nirvika, Niankhunta, Samaj, Durmukh, Chandamama followed. In the last week of September he had even deposited money with a Cuttack bookseller as advance against a regular supply of three copies of

Sunday.

Chabirani now calculated that if Nabakishore offered to send reports without asking for money to some of the papers he was selling, his offerwould be accepted. That would not only enhance her husband's influence over the community, but could also lead to the realisation of her own dreams of getting published. She was right. Niankhunta, Nirvika, and Pragativadi accepted Nabakishore as an unpaid stringer. And Durmukh, the monthly magazine preferred to take

on Chabirani.

HE first few despatches were in-L nocuous. Then in June, Nabakishore wrote a piece in Nirvika alleging that the doctor and the compounder of the local primary health centre were systematically pilfering medicines and were selling them outside. That was the first of a serie s of reports he wrote between June and September which stirred up the hornets' nest. The report was contradicted, but Nabakishore remained undeterred. In another of his reports he antagonised Raju Rao Dora, the moneybag and the moneylender of the village. Apart from being the sole selling agent for cement and fertiliser, Raju Dora held the local community literally in his grip with his money-power almost every villager had borrowed from him at the usual exorbitant rates of in-

When Nabakishore wrote in Niankhunta that Raju Dora was selling adulterated cement, little did he realise that he was walking into a minefield. Durmukh also published an identical despatch from Chabirani. Dora was upset; more so because once earlier his licence had been cancelled on

21





Theft from block office

Biridi, 10/8: Some days back six quintals of wheat that came for the Food for Work Programme was stolen from the block office. The theft came to light when on 29.7.80 the Jagatsinghpur police were investigating another case of theft After the investigation, the police took some people to the police station After getting this information from the local people, the SDO of Jagatsinghpur informed the police about the theft on 30.7 80 Foræd by circumstances, the BDO of Birdi informed the SDO of Jagatsinghpur on 31 7.80 that six quintals of wheat was short in his stock

The theft has created a sensation in the locality Prior to this case of theft from the block office, theft had occurred twice or thrice from the same office. But at the moment attempts are being made to hush up the matter

Pragativadi 11 8 80

Attack on Journalist

From our own correspondent

Biridi, 18/8. On 10th last the local cement stockist Raju Rao Dora, along with some other people, suddenly attacked the local newsman. Naba Kishore Mahapatra at about seven in the evening.

A case alleging pilferage of cement and cheating in weights is pending against Mr Dora in the court.

Prafativadi 19880

Misuse of block jeep

From our own correspondent

Biridi, 1/9: The block jeep here is being grossly misused. It seems it is used more for personal and private work than genuine government work.

The jeep goes frequently to Bhadrak, though there is no reason why it should go there. Incidentally, the BDO belongs to Bhadrak and has left his family there. Besides, the jeep can be seen going to Cuttack frequently, mostly to cinema houses, and the occupants include local ruling party leaders. It is learnt that complaints have been lodged about it to the district authorities, but they have not yielded any results.

Pragativadi: 3,9.80.
Translated from Onya

almost identical charges. He had got his licence back only recently, after the Congress (1) came to power in the state. Raju retaliated by sending some of his musclemen to Nabakishore's place on 10 August to teach the obstinate reporter a lesson. The musclemen beat him up and roughed up Chabirani too, according to Nabakishore's complaint to the police. It was on this complaint that the police lodged a case against Raju and two of his associates, Babaji Buna, an illicit liquor seller, and Jogi Buna, a fruit seller. Raju Dora claimed that his men had gone to Nabakishore's place only to persuade him to vacate the one-room shack in which he was staying since Raju Dora needed the shack for his own use.

Nevertheless, Raju Dora was arrested by the police. Most interestingly, it was initially on Dibakar Nayak's instigation that Nabakishore had written against Raju Dora. Dora was a Lok Dal supporter and financier, and Nayak, the loyal Congress(I) supporter that he was, wanted to teach Dora a lesson. But after the Congress(I) victory in the Assembly elections, Dora, like a good businessman, switched sides, and began supporting the Congress(I). And Nayak then dutifully became the rich man's friend against Nabakishore.

Nabakishore was making enemies fast. He incurred Sudhir Parida's wrath when in one of his reports (published in Nirvika) he linked Parida's name with a lady social worker.

Durmukh, again, carried almost identical reports at about the same time As a result, Parida had threatened to thrash Nabakishore. The all-powerful local BDO, Sultan Mohammed, wai also angry over one of Nabakishore's despatches, about the theft of wheatfrom the block development office stores. The report, which appeared it Pragativadi (11 August) alleged that the BDO had not reported the theft is order to shield the culprits. (It waiter officially explained that the "rats" were the culprits.) In ye another report in the same paper (September), Nabakishore alleged that the BDO's vehicle was being used freely by the local Congress(I) leaders for party work, which was verifiably true.

Thus, in a little over four months between May and September, Nabakishore managed to alienate and antagonise almost all the people who were locally powerful—the BDO, the richest landlord/moneylender, the doctor, the supply inspector, and the lady social organiser with his reporting. True, he never wrote anything specifically against the local Congress(I) bigwigs Dibakar Nayak and Nanda Mohanty. "This would have been suicidal," Nabakishore says. For a time, he was even quite friendly with them. But with so many powerful men arrayed against him, could any politician afford to be on Nabakishore's side? Nayak and Mohanty deserted him and joined the other camp when



Nanda Mohanty: even rickshawpullers refused to carry him

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Lakshman Mullick, MP

Nabakishore needed them most Another person against whom he had written nothing was the officer incharge of the Jagatsinghpur police station, R N. Prusty

As it is, there were very few people in the village whom Nabakishore could call his friends. One reason was that by nature he was a loner, an introvert. He hardly went out, or socialised with people once he returned home for lunch at around 2 pm after distributing the day's newspapers. "I preferred to stay indoors and would go out only if I had to get the rations or buy something I needed," says Nabakishore. The evenings he spent writing out his reports. He never called anybody to his house, nor did he call on anybody. Even ladies never came to his house to chat with Chabirani, which is rather unusual in a village, where gossip is a favourite pastime of the ladies. Once in a while, Rama Rao's unmarried daughter dropped in One frequent visitor though, was his next-door neighbour Hrudananda Patra (35), an electrician's helper

The only person with whom both Nabakishore and Chabirani were really friendly was an electrician, Deba Mahapatra. And that again was the subject of gossip in the village. Understandably, in a village like Biridi it is inconceivable that a lady of the house can be friendly to another man and invite him into the house even when her husband is out Nabakishore did not mind. "I know Deba since my Salepur days; his wife is a close friend of my wife. We thought of ourselves as of one family," Nabakishore says.

In the end, the revenge that the rich and the powerful took against Nabakishore was awful. It will leave scars not only on him but also on his children, particularly the two-year-old who was in his father's arms when his mother was being raped. But 'parhaps journalism had its answer too! It was because he had contacts with editors that Nabakishore was able to tell his story to the world, and thus raise a storm. Otherwise, the rich and the powerful would, as usual, have gone scotfree, despite their villainy.



J. B. Patnaik:



Basudev Mahapatra

THE AFTERMATH

HE death of Chabirani

has become a major issue in Orissa. Such has been the protest that the Congress(I) is embarrassed, as its identifiable activists, Dibakar Nayak, the convener of the Biridi block Congress(I), and Nanda Mohanty, the secretary of the block Youth Congress(I), are among the main accused. Most of the others named by the aggrieved husband Nabakishore Mahapatra are either known Congress(I) workers or party musclemen.

The incident occurred on 3 October; Prajatantra, a Cuttack eveninger, broke the story in a small item in its 5 October issue. The extent of the brutality came to light only when the Bhubaneshwar daily Pragativadi, of which Nabakishore was a correspondent, published the gory details as narrated by Nabakishore in its 6 October issue.

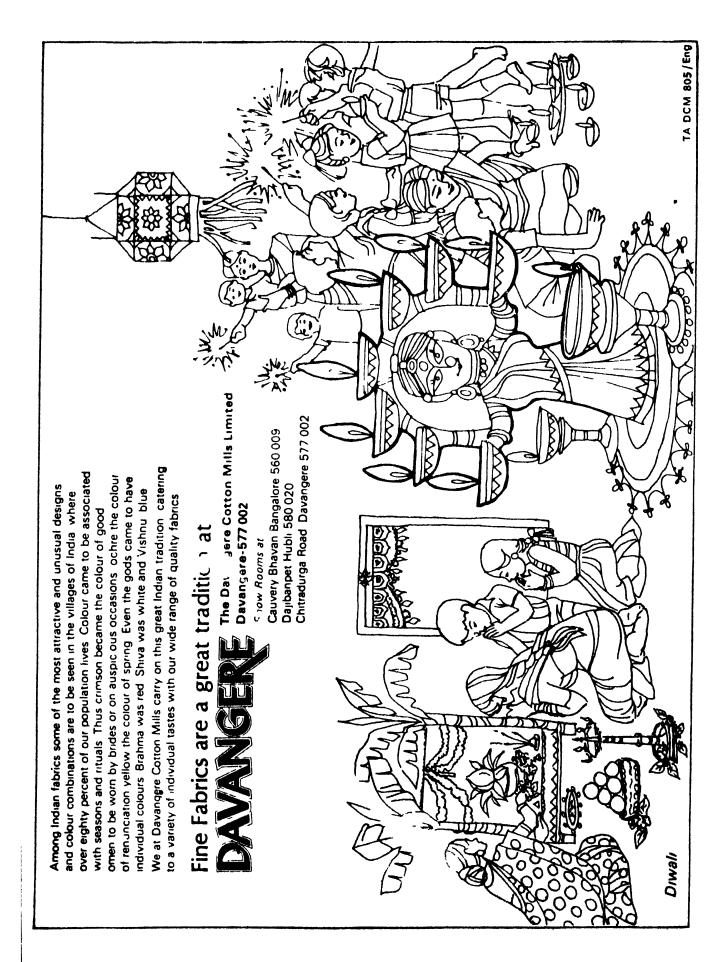
By then, anger was sweeping the villages around Biridi (although the villagers of Biridi itself appeared indifferent). About 5,000 people from about 22 mauzas of the vicinity (which included the village where Nabakishore was born) covering three densely populated panchayats had literally stormed into Biridi on 5 October, and raided the godowns and houses of Raju Rao Dora, one of the suspects. After ransacking the godowns, they set on fire a thatched barrack owned by Raju's brother Rama Rao (Nabakishore was a tenant in one of the rooms) and then turned their attention to another row of tin-roofed houses, setting doors on fire and pulling out the tin roofs. The concrete residence of Raju was also damaged and the mob made a bonfire of papers and documents including the moneylender's hundis and hand notes. Bags of paddy were thrown into the nearest pond.

And yet, when two Lok Dal members sought information from chief minister Janaki Ballav Patnaik in the

Orissa Assembly on 7 October, the last day of its budget session, the CM at first could only say that he did not have any details. This was four days after the incident had taken place. When opposition MLAs raised a furore in the afternoon, the CM did place a report before the Assembly, but it was at best sketchy. And, not until 19 October were Nayak and Mohanty finally expelled from the Congress(I)-obviously when they had become too great an embarrassment. The CM had promised on 11 October that if any Congressman was involved in the incident he would be expelled right away. On 16 October Patnaik appeared to be apologising for the administrative failure (in fact, Nayak was still not caught) at a press conference in Bhu-baneshwar. "What can be done if Dibakar is absconding," he said. The fact is that Nayak was seen publicly moving around in Biridi even on 5 October.

Congress(I) leaders are apologetic. The CM went to Biridi on 28 October and asked the people there what more they wanted after the expulsion of Nayak and Mohanty from the party, their arrest, the suspension of the OC and the ASI of Jagatshinghpur police station, and the demotion, transfer and suspension of the BDO. After arresting him the police had even paraded Mohanty through the streets of Jagatsinghpur; but they did not do this willingly: it was just that the angry local rickshawpullers refused to have a man like Mohanty on their rickshaws.

Nabakishore was offered Rs 2000 by the CM as token compensation, which he angrily refused J B. Patnaik is so upset about this that he recently called a newspaper editor to find out if he could persuade Nabakishore to accept the money. The CM obviously wanted to buy Nabakishore's silence. Patnaik, who himself was a journalist of distinction before taking to politics in the mid-Sixties, however, asserts



that it was to express his grief over the tragedy that he had offered the money "I can't just imagine, why should a journalist be subjected to political victimisation?" he says

The CM's meeting at Biridi, howev er, was a disaster When he was driv ing down the narrow road leading to the village from the highway, some local people threw themselves before the CM's car in an attempt to stop him The police intervened and cleared the human blockade His address was mar red by constant booing and heckling by the villagers The Congress(I) activ ists who had accompanied the CM in buses and trucks soon clashed with the local people after which the police made lathi charges Finally, the police had to whisk away the CM and other VIPs, including three ministers, the local MP Lakshman Mullick and some halfadozen Congress(I) MLAs before the situation got out of hand When Patnaik left the village he was perhaps wishing he had not made the trip

The opposition, particularly the Lok Dal, has been able to convey an impression, especially among the vil lage women, that their chastity and their lives are not safe under the present administration Nabakishore plans to campaign during the forth coming by election for Lok Dal's state working president Sarat Kar who is the six party opposition candidate against chief minister Patnaik at Athgarh assembly constituency Nor mally, Patnaik should have won easily but the Chabirani incident is surely going to make it much more difficult for him to win Moreover, this brutal murder follows the government's mis management of flood relief and the anti Marwari agitations in western Orissa

Understandably, the opposition is doing all it can to cash in on the incident Two Lok Dal general secre taries, Rabi Ray and Madhu Limaye. visited Biridi and addressed protest meetings Later Rabi Ray, along with the leaders of other opposition parties, fanned out into neighbouring villages telling people how unsafe their lives and honour had become Bishnu Das, the president of Jagatsinghpur's Swa Vivekananda Memorial College, and a staunch Lok Dal activist, has formed the Biridi Gana Sangram Sam ity With him are other opposition parties and groups—Janata party, BJP, Congress(U), CPI(M), CPI and even the miniscule Forward Bloc and SUCI. "We want an end of Congress(I) goondaism," Bishnu Das says

And at Biridi, an eerie hush now descends even before sundown. The hat (which assembles every alternate day) folds up now before the sun has dipped enough What a change! Only a few weeks ago, before Chabirani's death, shops remained open till late in the evening. Now everyone who comes to the hat (it is a major trading centre of the area) hurries back home early Chabirani looms large; she haunts not just Biridi, but the whole of Orissa



Chabirani with her youngest son Dany

N 29 October Nabakishore was Okidnapped At 9 30 am, travelling by rickshaw to the office of Pragativa di in Bhubaneswar's busy Rajmahal chowk area, he was intercepted at a lonely stretch across an open ground by a black Ambassador car Besides the driver, there were four others Three of them then got down and dragged Nabakishore into the car "The moment vou shout, vou are dead" one of them threatened In the car Nabakishore was blindfolded and gagged with adhesive plaster After an hour's drive Nabakishore still unable to see or shout was asked to get down The kidnappers led him into a room where they uncovered Nabakishore's eves and removed the gag Nabakishore did not know where he was But the room had two wall shelves stacked with papers a steel almirah a cot a few chairs and a pair ot tablas (drums) Nabakishore re calls

The kidnappers gave him a piece of paper on which was written that Nabakishore was on very friendly terms with Nanda Mohanty (one of the main accused, who secured bail on 27 October), that Mohanty was not in any way connected with Chabirani's death, that Nabakishore did not name Mohanty in the FIR, and that the police acted foolishly by arresting Mohanty A tape recorder was switch ed on as Nabakishore read out the script given to him "OK, now you ink your thumb and put an impression on this paper" one of the kidnappers ordered offering him a blank piece of paper After Nabakishore had put his thumb impression, he was given another blank paper to sign "Spell your name right, no hanky panky" one of them growled

Then came the carrot At around noon suddenly the kidnappers seemed to have undergone a change of heart "After all, your wife is already dead and all the fuss and furore in the world will not bring her back to vou," one of them said

Another asked him to drop the case 'What is the use of continuing' he asked They promised that if Naba kishore withdrew his complaint he would get a decent job And a bonus too "We will deposit Rs 50 000 ves, Rs 50 000 in your name in the bank what else do vou want?' they said

At about 5 pm two of the kidnap pers left. The other two standing guard in the room fished out a svringe from a leather bag made Nabakishore stretch out his left arm and injected some liquid Im mediately I started feeling groggy Nabakishore says Some time later the two who had gone out returned blindtolded Nabakishore and pushed him into the car again. They aban doned him at a desolate spot in Acharva Vihar on the outskirts of Bhuhaneswar and drove away "I guess it was around 8 pm. By that time was teeling so sleeps that I did not have the strength to take even a single step Nabakishore says He tried to get the number of the car but failed as the car moved away too fast in the direction of Khandagiri Lucki ly a rickshaw came along the road A wobbling Nabakishore got onto it and asked the rickshawpuller to take him to Pragativadi office. The office was closed but some workers of the press let Nabakishore in Immediately he stretched out on the floor and soon he was fast asleep

Some of the editorial staft who arrived in the office at about 8 am on 30 October woke Nabakishore gave him tea and heard the story Some staff members rushed to the resi dence of the paper's managing editor Rabi Das to seek his counsel Das advised Nabakishore to go the police which he did around noon A staff member of Pragativadi accompanied him to the police station from where Nabakishore was sent for a medical to Bhubaneswar's gov check up ernment hospital The kidnappers were still at large till our going to the press (31 October)

ETERNAL INDIA



By Mrs Indira Gandhi Photographs by Jean-Louis Nou

The text of Eternal India has been written by Mrs Gandhi. She "shares with the reader her personal vision of India ...She unravels the strands and examines the disparate elements that make up India. Above all, she initiates the reader into the many religious and mystical ideals that are an integral part of daily life ' Her text complements the photographs of Jean-Louis Nou, who travelled in India for 15 years photographing life and religion. "His photographs for this book are the fruits of a long coexistence with the Indian soil and its people," say the publishers. Created and produced by Edita, Lausanne, this book is brought out by B. I. Publications, 45, Janpath, New Delhi, at the price of Rs 400. We publish extracts.



NDIA is a world in itself, it is too vast, too diverse for any complete description. It is in the midst of a great transformation. Indeed, even I who have lived here all my life, travelled many thousands of miles covering known places as well as those difficult of access, I who have met million upon million of our people cannot claim to have seen and understood all, or even most of this extraordinary land. Every journey brings to light some new facet, local legend or contemporary development. No nation has probably accumulated such vast experience or endured so long as a civilization. As with knowledge, the more one delves, the deeper becomes the mystery and one finds that there is

What I can do here is merely to point out certain outlines and examples that have helped to mould us as a

much more to know.

people.

No country should be judged by the standards of another. Until you discard all labels and preconditioning, India will not reveal herself. India is unlike anywhere else, perhaps not fully within comprehension, yet if you are relaxed and receptive in mind, it is capable of yielding many worthwhile experiences and stimulating ideas. Look beyond the poverty, the heat and the dust, to the spirit of the people. What is it that has enabled them to endure when so many other civilizations have crumbled?

The concept of unity is almost as old as India itself. Wise men devised many ways of re-emphasising it, in epics and teachings and by the pilgrimages they enjoined upon us. We have all the religions of the world. But we believe in giving them equal respect. India is a sub-continent with immense variation in geography, climate, manner of life, language and

taste.

There is no pure unalloyed Indian. He can be a Dravidian, an Aryan, an Australoid or a Mongoloid. His hair may be fair or dark, straight or curly, the skin very fair or wheat-coloured, beige, brown or ebony. For India has always accepted races, tribes, ways of thoughts and life, without demanding from them conformity which would negate individuality, yet stamping on them the unmistakable mark of Indianness.

Yet the ideals in life, the goal to be reached, the spiritual yearnings and ethical principles bring together these apparently diverse people into one integrated nation that makes up 'Bharat' The mountains, the plains, the rivers, the forests, the deserts and seas, even these bring together in rare proportion a geographical unit.

proportion a geographical unit.

Isn't this diversity a marvel and even more so the fact that it has led not to division but to synthesis and unity? Equally wondrous is the vitality that has persisted stubbornly in the face of every kind of hindrance. But our vitality is not the obvious one of muscle-flaving and aggrandisement. It is that more rooted in the profundities

Like India itself, Hinduism is incapable of confinement or description in words. It is philosophy, all-embracing, all-accepting, tolerant of other thoughts, giving vast freedom of choice in worship...Hinduism is not an 'ism'. There is no prophet, no book, no dogma.



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The quality of ancient India that is most striking is the breadth of its vision, its capacity to feel at home in vast spaces, to think of great stretches of time and astronomical numbers, a capacity matched only by the mathematicians of our age.



of Indian vitality of imperishableness.

The quality of ancient India that is most striking is the breadth of its vision, its capacity to feel at home in vast spaces, to think of great stretches of time and astronomical numbers, a capacity matched only by the mathematicians of our age. The rishis spoke of a day in Brahma's life, a Kalpa, as equalling 4,320 million years. They conceived of a glow that was brighter than a thousand suns. They sang of the circle of birth and death, of creation and destruction, of the many ends which culminated in many beginnings. Obviously they were not men of little minds dwelling in a small land. They reached out to the ever-receding horizons of knowledge. So has Indian imagination questioned easy certainties and finalities.

Through Indian history runs a thread of enquiry by sage, philosopher and king. This fearless search into the inner depths of man's being gave birth to some of the most profound insights of the human race. The extraordinary

daring of their speculation is revealed in Vedic literature composed more than 3,500 years ago. One of my favourites is the Rig Veda's Hymn of Creation:

Then even nothingness was not, nor existence.

existence. There was no air then, nor the heavens

beyond it. What covered it? Where was It? In whose keeping?

Was there then cosmic water, in depths unfathomed?

Then there were neither death nor immortality

Nor was there then the torch of night and day

The One breathed windlessly and selfsustaining

There was that One then, and there was no other.

At first there was only darkness wrapped in darkness

All this was only unillumined water That One which came to be, enclosed in

Arose at last, born of the power of heat In the beginning desire descended on

That was the primal seed, born of the mind.

The sages who have searched their hearts with wisdom

Know that which is kin to that which is not.

But after all, who knows, and who can say

say Whence it all came, and how creation happened?

The gods themselves are later than creation,

So who knows truly whence it has arisen?

Whence all creation had its origin, He, whether he fashioned it or whether he did not,

He, who surveys it all from highest heaven

He knows—or may be even he does not know

The tribals, the ancient inhabitants of the land, had their own myths of creation. It is interesting to compare the two.

In the beginning there was nothing but water, water, water. There was neither voice of God, nor of ghosts, no wind, no rocks, no paths, no jungle. As the sky is now, so was water then. On a great jotus-leaf that drifted here and there on the water, sat Bhagwan. There was no fruit or flower to his life: he as alone. One day he rubbed his arm, and with the dirt that came off he made a crow, his daughter, Karicag. When she could fly, Bhagwan said to her, "Go and find some earth for me, I am lonely here; I want to make a world."

Scholars acknowledge the ancient Indian's capacity for clear abstract thinking which was responsible for numeral notation and the decimal sys-

tem of numerals. In the sixth century, Aryabhata in his Aryabhatiya, one of the earliest surviving mathematical treatises, presupposes an earlier knowledge of this system of notation, which was to become the basis for all mathematical discovery. Who the discoverer was is not known. But there is no doubt that from an early date such profound mathematical concepts as the zero and infinity were understood and used in the material science as well as metaphysics. Professor Hal-stead writes: "This giving to airy no-thing, not merely a local habitation and a name, a picture, a symbol, but helpful power, is the characteristic of the Hindu race from whence it sprang. It is like coining the Nirvana into dynamos. No single mathematical creation has been more potent for the general on-go of intelligence and power."

Dharma, or the ethical mode of life, has dominated Indian thought. Philosophy has deepened and widened the people's outlook and helped an affectionate approach towards not only fellow beings but towards all nature, especially animals, birds, trees and plants

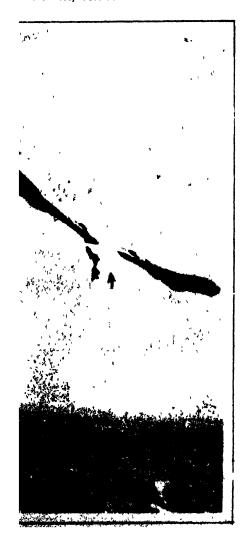
Like India herself, Hinduism is incapable of confinement or description in words. It is philosophy, allembracing, all-accepting, tolerant of



other thoughts, giving vast freedom of choice in worship. The manner of it and even whether there need be any at all—is God a being or the divinity in man or the force or quintessence of all that is? In the Gita, Krishna in the form of God describes himself, 'I am the sceptre of rulers, the strategy of the conquerors, the silence of mystery, the wisdom of the wise.' I am the sec of all being. No creature can live without Me.

Hinduism is not an 'ism'. There is no prophet, no book, no dogma. The much discussed myriads of gods and goddesses are but different images of the formless, all pervasive 'energy' of this universe and many others beyond it. Through the ages, within the Hindu fold, sages have broken away from any kind of crystallisation. Some founded sects and even new religions, offering greater liberty to those who felt, or were made to feel, fettered and suffo-

Does our religion stand in the way of progress or modernisation? I would say no, contrary to some beliefs, for the great majority of Indians are by and large down to earth and not opposed to change, which they realise is beneficial to them. In all of us there is something of both strands. Thus even in the mind and habit of the scientist, science and some kind of



This unitary vision did not arise through conquest but with a merging of races and cultures, the acceptance into the Brahmanic ethos of large numbers of indigenous people through the Vratya Stoma ceremony... caste and class were flexible.

superstitions co-exist. But can we not say the same of the western or indus-trialised world? Have not the most violent iconoclasts set up new gods?

One must admit that large numbers think of religion in terms of idols, and Indian practice has not always lived up to the precepts laid down. At different stages, large segments of our society have surrendered to intolerance and insolence. Customs or rites still persist which may have had some significance in an earlier age but are now anachronistic or even actually obstruct progress. A case in point is the caste system.

Yet in its philosophical groundwork, Hindu society does not aim at exclusiveness. From this has risen India's unrivalled capacity to accept and assimilate. It is also true that religious people respect and accept the saints and great souls of their religions. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs will go with equal fervour to obtain the blessings of a Shankaracharya or a famous Muslim divine. When His Holiness the Pope came to Bombay in 1965, millions of people of all religious beliefs flocked to the airport for his blessings. You will often see a church, a mosque, a temple, a gurdwara all on the same road or in the same vicinity

India is a land of contradictions but basically isn't every developed human being so? Can one even know another human being fully? How so a country? India's seeming lack of sophistication is the result of centuries of spiritual evolution: the wisdom of countless saints mingled with experience of vast political upheavals.

Our myths and legends are het stories of the past but experiences that are lived and relived by each successive generation, very much part of our daily lives. Everyone quotes examples from them and the epics to illustrate a point or draw a moral. It is not uncommon for our unlettered peasants and others who have never heard the names of the poets to quote couplets of Kabir or ask a riddle of Khusrau's. In Srinagar, I have heard a boatman singing a song of queen Habba Khatoon (sixteenth century) as he paddled along. That is why I once said that our

people have a cultural literacy.
Poverty has not soured the Indian. It has chastened him with a spirit of acceptance which is very different from resignation. There is no despair. On the contrary, he has learnt to feel and create beauty in the most adverseconditions, to make his own entertainment and music, to join in dance. Even the poorest are hospitable, going out of their way to welcome the unex-pected or unknown guest.



Cultural enjoyment has been a great factor in Indian life. But the roots of all great arts, having their source in the village temple as an offering to the Almighty, were understood and appreciated in the farthest nooks and corners before they reached the centres of sophisticated excellence in aesthetic intake. Music, dance and drama, painting, sculpture and architecture, crafts and every other branch of aesthetic expression had a wide appreciative audience, whether in the village or in the town. The folk idiom was as much in vogue as the

India remains deeply rooted in her past that she loves so well, but is equally receptive to the most modern discoveries that have revolutionised life, without losing her balance in taking in both: India has always been an enigma.

One of our best known prayers is: From the unreal lead me to the real From darkness lead me to light From death lead me to Eternal Life.

Indian Women



Our mythology has a rather beautiful concept of the ardhanarishwara a half female, half male combination to make the perfect whole: Siva and Shakti. In referring to a divine couple, the name of the female is always taken first. Sitaram, Radhakrishna, Gaurishankar, showing the high position reserved for the female.

The Vedas asserted: "The wife is the the home." In spite of other handicaps, the mother usually does rule over her domain. In the west, the mother in law who is the butt of jokes is the wife's mother nagging her sonin-law. But in India the traditional picture of the mother-in-law is far from funny Alas, she soon forgets her own tribulations as a young bride and often bullies her daughter-in-law, who has to do much of the work. Women in the south have a higher status and are more independent because of the matrilinear system. In the north, women are more backward in the erstwhile Indian states. Polygamy used to be practised before Independence. In some hill regions there is polyandry. In the Mahabharata, the five Pandava brothers share a common wife Drupadi who, unlike the gentle Sita, more than held her own with all of them.

The first woman of India, or probably of anywhere in the world, to think of women's liberation and equality as we do today was Chitra of the Mahabharata era. She was a princess, the only child of the king of Manipur. As she undertook all the ardouous tasks of an heir, she became rather rough and unfeminine. But one day she espied Arjuna the Pandava prince, one of the heroes of the Mahabharata, hunting in the forest. Chitra fell de-

sperately in love with the handsome prince, but despaired of catching his eye because of her own plainness and lack of appeal. She beseeched the goddess to grant her beauty for just one year and indeed she was transformed and Arjuna was bewitched. No one recognised Chitra in her new guise. She was ecstatic, but the administration suffered, the people of the state felt unprotected and missed her and wondered where and how she had disappeared. Arjuna's interest was held by many tales he heard of the princess's valour and ability He yearned to meet the famous princess. Chitra decided to reveal her identity and her original form. Then it is that she says to Arjuna: "I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the patch of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

Laws and customs in India, as indeed in other countries, are made by men. In ancient times women enjoyed full freedom and equality. They were philosophers, such as Gargi of the Up-anishadic period whose questions touched the very frontiers of knowledge. Sanghamitra, daughter of Emperor Ashoka (second century BC) was the first missionary, undertaking the long and perilous journey by road to a port on the east coast and thence by sea, in order to carry the message of the Buddha's teaching to Ceylon. One of the great twenty-four Thirthankars, the great teachers of the Jains, was Malli, a princess of Videha, later known as Mallinath. Leelavathi assisted her father Bhaskaracharva. who was an eminent mathematician

Unfortunately, as the structure of society crytallised, this status changed. Manu (seventh century), lawmaker of the Hindus, had some kind words to say about women but these seem to be by way of a sop to compensate for firmly relegating them to a secondary position in society, completely subservient to their menfolk. Inevitably, some women did break these bonds. Razia Sultana reigned as Queen of Delhi in the thirteenth century. And we have Mirabai, the rebel saint princess of Chittoor, who left home to lead the life of a mendicant, wandering about expressing her love for Krishna in songs of her own tender composition. Lakshmi Devi wrote a great commentary on the Mitakshara.

Where outside India could one find a woman such as Ahilyabai. Deeply religious and renowned as a saint, when she assumed the regency of her state (Indore, Central India), she proved to be an able administrator and a courageous general in battle. Two other women who have captured the imagination: Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi in the north and Rani Chennamma of Kittur in the south. They both died while fighting the British. The English general who opposed Lakshmibai called her the "best and bravest of the rebel leaders." She was just a young woman of twenty then.

In our own times, it was Mahatma Gandhi who visualised woman power and its use in his non-cooperation movement It was a giant step in women's emancipation. There was a tremendous upsurge and arousing of social consciousness. Women of all classes and castes, from town and village, sophisticated as well as illiter ate, came alongside their menfolk to take equal part in the political and constructive programmes of the Congress Party in our struggle for independence. They did not expect to be nor were they spared any hardship. The Indian National Congress hao three women presidents even before Independence: Annie Besant, Nellie Sen Gupta and Sarojini Naidu. In 1959, I was the fourth.

India is indebted to many foreigners. Some gave us a deeper understanding of our own ancient philosophy at a time when our colonial rulers seemed to have convinced us to deny its worth, thus rekindling the embers of a dominant national pride Others loved India as their own and identifed themselves with our problems and served our people with rare devotion. Most notable amongst the women was Annie Besant, a woman of great character, the first woman president of the Indian National Congress. She was a suffragette and took a very prominent part in the Home Rule Movement and was put under house arrest. She did a great deal for education, especially women's, establishing schools and colleges. An ardent theosophist, she became president of the society and was responsible for the movement's gaining momentum in India.

Nellie Sen Gupta, anothe Britisher who made her home in India and became immediately involved in the the freedom struggle, was made Congress president when her husband, the then president, was arrested. A brave woman, after Independence she chose to stay on in East Pakistan in spite of personal difficulties and separation from her family, in order to to sustain the morale of the minority communities, the Hindus and tribals. Until she died, she remained deeply concerned with the people and their problems.

Margaret Noble, who took the name of Sister Nivedita, was the first western woman to be received into any monastic order in India. She was initi-

In our own times, it was Mahatma Gandhi who visualised woman power and its use in the non-cooperation movement.

^{*}From Tagore's Chitrangada

ated by Swami Vivekananda Sarojini Naidu, the fiery Bengali poet, whose large-heartedness, eloquence, charm and wit captivated all who met her, was intensely feminine She had an avid interest in people and their lives She lapped up gossip, had a passion for beautiful saris, enjoyed good food and was brimming over with fun and liveliness After Independence, Mrs Sarojini Naidu became gov ernor of UP She was ideal for the job and it was largely due to her benevo lent and reassuring presence that UP was free from communal trouble in the grim days following the partition of the country

There are thousands of examples of typical Indian women who merged from the shelter of closely guarded family lives, straight into confronta tion, not only with political oppression but face to face with the crudest elements of society For Gandhi alloted to them the task of picketing liquor shops and those selling foreign cloth They showed enormous and un expected courage and ability in hold ing various party posts when more and more were arrested How then could they be kept back from later en deavours? There was no need for a special movement for women's libera tion There was no conflict between men and women since both were en gaged in a common struggle Jawahar lal Nehru was an ardent supporter of women's rights and was mainly responsible for opening up greater opportunities for their increasing in volvement in national affairs. At Independence, women got the vote and soon afterwards the right to inheri tance and divorce Now they are also entitled to equal pay No vocation except the defence forces is barred to them Women of character have made their presence felt on the domestic scene and whenever afforded the opportunity have proved their capac ity in whatever position they have

Partition brought much misery and devastation in its train, but it created conditions in which hundreds of thousands of women who had lost their husbands or fathers had perforce to stand on their own feet and earn their living Almost overnight the social taboo against women of good families

working for money was swept aside Women have always been involved in social welfare work. Now new opportunities opened out for them and dealing with these problems, starting new schemes and programmes gave them poise and self-confidence

Many women have come to the fore Some have been women governors, judges, ambassadors, besides the large and increasing number of those who are working at all levels of politics, the administration, in business and the professions. In the rural areas, women are elected to village councils as chairmen or members.

In legal reform, as in other spheres, several centuries of evolution have been compressed into a couple of agnerations, with the result that social

The solution (for woman) lies neither in retreat into home nor escape from it. The approach must be positive. The development of a 'total' personality, which is constantly enlarging its area of awareness, a personality which because of its contact with reality and its courage to tread new paths, and through sheer force of character, compels attention.



laws are ahead of actual practice Thus there is a lacuna between the legislation for women's rights and the social sanctions required to make the legislation a reality

Woman is the conserver of tradition, but she is also the absorber of the shocks of the future Therefore, she must be a bridge and a synthesiser She should not allow herself to be swept off her feet by superficial trends, nor yet be chained to the familiar. She must ensure the continuity which strengthens roots and simultaneously engineer change and growth to keep society dynamic.

abreast of increasing knowledge and sensitive to fast moving events. The solution lies neither in fighting for equal position nor in denying it, neither in retreat into the home nor escape from it The approach must be posi-tive The development of a 'total' personality, which is constantly enlarging its area of awareness, a personality which because of its contact with reality and its courage to tread new paths and through sheer force of character. compels attention

The translation of the Hymn of Creation is by A. L. Beaham The prayer is from Brihadaranyaka Upanishad

The hypocrisy of the

ruling

class

By ASHOK MITRA

here is a W H Auden doggerel about private faces in public places being nicer than public faces in private places. This, alas, is now the general case The cultural milieu which de fines our polity—the milieu that gets talked about, written about, discussed about—is the milieu shaped by what I can only describe as the bourgeoisie This is inevitable, since, in our feudal capitalist framework, the bourgeoisie are in control of State power whoever controls the State apparatus emerges as the dominant entity in the system, influencing even its cultural norms and codes of ethics. Even those who are not in power and supposedly represent the political opposition, cannot often protect themselves from being affected by the cultural milieu created by the bourgeoisie. The values of the dominant groups have, in all countries and at all times tended to become the dominant values lending lustre to an aphorism coined by Karl Marx nearly a quarter and a century ago in any epoch, it is the idea of the ruling classes which asserts itself as the ruling idea

What goes for ideas also goes for morality. The bourgeois values our society swears by-and which are reflected in our Constitution-were transmitted to us mostly in the nineteenth century, from the Anglo Saxon world But while the latter has changed a great deal since, we on our part have clung on to the code of ethics the British masters imparted to us, our institutions have remained insensitive to the social and economic processes which have been convulsing the world in the more recent times. The morality encompassing our daily perambulations has, therefore, clung to its essentially Victorian roots, setting great store on the rigid observance of values as well as taboos. This, however, is only one part of the story There is another facet of the Victorian moral phenomenon outward rigidity is accompanied by a considerable order of hypocrisy It is a dual morality-one set of morality for outsiders, and a private one for oneself and one's nearer and dearer ones For the latter, one reserves a great deal of love, considera tion and piety, on the collective plane, though, these attributes simply evaporate Perhaps this duality is a reflection of the class cleavage in society Rational human beings find it awkward to explain away the anomalies and inequities in the existing social structure. Yet these anoma lies and inequities provide the wherewithal for the suste nance of private affluence, the private affluence which allowed many of the Victorian gentlemen to indulge in the

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pastime of extolling high moral principles. The dichotomy in ethical principles was thus crucial for the survival of the self and the class to which the self belonged, the bourgeoisie For those belonging to the class, there was one set of moral principles which cut across the other set of principles laid down for the less privileged members of society.

The ruling classes in the Victorian period survived this absurdity, the working classes were not yet organised, and in any case the bounty yielded by the empire was adequate to take care of the occasional friction that would develop from the simultaneous application of the, two sets of morality Events have happened ever since which have led to a progressive decline, in most of the Western world, of this synthetic moral structure People have increasingly realised that the emperor of strict ethical principles had never really had any clothes The social turbulence currently noticeable in many Western capitalist countries, with the working classes in a sullen non productive mood and the children of the affluent disappearing into the wilderness of disenchantment, is a manifestation of crisis which has followed the crumbling of the moral facade

The problem for us in India is more acute. We are no longer a part of the Empire, but neo-imperialism and neo colonialism—as ideas from which action springs—continue to have a constituency of their own. The dominat.

was a man distribution

Dr Ashok Mitra is the finance minister of West Bengal He read this paper to the United Writers' Association, Madras, as the Frank Moraes Lecture for 1980

ing morality in the country, even in the post-Independence period, is an offshoot of the Victorian code of ethics; hypocrisy has remained as its principal source of inspiration. Till as long as economic tensions could be contained within reasonable limits, this hypocrisy was not the progenitor of social crisis. Not too many questions were asked, and the fewer questions asked, the fewer were the lies that needed to be propagated. Several developments have taken place in recent years to disturb the tranquillity. The dominance of a single political party, both at the Centre and in the individual states, is by and large becoming an event of the past. As a consequence, there are other voices and other echoes reverberating under the Indian sky, People are no longer prepared to take everything for granted. Illiteracy at the level of 65 to 70 per cent notwithstanding, the working classes are beginning to get organised; their dissonances are becoming increasingly audible. It is no longer possible to push under the carpet some of the more glaring incongruities between the declamation of public principles and the content of private action. The emperor was of course always without clothes; but this state of clotheslessness cannot any longer be pretended to be a non-phenomenon. Citizens will discuss it. There is no way such discussions can be stopped or stalled. Or perhaps there is just one way—through the invocation of authoritarian edicts. Authoritarianism as the staple of a moral principle is, however, hopelessly out of alignment with our basic objective of developing India as a democratic, decentralised polity

here is thus a major dilemma of private ethics and public morality confronting us Let me illustrate what I have in mind in terms of a few stray examples An individual, whom I need not name, contested the Lok Sabha election in 1977 from a particular constituency; he lost. He tried again in this year's elections, but from a different constituency. He lost once more, by a margin close to seventy thousand votes This gentleman, twice in succession rejected by the electorate, was sworn in as a fullfledged Cabinet minister in the government formed by Indira Gandhi last January, he has flourished ever since. Our public principles would say that such a thing is simply not done: a person, who has been rejected in no uncertain terms by the electorate, must not be appointed a Cabinet minister. But public morality had to be sidetracked in this case, private compulsions carried greater weight. Perhaps even twenty years ago such a thing would not have been permitted till as long as the person concerned was not elected to the Lok Sabha through some by-election or other In the present instance, no such assurance is being proferred. We are merely being told—that too rather elliptical--that the gentleman might have lost the Lok Sabha

The dominant morality in the country, even in the post-Independence period, is an offshoot of the Victorian code of ethics; hypocrisy has remained as its principal source of inspiration.

election, but he happens to be a member of the Rajya Sabha till November 1981, and there is, therefore, no bar to his being appointed a minister in the Union Cabinet. All one can comment is that, perhaps twenty years ago, this kind of rationalisation would have been considered outrageous even in circles proximate to the ruling classes. One is either nominated to the Rajya Sabha, or elected to it by the indirect method. The membership of the Rajya Sabha should not, must not, cannot explate for the fact that the individual concerned has been informed by the electorate of their lack of confidence in him. In terms of bourgeois parliamentary conventions, the gentleman, on his own, should have chosen to opt out of office, and there should have been no occasion for the Prime Minister to invite him to join office. His presence in the Union Cabinet is symptomatic of the degeneracy that has spread to public morals.

Or take the case of another member of the Union Cabinet. Infringing rules and regulations, he decides to grant some special trade licences for a particular commodity whose production is controlled by a public undertaking under his charge. The commodity is in short supply all over the country. But the special licences are intended to cater to the needs of only the minister's constituency. The licensees are all from the minister's constituency; some of them are not even traceable, obviously the persons named licensees are covers for other names. Surprisingly-or not so surprisingly-despite the licences, no supply of the commodity reaches the constituency. The quantities issued against the licenses, we are told, have been diverted elsewhere at a high profit margin, some quantities apparently even smuggled into a neighbouring country. Apparently, crores and crores of rupees were made out of these transactions. Specific allegations detailing the names of the parties involved were mentioned in the course of a debate in the Lok Sabha. The minister does not offer one word in refutation of the allegations made. From the government side, it is the law minister who rises to defend the minister. He too does not deny that some irregularities have taken place. He is not however worried, his colleague, the law minister assures each and all, is not at fault, one has to do such things if one has to nurse one's constituency. It



Left Front members meeting in CPI(M) office in Calcutta in 1977 to elect leader.



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was an astounding enunciation of a new moral principle, by the nation's minister for law, no less. A more explicit confession could scarcely be forthcoming: the facade of parliamentary democracy and public accountability notwithstanding, ministers will henceforth indulge in unfair, dubious and shady transactions; ministers will ensure that some people, close to them, make money by virtue of dispensations granted to them; and each of such acts will be justified in the name of nursing a constituency. Given this breakthrough in parliamentary jurisprudence, murders too, we may assume, will sooner or later begin to be justified in the name of nursing a ministerial constituency.

I consider this to be a development of tremendous import in the annals of national morality. For the first time, it has now been unequivocally stated that where the interests of the ruling individuals or groups or classes are concerned, conventional public morality will no longer apply. For the ruling classes—the bourgeoisie, if you please—public ethics—as we have known it in the past—will from now on cease to have any dominion. it is their private interests which will determine the shape and content of public decisions.

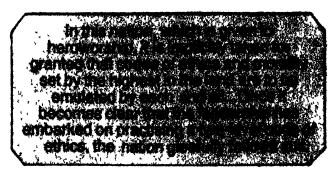
Consider what happened in 1963 when a Union Cabinet minister was found responsible for some improprieties in regard to a contract involving a few Orissa mines. The minister was asked to resign, and he resigned. We have obviously travelled a great distance in the past seventeen

years.

I am afraid I have now to enter even more delicate territory. In a sense 12 June 1975, marks a major watershed in post-independence Indian political behaviour. A certain judgment was delivered by a particular High Court on that date, resulting in the disenfranchisement of the Prime Minister of the country. There was a precedent about what is to be done in such matters 'A similar court judgment some years ago had disenfranchised a Union Cabinet minister; the same Prime Minister had then asked the minister concerned to resign immediately, which he did. On 12 June 1975, the Prime Minister herself, however, did not resign. Many explanations were offered for her decision. But the essential fact remains that a precedent earlier established was not followed. Even worse was to follow within a bare fortnight. And whatever rationalesdirect, straightforward, involved, contortious-are now made available for the declaration of the Emergency on 26 June of that year, there would, I believe, be near-unanimity that had the High Court judgment been otherwise, no occasion for the declaration of the Emergency would have arisen. A private expediency—the obsessive anxiety of an individual to continue as Prime Minister without interruption—contributed to the dismantling of public norms by the highest political functionary in the country. True, in arriving at her particular decision, she must also have been influenced by considerations of the interests of her family, her party and her class. But this precisely is the point: where there is a conflict between what till now were considered as integral parts of bourgeois morality and the interests of the ruling class or the ruling group or the ruling individual, it was ordained that the latter will from now on take precedence. As a consequence, public morality will cease to be distinguishable from whatever conduct is called for the furtherance of sectarian and class interests.

We had an interregnum bounded by the Lok Sabha elections of March 1977 and January 1980, when the issue had once more become dormant. No longer though. What has been happening since last January indicates a return of the new code of public morality that was enshrined in June 1975. In recent weeks, yet another Cabinet minister, disenfranchised by a High Court, has decided not to resign pending the hearing of his appeal by the Supreme Court.

It is an aspect of the hypocrisy which shrouds bourgeois morality that some of the unsavoury facts I will presently refer to are not generally discussed these days—neither by public men nor by the press. An element of fear over the consequences of open discussion of such issues could well be one reason for this silence. But perhaps the more overriding factor is the synthetic nature of the moral fibre itself. Certain things are supposedly not to be done, such as criticising the highest of the land, even where such



criticism is based on the principles of established morality. Obviously, the application of moral principles is supposed to stop somewhere, and must not slide into the genre of less majeste. Never mind the claptrap of parliamentary democracy and the Constitution, a corpus of ethics, feudal to the core, is sought to be given respectability in the final quarter

of the twentieth century.

By now, since newspapers no longer refer to it, people have almost stopped even alluding to the report of the enquiry commission on the Maruti group of companies. This is an extraordinary development. The commission of enquiry was presided over by a sitting judge of the Supreme Court of India, Justice A. C. Gupta. Justice Gupta has not retired, nor has he been impeached. No further review by a superior judicial body has been undertaken-or is intended to be undertaken-of his findings. Therefore, as far as judicial pronouncements go, his observations and conclusions with respect to the activities he was commissioned to enquire into still stand unrefuted; it is a different matter if the Government decides not to follow up on his recommendations. That the Government has not till now followed up on his recommendations is however scarcely any ground for assuming either that his recommendations are judicially incorrect or that his conclusions are unsound. In other words, whatever the results of the elections for the Lok Sabha, these cannot negate the judicial findings of the Maruti Commission of Enquiry. A political verdict can neither supplant, nor obliterate, a judicial verdict. This, again, is no enunciation of a new concept, but a mere reiteration of conventional public morality and established iurisprudence.

In his findings, the judge castigated a particular individual, questioned his probity and business ethics, pro-nounced that he had taken unfair advantage of his being the offspring of the Prime Minister of the country at the time he ventured into his business and industrial operations, and also indicated that, in the process, he was wilfully abetted by a number of officers of the Government. These were severe condemnations indeed. Till as long as these are not overturned by any other judicial pronouncements, they stand. It was therefore altogether remarkable that following the announcement of the Lok Sabha elections earlier this year and the induction of the new Cabinet, the Union Government began to pretend as if these findings were irrelevant. The castigated person was deliberately promoted as an outstanding national leader; if reports are to be believed, he also began to issue directives about how decisions are to be taken and implemented in the individual ministries. Often these directives were apparently ussued not through the Ministers who were in charge, but by-passing them. When the individual died last June in a foolish air crash, his death was turned into an officially organised national occasion; the paraphernalia of the state were used in a manner as would have the case were an important national leader to pass away, Governmentcontrolled radio and television, for example, broke into a programme of unstated, but overt, official mourning. The funeral march was officially supervised, even the heads of the three wings of the defence forces were forced to observe the ritual of offering salutation to the body of the departed individual. A Government property was used for cremating the body, and it is now proposed to set up a memorial for the individual at the spot where he was cremated.

To repeat what I said a while ago, these are major developments. Certain norms, which were passed to us

It is no longer possible to push under the carput some of the more glaring incongruities between the declaration of public principles and the content of private action. The emperor was of course always without clothes; but this state of clothesiessness cannot any longer be pretended to be a non-phenomenon.

from the Anglo-Saxon system of jurisprudence and which provided the moral basis of our Constitution when it was drafted, are now being completely pushed aside. The family of the Prime Minister is being identified with the state. It is, tacitly taken for granted that a member of the Prime Minister's household has to be treated differently than other citizens and has the prerogative to issue directives which civil servants are supposed to follow in the course of their official duties. And when a member of the Prime Minister's family passes away, the subsequent obsequies have to be considered as official occasions. It is also seemingly being stressed that two sets of judicial standards are to be applied one set is intended for the general public, the other set will be reserved for, and exclusively applied in the case of, members of the household of the country's Prime Minister A beginning towards this direction was of course already heralded during the Emergency when an amendment to the Constitution was rushed through which declared that the ordinary electoral laws will not apply in the case of such persons as may be appointed the President or the Prime Minister of the country.

There are different ways in which it is possible to interpret these developments. The blander explanation is that a fabric of authoritarianism is being interleavened with the texture of parliamentary democracy. The Constitutional conventions are not being directly breached, but, through the availment of certain of its absentminded provisions, the Constitution itself is being used to set up a dual system of legality. The normal Parliamentary and judicial conventions will not from now on apply when certain citizens are involved. This was the purport of the Constitutional amendment with respect to electoral laws; and this was the meaning of the manner in which the administration was run between 12 June 1975, and the collapse of the Emergency following the declaration of the results of the March 1977 elections. With the installation of the new government in January 1980, there is once more a concerted move to return to the legend which was being assiduously built during the Emergency-for the ruling family, for the ruling party, for the ruling class one set of norms and rules will apply, for the rest of the citizenry, the ordinary norms will apply; when certain laws are infringed by members of the ruling household or the ruling party or the ruling class, such infringements are to be ignored; when infringed by others, such infringements will be stringently dealt with

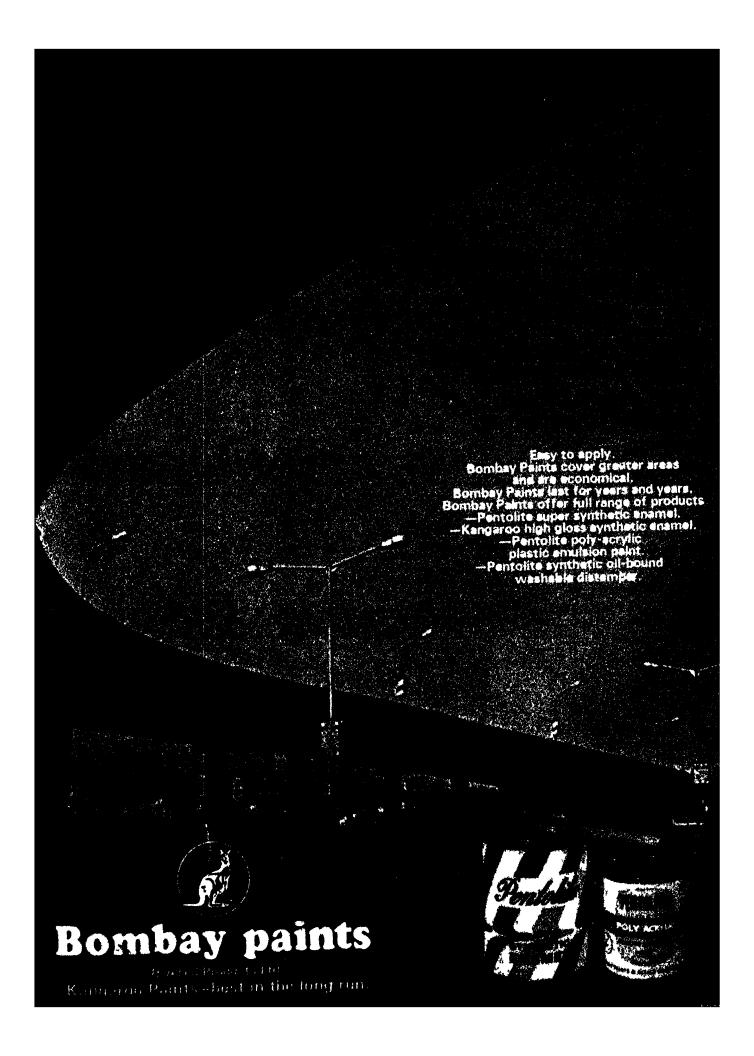
Whether the induction of this dual code of legality is Constitutionally permissible will be ultimately determined by the Supreme Court of India But since the composition of the Supreme Court is determined by the President, and the President, in terms of one of those more recent Constitutional amendments, must under all circumstances subscribe to the predilections of the council of ministers in the Union Cabinet, even within the framework of the existing Constitutional arrangements, it is possible to conceive of a situation where, over a period of time, the wishes of the government are always vetted by the Supreme Court. The Constitution would then stridently invoke the principle of dual morality and dual legality. Once that milestone is reached, the distinction between the executive and the judicial wings of the governments would be wiped out.

Could not one suggest that the denouement we are experiencing is the climacteric of the inevitable crisis the parliamentary democratic system, given its class arrangements, was destined for? For nearly three decades following Independence, it was possible for us to pay lip

service to the rituals of parliamentary democracy, adult suffrage, equality before law, freedom of expression and association, and so on. But the observance of these rituals in letter as well as in spirit, has led to a number of basic difficulties for the ruling household, the ruling party and the ruling class. The Victorian moral apparatus has s certain attractiveness; it exudes virtue, uprightness evenhanded justice, etc. As we have garnered from the novels of Charles Dickens, all this was a gigantic hoax, the Victorian climate was also a climate of hypocrisy, double dealing and dual sets of moral behaviour. It has taken more than three decades since Independence, but, finally, the admission is forthcoming that the bourgeois code of ethics and legality is no longer maintainable in our fracturec society. It is not maintainable because individual, group and class interests would not allow it to be maintained. Ir the preface to Das Kapital, Karl Marx made a somewhat flippant, but most perspicacious, observation that the English Established Church, if ever called upon to make the choice, would more readily pardon an attack on 38 of its 39 Articles than on 1/39 of its income. The tussle between private ethics and public morality we are witnessing in our country is a manifestation of the same genre of choice, and the choice has been indicated. Given the option, the ruling classes will cling on to their particular rights to privilege property and income and will be happy enough-and eager enough—to give up the pretence of conforming to estab lished constitutional, legal and social conventions and This brazen affirmation of a dual structure of morality however has had certain awesome spin-offs In this nation, which is given to hero worship, it is implicitly taken for granted that codes of ethics and morality set by the highest in the land are to be emulated by each with all Learn from your leaders, is the lesson that, whether explicitly or implicitly, is taught to our children in the schools. This is the lesson which parents try to impart to their offspring in the households. This again is the lesson which the millions of our countrymen in town and country, the vast majority of whom are without letters and without a trace of social awareness, have been called upon to imbibe. The national leadership sets the example, sets the tone, sets the pace. Once it becomes clear that this leadership has embarked on practising a two-level code of ethics, the rest of the nation gleefully follows suit. Can we deny the fact that, in recent years, there has been an explosion of unfair economic and social practices in our country? In all spheres, standards are in a shambles: whether it is cheating in the examinations on the part of students, or unconscionable profiteering on the part of traders and industrialists, or cutting of corners on the part of both politicians and civil servants, or shirking of work on the part of employees, there is a general pervasive decline in social behaviour. We are in danger of being reduced to a nation of thieves, cardsharpers and scallawags. This cannot, should not be our desting, but this is where we have almost arrived at, and all because the ruling party, the ruling class, the ruling household have decided that their sectarian and private interests must be furthered at all times and at all costs, and established codes of morality and legality must not stand in the way. The floodgates of immorality having been opened at the very top, the consequences will have to be borne by the entire nation.

Many of us, who belong to the Left, have been urging, for the past several years, for a re-ordering of the Constitutional provisions since, an our view, the existing Constitution is both inimical to growth and incapable of fostering national harmony. I must confess that till now our voices were more or less voices in the wilderness; we were not succeeding very far with the task of exposing the hollowness of the existing Constitutional arrangements. Now the attack has been mounted from the other side. By their recent manoeuvres, the ruling classes have made it abundantly clear that the claptrap of the Constitution is not to be taken seriously: till as long as those in power can use the Constitution to their advantage, it is to be tolerated; as soon as the Constitution blocks their way to private profitmaking, its provisions have to be scrapped. This exposure of the non-divinity of the Constitution is not an inconsiderable gain for those of us who would like to advance towards an alternative political structure.

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Sanjay's men demand a samadhi

SHUBHABRATA BHATTACHARYA reports



A life-size photograph is installed

ction on the forenoon of 24 Octo ber was swift and well planned At 11 am three busloads of about 200 volunteers arrived at Shantivana They unloaded their 'equipment' (con sisting of bamboo stakes, shamianas, nylon ropes, etc.) from the buses, proceeded to the exact spot where Sanjay Gandhi had been cremated, demarcated the area with powdered chalk and cordoned it off, placed a life size photograph of the late leader and garlanded it One group busied itself with the task of re building the samadhi and another set up a 12ft high shamiana very close by for staging a dharna All this in seven minutes By 11 10 am the organisers had begun the dharna while chanting "Sanjay Gan dhi Amar Rahe" (Long live Sanjay Gandhi)

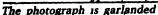
The organisers, calling themselves the Sanjay Gandhi Vichar Manch, took the government and the police by surprise The "takeover" was witnes sed only by the grass cutters of Shanti vana and D P Singh, the CPWD section officer, in charge of the Shanti vana horticulture section



Youth Congress(I) workers arrive

It was only at one pm that one sub inspector and two constables from the nearby Daryagan; police station went to the spot The sub inspector left in a short while, but only after saluting the photograph. The two constables remained to watch the dharna Till 30 October, no formal complaint had been lodged with the police, either by the Shantivana committee or by other agencies like the CPWD or the Delhi Development Authority although the dharna and the 'recreation' of the samadhi on CPWD land did constitute a trespass on government land

The dharna, at the time of writing in its seventh successive day, is de manding the restoration of the samadhi of Sanjay Gandhi The brick and mortar platform which had been erected amidst controversy on the grounds of Jawaharlal Nehru's samadhi, Shantivana, during the night of 23 24 June for the cremation of Sanjay Gandhi, was demolished over night in the middle of September The official explanation was ambiguous It said that the demolition did not mean that Sanjay Gandhi was being erased from the memory of the people But





the manner in which the demolition was carried out under cover of darkness made many suspicious. While the senior leaders of the Congress(I) and the Youth Congress(I) accepted the official explanation without a murmur, a section of the Delhi Youth Congress(I) office-bearers challenged the Delhi administration soon after the demolition. Sensing the official apathy, the members of the Congress(I) got together under the banner of the San-1ay Gandhi Vichar Manch and took the government by surprise on 24 October

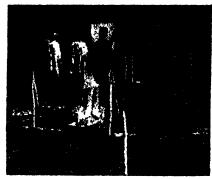
and staged the dharna. The organisers, two of them general secretaries of the Delhi Pradesh Youth Congress(I), Sudarshan Awasthy and Satish Yadav (while a third, Trivender Singh Bedi, is the organising secretary of the Delhi Sadar District Youth Congress(I)) were closely associated with Sanjay and had gone to jail each time their leader courted arrest But why had they not organised their protest under the aegis of the Delhi PYC(I)? On the evening of 24 October the answer was apparent when the Delhi PYC(I) president and one-time ardent Sanjay Gandhi supporter, Jagdish Tytler, now MP, issued a statement that the action of two of his general secre-taries was "weakening" the party The same evening Tytler advised the organisers to go to the PM's house and talk it over with Mrs Gandhi. Awasthy, Yadav and Bedi told him that they had chosen their course of action and did not want Tytler to interfere The dhar; na was even more embarrassing to Tytler since most of those taking part in the dharna were from his par-

hamentary constituency, Delhi Sadar The top leaders of the Congress(I) did not even go to meet the protesters Only former YC(1) general secretary Gufran-e-Azam and Madhya Pradesh leader Mahesh Joshi met them and tried to persuade them to give up their



T S. Bedi scatters marigold and rose petals

dharna But the protesters went a step further they sent bangles to the close associates of Sanjay Gandhi, like Kamal Nath, Akbar Ahmed, Arun Nehru and others. The sentiment of the protesters towards the top leadership was summed up in one paragraph of the statement issued by the Sanjay Gandhi Vichar Manch on the takeover of the cremation ground It said "These officers used to stand in long queues for hours to meet Sanjay Gandhi and used to wait for hours to meet him. But now they have got no time for him or for his memory



Seven minutes from the start



COMICS



by GOSCINNY and UDERZO

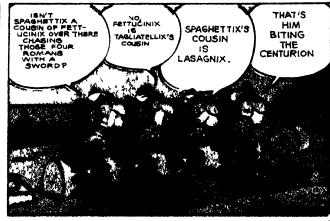


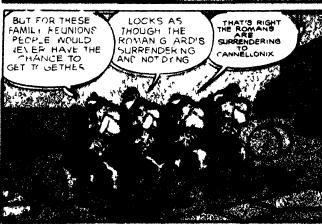




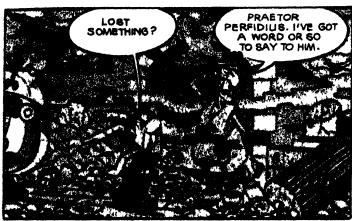
















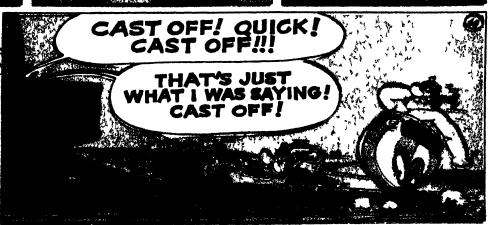












Dom Moraes'"principles" and his publishers

He threatened to pressurise Vikas through 'personal friend' Mrs Gandhi

New Delhi: Before releasing a new book, it is normal for a publisher to try and get extracts reproduced in any widely-circulated journal. The journal, for a comparatively small fee, is able to give its readers an exclusive look at the contents of a book, the publisher gets what amounts to virtually free publicity for his book. The saleability of the book is obviously increased.

Dom Moraes' biography of his proc laimed heroine, Mrs Indira Gandhi, had been long awaited in publishing circles According to many critics, the book has turned out to be damper than most damp squibs, but before anyone had seen it, there was genuine anticipation Vikas Publishing House, the well-known Delhi firm, got the Indian publishing rights And they gave permission to Sunday to carry extracts from Moraes' Mrs Gandhi (which appeared in our June, July and August. issues) As it turned out, there was a misunderstanding about who had the power to allow these rights of serialisation, Moraes says that he has the rights, and the serialisation should have been done with his consent. Vikas maintain that, as Indian publishers (the book was originally published by Jonathan Cape Ltd of London) they are well within their rights to allow serialisation of extracts in a widely-circulated magazine like Sunday in order to achieve better sales

And then, in the 5 October issue of the paper he edits, the Sunday Standard, Dom Moraes, deviating from the ethics of journalism, used the columns of his paper to publicise his personal quarrel with his publisher. He attacked not merely Vikas, but Indian publishers in general. And the publishing industry replied equally harshly—indeed, it transpired that Dom Moraes had not been very principled in his dealings with at least one publisher, Vision Books (see box)

The first salvo in the Moraes-Vikas war was fired by Mr Moraes on 30 July, when he wrote to Mr Narendra Kumar, the managing director of Vikas, charging that the permission for extracts in Sunday had been given without the author's consent Mr Kumar replied on 6 August, asserting that they had the right to get the book widely reviewed and publicised "in order to generate adequate demand to justify the edition" In another letter on the same day Mr Kumar wrote to the editor of Sunday that "Although

we have traditionally all rights relating to co-publishing arrangements, yet Dom Moraes is creating confusion about the serialisation rights. May I request you that no further excerpts from his book, entitled Mrs Gandhi, should be published till you hear from me."

In his letter to Mr Moraes, Mr Kumar assured the author that whatever amount was received from Sunday as payment for the serialisation would be passed on to him He added in his letter, "I hardly need to say that you as the author and we as the publishers ought to work closely to ensure the success of the book Incidentally, serialisation in India does not involve big money and I am sure that you are aware of it. While the amounts received are negligible, the publicity thus generated is of greater relevance"

On 3 September Vikas received a letter from Mr Moraes' agent in London, Ms Dinah Wiener of Curtis Brown Limited, which said "As agent for Dom Moraes, I have in my possession copies of your recent correspondence with Jonathan Cape Ltd. Although we of course congratulate you on selling an extract from Mrs Gandhi to Sunday magazine, I think you are now aware of the fact that Curtis Brown control serial rights of this title I would, therefore, be most grateful if you could send me a cheque for the amount you received from Sunday for this extract, so that I can arrange for payment to be made to Dom Moraes. The postscript to the letter added: "I would like to wish you every success with sales of Mrs Gandhi in India "

Ms Dinah Wiener's letter was clearly a proper and businesslike response, there was no imputation of any impropriety, and, if anything, the tone was a friendly one Vikas was even congratulated for selling an extract to Sunday Mr Narendra Kumar replied to Ms Wiener on 15 September, informing her that Vikas had written to the Reserve Bank of India requesting permission to remit what Sunday paid to Curtis Brown Ltd in London

In the meanwhile, Mr Moraes' book was not getting the kind of reception which any author would like. The book was generally dismissed as a poor exercise in egotism. According to one source, even Mrs Gandhi found the biography distasteful. But despite this, Mr Moraes indulged in dropping her

name in his quarrel with Vikas. Describing the incident, Mr Narendra Kumar said: "Dom telephoned me on. 18 September and said that he would like to meet me before lunch that day. I told him that he could meet me at my office in Daryaganj. He told me he would call me back later as he was waiting for a word from the PM's house as a meeting with her was scheduled for that afternoon. He told me, 'I would like you to know that I am going to speak to the PM about this and have Vikas fixed up.' I was aghast I asked him how the Prime Minister of the country came into the picture when the issue was between an author and a publisher? Dom said that he was going to speak to her because she was a 'personal friend' of his. I do not know what happened thereafter because he never spoke to me again that day and on the next day I had to leave for Madras for a meeting In my absence, Dom came to my office and threatened 'dire action' against Vikas And the action has obviously been in the form of the malicious article published in his own paper."

In that rather sulky article, Dom Moraes cast aspersions on the integrity of Indian publishers in general, and Vikas in particular. Mr Moraes, still a British passport-holder and a man who has lived abroad longer than in India, apparently had no idea (or if he had an idea then his spleen provoked him to ignore the truth) about either the history of Vikas, or its reputation, when he made this charge. The Federation of Indian Publishers stoutly defended Vikas and Indian publishing. The federation's president, Mr Vishwanath, wrote to the editor of the Indian Express, under whom Mr Moraes works. "I would like to raise the question of the propriety of publishing slanderous material against the publishing community wherein specific names have been mentioned, as in the case of Dom Moraes' article."

Vikas, who have published many books by Mr Moraes in the past, are in a belligerent mood, and might even go to court Mr Kumar told this correspondent that the late Frank Moraes, Dom's illustrious father, had signed an agreement with Vikas for writing a book Men and Memoirs on 27 November 1970, and was paid an advance of Rs 5,000 for the purpose. But he died before the book could be written. Mr Kumar pointed out that as son and successor of his father, Mr Dom Moraes should have returned that sum to Vikas.

Dom Moraes had signed agreements with Vikas to write five books in 1970-71: My Son's Father (paperback), From East and West (hardbound), The Tempest Within (hardbound), The Seventh Person and Collected Poems. Vikas have not yet received the manuscript for the last book, though the entire amount for writing these five books has been paid in advance.

Vikas is not the only publishing house which is unhappy with Mr

Moraes and his attitude towards money. Vision Books, owned by Mr Vishwanath, also had an unhappy experience, and in connection with Mrs Gandhi. Mr Moraes had sold the idea of this book to Vision Books initially, and collected a sizeable amount from them as an advance. But later he backed out, and when reminded of his contractual obligations, Mr Moraes sent the publishers a bundle of clippings of his assorted, already published articles to be dressed into a book.

According to Mr Vishwanath's son, Mr Kapil Malhotra, who runs Vision

Books, the agreement for the book was signed by Mr Moraes on 6 July 1977. In September that year Vision books went ahead to announce the book as a late 1978 release Seeing this announcement, Jonathan Cape of Britain wrote to Vison books pointing out that Mr Moraes had already licensed the exclusive rights of the Indian edition of the book to them. "Our surprise at this juncture was perhaps greater than his (Mr Moraes') own when he discovered the serialisation of his book in a magazine," Mr Malhotra said.

Shubhabrata Bhattacharya

Dom Moraes' painful joke

Rabout his difficulties with Indian publishers. "Sometimes they ask for permission to publish your work in an-

Stortly after this, I saw a copy of SUNDAY magazine, which printed an extract from the book and stated that it would print another in the next issue. This constituted genalization and was a

The article in Sunday Standard

'The Publishers of Delhi' are an unprincipled lot is the impression that is conveyed by Dom Moraes in his article under this heading (Sunday Standard, 5 October 1980), their conduct is unprofessional and that they show 'a complete lack of respect for books and their authors' All these sweeping generalisations have been made on the basis of an incident wherein he believes his rights were transgressed upon by a reputed Indian publisher with regard to his recent book on Mrs Gandhi Not knowing the exact situation Dom Moraes refers to, it is difficult to comment upon it. However, there is another story related to the same book on Mrs Gandhi by Dom Moraes which shows how he was responsible for creating a messy situation by not knowing the limits of his own rights—a situation that resulted in considerable financial loss and embarrassment to a Delhi pub-

On 16 July 1977, Moraes signed an agreement with Vision Books granting us the right to publish in India his book on Mrs Gandhi and assuring us in writing that he had the rights to sign such an agreement. As a part of the agreement a substantial sum was forwarded to him as advance. In September that year, when we announced the book as a late 1978 release, his agents in London wrote to us saying that Mr Moraes never did have the rights to sign such an agreement as he had already licenced the exclusive Indian rights to a British publisher, Jonathan Cape. Our surprise at this juncture was probably greater than his own when he discovered the serialisation of his book in a magazine.

As we had already announced the release of the book and had dropped some other attractive alternative opportunities in the signing of this contract, the matter was pursued with Jonathan Cape, to whom Mr Moraes referred us expressing his inability to settle the matter independently. Negotiations that followed proved quite unfruitful.

Meanwhile Mr Moraes pleaded his inability to immediately repay the advance and asked for some time We readily agreed to his request, convinced that he had made a genuine mistake in signing the agreement with us

In March 1978 Mr Moraes wrote to us again, this time assuring us that after consultation with another British expert he was convinced that it was, after all, within his rights to sign a contract for the Indian rights but as it turned out our 'British' author (Dom Moraes) was mistaken again and he finally repaid the advance amount to us in April 1978, a full 10 months after our payment to him. Despite the loss of our time and money, we remained convinced that Dom had been genuinely mistaken about his rights and so there was never any question of our jumping to any general conclusions about the conduct of 'British' authors. And in fact, our relations with him remained cordial albeit unproduc-

In this context Dom Moraes' contention that Indian publishers are only 'dimly aware' of their rights comes to us as a painful joke. He has himself hardly been fully aware of his own rights and obligations towards Indian publishers. It most certainly is a matter of principle but based on one such experience would we be correct in assuming that all 'British' authors are unprincipled! We don't believe so.

Kapil Malthotra Vision Books Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi

TIBET

Don't believe the Chinese

Dharamsala: China-held Tibet is no Shangri-la as the Chinese would have us believe On 25 July 1980, the Dalai Lama's second delegation visited Tibet where a handful of Tibetans greeted them with pro Dalai Lama slogans This upset the Chinese and the visiting Tibetans were told to cut short their trip and return to India. The delegation, on reaching India, gave a vivid description of the darker side of China-held Tibet. And what they said was not welcome to Chinese ears. There is freedom of religion in Tibet but people can only pray in private, most monasteries and temples are either in ruins or have been converted into fields and stores. spite of many obstacles the Tibetans still go on pilgrimages to the temples in Lhasa from far-flung places like Kham and Amdo. "In most areas people are not allowed to leave their hometowns for pilgrimages. If they do, then their work points are cut and on returning home their wages drop drastically," said Losang Jinpa, a prominent member of the delegation.

The observations of the delegation did not surprise Sinologists. A foreign correspondent who recently visited Lhasa put it more vividly "The Chinese city (where Chinese live) of tree-lined boulevards ends abruptly and gives way to medieval filth "A. J. Singh

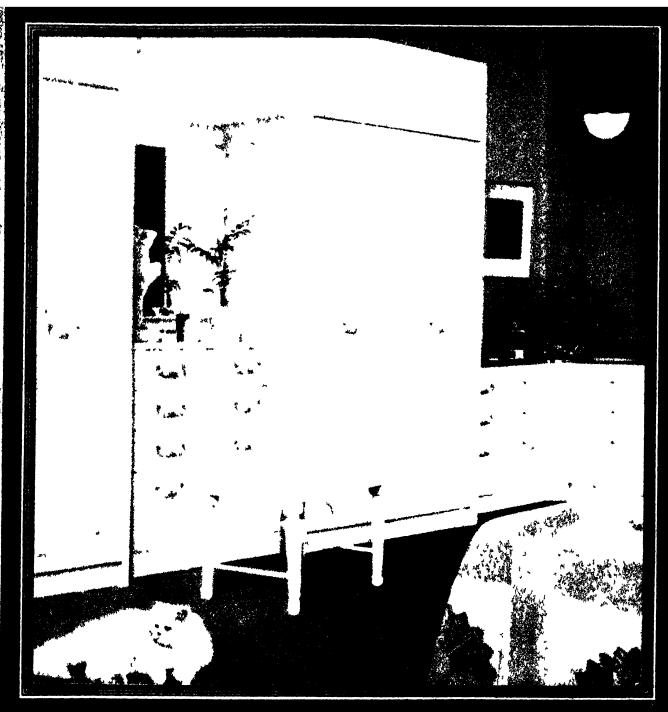
HEALTHCARE

The fall of King George

Lucknow. There are doctors, hundreds of them in the hospital. But, strangely, there are no medicines, cotton bandages, antiseptics or injection syringes. The hospital is King George's Medical College (KMGC) once a famous and recognised institution, now in the final stages of ruin. Reason primarily financial. Meagre grants, annual deficits and huge bank overdrafts make the closure of the institution inevitable within the next couple of months.

Between 1974 and 1979, debts accumulated to Rs 1 34 crores because government grants have not kept pace with the increasing costs of living, rising prices of drugs, and the revised pay of the employees Grants of Rs 1.20 crores for the medical college and Rs 58 lakhs for the hospital were fixed in 1974 and the figures remained unchanged even in 1979

Towards the beginning of 1980, when the institution was on the verge of closure, the state government sanctioned a grant of Rs one crore, in June 1980. While some of the outstanding



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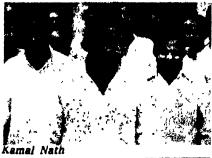
debts could be paid off, the situation was aggravated by the fact that quarterly grants were reduced by Rs 10 lakhs. The college once again ran into debts, with the total deficit now standing at Rs 1.5 crores.

Inadequate finance has had its repercussions. Purchase of extra beds for some 700 patients who sprawl on the floors of the wards and corridors has been prevented because of the lack of finances. Oxygen, anaesthetics and life-saving drugs are simply not available. Expensive equipment and appliances lie unused and are slowly becoming useless because of the lack of proper maintenance. And to crown it all, doctors and other staff members are often not interested in carrying out their regular duties in the hospital.

A privileged few, however, exist: families and friends of the students of the college get preferential treatment from the hospital authorities. As for the not-so-privileged, the situation is truly deplorable But, perhaps, the worst sufferers are the outstation patients who are still attracted by the once-renowned hospital On their arrival, the attendants of the patients have to make do with the shelter of the trees and the hospital verandahs, for there are no provisions for accommodating those accompanying the pa-tients. As for the patients, they find themselves in an unenviable position, with even the basic medical facilities hard to come by. Dilip K. Awasthi

MADHYA PRADESH

Kamal Nath searches for a base



Bhopal: The Calcutta-based industrialist MP, Kamal Nath, might be known nationally for his friendship with the late Sanjay Gandhi, but in his Madhya Pradesh constituency, Chindwara, he is known as the man who distributed two tonnes of biscuits to children. This was one of the populist gestures that Kamal Nath is using to build up his reputation in an unfamiliar state. After all, with the death of his patron, life has become much more difficult in politics these days. He no longer has the influence in Delhi that he once commanded, and this has had an insystable impact on his position in state

Blinding doctors!



Hyderabad: Remember that unfortunate, four-year-old Nasreen Banu who was operated on the wrong eye and consequently lost her eyesight? But Nasreen's case was not the end. Mohammad Jamal, the 11-year-old son of a late RTC bus driver, now runs the risk of losing both his eyes Jamal, who works in an optician's shop, suddenly felt a stinging pain in his right eye on 12 September He rushed to the Unani Government Hospital

where the doctors put a few eye-drops in both the eyes. Instead of being relieved, Jamal spent a painful, sleepless night. He woke up the next morning only to find he could not see with his right eye. When he complained about the eye, he was taken to the Sarojini Devi Eye Hospital for treatment. On examination, the doctors told him that his right eye was beyond recovery. And he was warned that he would probably lose his left eye too.

Jamal, the only male member in the family, used to contribute Rs 75 a month Now that he is handicapped, the family is facing imminent starvation. When the Unani hospital authorities were questioned about the eyedrops administered to the voung boy, they said they did not have any medicine which could harm the eyes. The doctors of the Sarojini Devi Eye hospital, meanwhile, were gloating over the discomfiture of the Unani hospital authorities. Nasreen Banu, Mohammad Jamal who next?

Syed Majeedul Hasan

politics.

There have been other gestures too. Kamal Nath announced that a super thermal power project would be set up in Chindwara, but this did not attract any attention. On the other hand, his move to shift the headquarters of Western Coalfields to Chindwara attracted the kind of attention that Kamal Nath could not obviously have liked very much. there was a wave of anger in Vidarbha and Chattisgarh after this announcement. Congress(I) members threatened to stage a satyagraha if the headquarters were shifted. In Chattisgarh, there was similar annoyance, as the people here felt that the claims of Bilaspur, were being overlooked; after all, 75% of the mines of Western Coalfields were in the Bilaspur division. In fact, some Congress(I) MPs from Vidarbha suggested in a letter to the PM that if Mr Nath was that keen on industrialising Chindwara, he should try and shift some of the industries from Calcutta to this area in Madhya Pradesh. But Kamal Nath did manage to get a few offices shifted to Chindwara, despite

the opposition.

Mr Kamal Nath is not palticularly liked among his party comrades of MP. One of the young leaders most hostile to him is Gufran-e-Azam, who too comes from Youth Congress stock. Azam took strong and public exception to Nath's recent visit to Azam's constituency, Betul. What irritated Azam even more was that Kamal Nath had addressed a meeting of Betul's district officials. Incidentally, Azam did not even know that Nath was visiting his constituency. The senior leaders of the state, like P. C. Sethi and V. C. Shukla, are no longer in the mood to tolerate Kamal Nath's whims or suggestions. The war continues.

M. V. Kher

MURDER

But the loot was non-existent

Thiruvalla (Kerala): On 7 October K. C. George (57) and his wife, Rachel, were found dead in Karikkan Villa—their sprawling bunglow at Meenthalakarra. Their bodies lay in a pool of blood when the maid-servant, Gouri, arrived to go about her chores that morning. The front door of the house was ajar. The police took charge of investigations but they found no clues



R. George and Hassan Gulam

The immediate suspects were Naxalites and the few dacoits who have been operating in this area with increased fervour. But circumstantial evidence indicated that it couldn't have been the work of dacoits; the entry and exit of the murderers had been through the front door of the house. And Naxalites would not have picked on a man like George who, though quite affluent, was a reserved man. Since his return from Kuwait, where he had been employed, George and his wife had been leading a secluded life They had no children. What they did have was a bank account to





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the value of Rs 15 lakhs, costly jewellery and of course the bungalow in the

midst of their five-acre garden.

Gouri provided the clue. On the evening of 6 October, after finishing her work at the George's residence and before leaving for home, Gouri had found her mistress busy preparing to receive her moan (son) and his triends who were coming from Madras Neighbours corroborated her story by testifying that they had seen a white car parked in front of the house that night Who was this "son"? According to Mr George's brother, who also lives in Thiruvalla, the murdered couple had no children The police interrogated roughly 200 relatives of the couple and drew a blank. All that they managed to discover was the fact that the late Mrs George's cousin resided in Madras This cousin was married to another George, a pastor working for Every Home Crusade Pastor George had three sons and a daughter And, according to the information gathered by the police, Pastor Geoge's third son, Renny (37), was living a life of luxury, hung on drugs and women.

A police party from Kerala, headed by T P Gopinath, SP, Alleppey, reached Madras within a week of the murder. Sub-inspector Abdul Kareem, who speaks Tamil fluently went to the office of Every Home Crusade, pretending to be a poor man in need of help Kareem learnt that Pastor George and his wife were not in the They were touring the US, spreading the Christian gospel of love Renny, however, was in the city, putting up with a Mauritian friend, Hassan Ghulam Mohammed Further investigations revealed that Renny along with Ghulam Mohammed and two other friends, Gunasekhara, a Malaysian, and Daniel Kibero, a Kenvan, had recently driven down to Kerala Inspector A K Achari went to Ghulam Mohammed's lodge. He assumed a false identity and managed to engage Ghulam Mohammed in irrelevant conversation. Renny was also present at that time. Suddenly the inspector turned to Renny and put a question in Malayalam: "Do you know that I am the circle inspector of Thiruvalla? When did you return from Thiruvalla, Renny?" Pat came Renny's reply. "I congratulate you, inspector." Renny and Ghulam Mohammed were arrested. Gunasekhara, who was also in the lodge, made a futile bid to escape. He too was arrested. Only Daniel Kibero is absconding.

Renny has since confessed that with his three friends he had driven down to Thiruvalla on 6 October. Hard up for money, all four of them had agreed to go along with Renny's plan of murdering George and Rachel. The Georges had received the murderers hospitably. They were offered tea. George, at that time was reading a magazine and called Renny to see a photograph in it. Renny stood behind George's chair, pretending to look at the picture. Then suddenly he stabbed George. Renny's friends also pounced on George and stabbed him to death.

By this time, Rachel, who had gone to fetch some water, arrived on the scene. Ghulam Mohammed split her head open with a bottle. A little later. when the murderers discovered that she was not dead, they stabbed her to death as well. Soon, they were on their way back to Madras, unfortunately without any money since there was none in the house. All they managed to take off with was jewelery worth Rs 60,000, a tape recorder, camera, watch and a few other valuable items G. S. Kartha

MRS GANDHI

Teacher gives lessons



New Delhi: Mrs Indira Gandhi is a master tactician. Her unmatched performance on 21 October during her first press conference in the capital after coming to power has left correspondents baffled. How did she manage to hold the floor for 80 long minutes and yet not manage to give out one bit of information really worth reporting? The fault essentially lies with the stalwarts of the capital's media who allowed an opportunity to go by. Mrs Gandhi conducted the conference with the ease of a schoolteacher, just as she does this so often with her partymen. She went through the host of "questions" with long-winded replies which were of "neither-here-nor-there" type.
In a way most of the long-winded replies befitted the longwinded questions or observations by the reporters.

The Prime Minister took the repor-

ters by surprise by the well-advised anticipatory statement of ten minutes which left many would-be questioners cold in their seat. An enthusiastic agency reporter sought to lay the

ground rule that the questions should be subjectwise. The Prime Minister expectedly, though hesitantly, agreed. She observed that in the past such attempts had not succeeded.

Another enthusiastic front-bench storm-trooper set the ball rolling saying the first question should be on the communal situation because "this is the most important thing." The subject took a good part of 30 minutes without yielding much copy. The Prime Minister took a somersault from her Moradabad observation and reiterated her pre-Moradabad position that there was foreign interference. She was not categorical on the subject. She toned down the government stand and said, "There is (an) effort from outside to exploit the situations; not only communal situations, but other situations; we know how this whole area. it was tried to destabilise this whole area, this whole region.'

Another ten minutes were devoted to Assam, without a clear enunciation of the policy in regard to the student agitation, or the blockade of oil etc.

The PM correctly applied the rule of one correspondent one question. The inadequacy of the correspondents was exposed. If one correspondent could not ask a supplementary, no one else attempted to follow it up either. Maruti was an outstanding instance. The Prime Minister got off lightly to a clear question. "What has happened suddenly last week that the government had thought it fit to promulgate an Ordinance taking over the Maruti company?" Mrs Gandhi merely said that Maruti has more assets than liabilities and it is something that can be used for the national good. "And it did not happen suddenly You may remember that during my previous regime this was one of the very loud vocal demands of the opposition." There was no clear, prompt supplementary to get more information on the subject

The Doordarshan treatment of the press conference, shown at length the same night, aroused comment in the city What the reporters missed was shown clearly on the screen: the role of R. K. Dhavan Mr Dhavan was seen scribbling a note and passing on to an editor. The latter was promptly heard asking a question on Eternal India, the Rs 400 a copy pictorial book. The Prime Minister said she was glad the question was asked and went on to point out that she wrote the text for the photographs herself.

When will Doordarshan learn that focusing the camera on a single object throughout the film can be immensely boring? It seems Delhi Doordarshan is still suffering from the hangover of the NDC fiasco when the PM was completely left out by an oversight. Though one cannot say the members of the journalistic fraternity are very photogenic, turning the camera on their faces occasionally would have broken the monotony of having to show the PM all the time. The only sight which broke the pattern was Dhavan's constant consultation with Sharda Prasad

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The question-answer session was not much of an event. The PM herself said as much when she observed that "you were much milder than in any other press conferences I had"

Jawaharlal Nehru's press conferences used to be a harmonious blend of give and take packed with information Panditji was tolerant even to the most stupid question, a question asked in the loudest voice or in the most foolish language He readily gave replies Mrs Gandhi got away with ambi guous generalities because the questions lacked soul There was a sort of hesitancy (may one say fear?) in com ing forward with inconvenient ques tions The obvious miss thus included the widely reported absence of Soviet leader Brezhnev at a return banquet given by President Sanjiva Reddy ear ly this month at Moscow Other ques tions that did not get asked included the infighting in Congress (I), appointments of governors whose term has expired long ago, Centre state rela tions, more probing questions on the incomplete union cabinet and the de teriorating price situation

It was a successful press conference from the Prime Minister's point of view

TAILPIECE A senior correspon dent of a widely circulated daily from the south went to Yojana Bhavan directly from Vigyan Bhavan after the PM's press conference in search of, what he said, the final plan document He wanted to score a march over the others. The PM had "announced" he told a senior official of the planning commission, just a few minutes ago that the plan has been finalised in record time, with bigger ever allocation of funds, with right priorities, and very clear priorities

very clear priorities

"Aare baba, it is easy for the PM to announce that We are still having discussions Don't you know the planning minister, Mr N D Tiwari, is in Moscow now? I promise to give you a

copy by January next "Anup Narain

KERALA

The new cultural revolution

Trivandrum: The thampuran (land-lord) is murdered by his peasant workers, the murder is applauded by the eager crowd of onlookers. That is the last scene from Nadu Gaddhika (Exorcising the land), and has been performed more than 200 times at street corners in various parts of Kerala by the People's Cultural Forum (PCF). The PCF is the brainchild of Kerala's Naxalites, and is representative of a significant shift in their political approach. After many Naxalites were released from jails following the withdrawal of Emergency, prominent lead-

ers concluded that the "survival of the party" was the most important issue before them. So they decided to come overground and build a strong "mass Accepting Mao's double-edged policy of the pen moving with the gun, they began their movement by reviv ing their defunct political organs, Comrade and its English counterpart, Mass Line There were literary journals too, Perana and the students' magazine, Chorus As a prelude to the movement, the PCF launched the Wynad Cultural Forum which started with a political drama Padayani (Bat tle Line) (Wynad, in the tribal belt is a stronghold of the state's Naxalites) Their other weapons were symposiums, street corner meetings, posters and poetry reading or kaviyarang

Their stand that "all isms of arts which do not rely on politics as the main link lose their base" aroused some hostility, but several leading Malayalam writers have defended the Naxalites, and their concept of a people's literature The Naxalites have argued that they do not believe in "Art for art's sake" and have told intellec tuals that "romantic compassion to wards the working people" was not needed Instead, what is needed is a "recognition that they (the working people) are the creators of history This "new revolution" assumed new dimensions when the cultural workers took out processions all over the state supporting two murders at Kenchira in mid January, and at Kanjiramchira at the end of March

In late August, a three day conven tion of the PCF was held in Anthikad, about 15 kms from Trichur About 250 delegates from all the districts of Kerala attended to take stock of their performance since their first meetings at Noolpuzha in Wynad and Olarikara in Trichur And the manifesto they released has enough to shock not only the conventional people, but also lef tists It said "Only a spirited cultural forum which revolts against injustice and raises its head above god can save our soul and soil from drowning in blood." The members claimed that "the ruling class has pushed us into spiritual slavery through an extraor dinary and unholy cultural alliance-a hotch potch of posh hotels, cabaret, crime thrillers, existential worries, ISCUS, RSS, Lions Club, temple recon struction, trade unionism, Thanathu Nadakavedi, Mother Teresa, party ' For them, the Bhagavad politics Gita is the "philosophy of Indian slav ery" and the Kurukshetra war a "struggle between Indian slave own ers "Their slogans ranged from "Communism is the youth of the world," to the anarchic "People have the right to rebel and revolution is their festival," to the expected "This is not our republic '

The convention had an important political significance. Even diehard CPI(M) supporters have been forced to admit that the PCF workers have, in the last year, made an impact on the people. Inspired by their ideas.

Malayalam writers have written seditious articles and have been arrested for them Fearing Naxalite infiltration, according to local newspaper reports, police recruitment in the state was stopped. And the leading Kerala daily, Mathrubhumi, summing up the PCF convention, said "Revolutionaries have removed their masks and have come to the forefront."

The questions uppermost in the minds of the people now are Is the PCF the Naxalites' answer to "institutionalised violence?" Will Kerala become the Calcutta of the late 60s and 70s? Sometime ago, the Left Front chief minister E K. Nayanar promised to "deal" with the PCF workers politically But the Front has yet to launch any offensive against them The presence of well-known intellectuals in the PCF movement seems to have numbed the ruling government Santosh Nair

TAMIL NADU

Dangers of fact-finding



Madras. On 17 October, a mob of hundred slogan-shouting men got down from a truck and dragged nine Sarvodaya workers from a van and assaulted them S Jagannathan, who was leading a fact-finding Sarvodava team to the villages of Dharmapuri and Tirupattur to find out the truth about the recent Naxalite "encoun ters" with the police in which a dozen extremists and three policemen were killed, was among the injured "We had started the tour with the blessings of Acharya Vinobha Bhave We noticed a van and two motorcycles following us when we left Dharmapuri. In one of the villages where an extremist was recently killed, some villagers wanted to speak to us But before they could open their mouths, a couple of boys rushed to them and whispered something That ended the conversation A few hours later, a truck blocked the main road and dozens of men got down and started assaulting us." recalled Jagannathan

Another fact finding committee

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comprising sociologists, civil liberty activists and journalists met with a worse fate on 14 October A screaming mob of "thousands" surrounded the house where they were staying and beat up some of the committee members at around nine in the night. Anti-Naxalite slogans were raised and the journalists were accused of writing pro-Naxalite stories. When G. Chamdrashekar, a Madras-based journalist, offered to take down the version of the mob, his notebook, pen and spectacles were pulled off and he was beaten up. "Even as the police appeared on the scene, the violence continued," recalled Chandrashekar. "As we were taken into two police jeeps, the crowd shouted: 'You Naxalite agents, get out of Tirupattur'...'

The committee suspects that the "spontaneous" demonstration was engineered by the police and they have reason to believe that some policemen took off their uniforms to join the crowd. The police authorities predictably denied the charge, and chief minister MGR accused the team of going to Tirupattur with predetermined ideas. He said that the committee had prepared a 15-page cyclostyled report accusing him even before some of them had left New Delhi and Bombay (He was referring to a compilation of newspaper reports which the committee had prepared) And if the charge that the people had staged the violent demonstration at the instigation of the police was correct, said the CM, it only went to prove that there was rapport between the police and the people He also accused the team members of being Naxalites in disguise

"It is a most ridiculous and a very dangerous statement," reacted Cho Ramaswamy, editor of Thuglak and himself a political activist Cho was a member of the fact-finding committee although he could not go to Tirupattur on 14 October. "I abhor violence and would not have consented to be a member of the committee if it was a Naxalite front," added Cho. A Bombay-based lawyer and member of the team, Neelam Raheja, said, "I have never come across such organised goondaism as I saw in Tirupattur. I have handled many sensitive issues in the industrial belt of Bombay but I have never been physically harmed in my search for truth."

The mob did not satisfy itself merely with the attack on the fact-finding committee. A cousin of lawyer-activist P. V. Bhaktavatsalam, who is charged with sedition for a speech he is alleged to have made a year ago, was also beaten up by the mob. A smashed-up cycle which belonged to the young boy is being displayed in the town with a warning pasted on it: "P. V. Bhaktavatsalam will suffer the same fate as this cycle." Following the disturbances, MGR has called off his tour of Dharmapuri. In the last week of September he had said that he wanted to study the Naxalite problem personally.

The exile of N. K. Singh

Cuttack: Where is Mr N. K. Singh, the CBI official who investigated the Kissa Kursi Ka case? After his muchpublicised arrest early this year, Mr Singh has been transferred to Cuttack, since he is originally from the Orissa cadre. He has been given the post of additional inspector-general of police (computer training) though he is not technically qualified to handle computers. What is more interesting is that there is no computer around either. All that the officer does is sign files for half an hour every day.

If his posting has been one source of humiliation, his residential accommodation is another. He has been allotted a single room suite in the police officer's mess while five officers of the same rank as him (in fact, one of them junior to him) were allotted residential quarters suitable to their rank. Singh was once offered a small stuffy flat, which he refused.

Singh has only one son now. His other son died in an accident in Delhi. Singh had got him admitted in Ravenshaw school in Cuttack but later took him out since he was apprehensive of the child's safety. Meanwhile, the officer has filed a writ petition in the Orissa High Court alleging that he was being harrassed by the Gurgaon police on a "baseless" allegation made by the nephew of a tempo driver of Maruti Heavy Vehicles Ltd that his uncle had been abducted in connection with the Kissa case Mr Singh has been summoned five times in the last few months by the Gurgaon



police station for the case. The All-India Bar Council president, Ranjit Mahanti, pleading for Singh, argued that the tempo driver, Ram Chandra, had once been Mrs Gandhi's chauffeur. He had been given an appoint-ment in Maruti only for harrassing Singh. The Haryana advocate-general, U D. Gaur, admitted the point. And when Mahanti said that the Haryana police notices on Singh were "malicious and motivated" the court ruled that the Haryana police had no authority to call Mr Singh to Gurgaon for investigations, since he had not been residing in their jurisdiction. The court added that no order was required on the impugned notice requiring Singh's attendance at Gurgaon police station since the Harvana advocate-general had given an assurance that no penal action would be taken against Singh for not obeying the notice.

A Special Correspondent

ENTERTAINMENT

Travolta's Navratri

Bombay: Navratri entered the Travolta era this year. All over Bombay, which celebrates these nine days with gusto, the raas (the traditional Gujara-



ti dance) was performed not only to the traditional beat, but also to the sound of disco music, Hindi style. To take the most prominent instance, two thousand people swayed to the beat of Aap Jaisa Koi Meri Zindagi Mein Aye and performed the raas, a la Travolta, with jerks, jumps, bumps and all, at the Juhu Scheme, which boasts the highest per square kilometre collection of film stars and Gujaratis—not necessarily in that order—and which was the host to the mad melee appropriately called "Disco-Dandiya Raas (sic)."

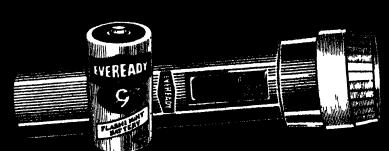
This traditional Gujarati folk dance has become an annual feature in every nook and corner of Bombay and its suburbia during the Navratri, the nine nights preceding Dassehra, young men and women from all communities join the dance with enthusiasm This year, for the first time, such a mammoth commercial extravaganza has been attempted

For nine successive nights in a row, the place reverberated and shook under the heavy onslaught of sound, people and psychedelic lighting. Crowds thronged the only entrance of the ground (otherwise used only to host marriages) Security men were present to prevent disorder among the seething mass of people. A twenty-member strong orchestra belted out one hit tune after another including

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disco numbers like Dance Little Lady and Ma Baker.

the speed of

It seemed to be a cross between a rock festival and one of Rajneesh's Sufi dancing sessions with the saffron missing. But instead of saffron, everything the spectrum of fashion had to offer could be seen-from the baggiest Annie Hall trousers to tight jeans, ghagras precariously perched at dangerous levels, and stilletoes and halters.

Nine different forms of Goddess Durga are worshipped during the nine days of Navratri and the tenth day of Dassehra is symbolic of the victory of good over evil. Traditionally, both the dances-the garba and the raas-are performed in a circle around the image of Goddess Durga and an aarti is performed. At the disco session however, which began only after 11.30 pm, the aarti was perfunctorily performed around 9 pm. While the disco session was on, Goddess Durga lay neglected

in an insignificant corner. Dr M. Ihaveri, one of the ten organisers of the disco session, was not a bit perturbed about the charge that he was corrupting a traditional custom. "Oh no, we are not corrupting anything. It's just a modification of the original dance We're moving with the times," he said. "Our show is the best in the city. Our tickets were sold out three months in advance and we get the cream of the crowd. Yesterday we had Dimple Kapadia, before that Shatrughan Sinha..." Another Travoltatype attraction was the selection of the best dressed couple and the best dancers by any available local celebrity.

A look at the economics of the affair was even more mind-boggling than the sight of the dancers' frenzy. Each season ticket cost Rs 60, and with approximately 1,600 passes sold, the. gross takings were a cool Rs 96,000. Add to that the advertising revenue and you have one of the most viable propositions going! Deepa Arora

PHENOMENA

The (suicidal) birds

Silchar: October is the month of suicides at Jatinga, a sleepy tribal village on the Barail hill ranges in Assam's North Cachar district. Driven by a peculiar deathwish, birds in their hundreds plunge into brightly-lit pet-ronizzes that are placed by the Jaintia tribals at three bird-gathering ites in the village after sunset. As the birds dive down towards the bright lights, the tribals beat them to death, with bamboo sticks.

Hatings, only five kms south of Hatings, only five kms south of Hatings, the district headquarters of North Cachar, can be reached either by a five-hour bumpy ride on a non-metalled road or by a slow metre-gauge train journey from Badarpur.

The village (population, about 1,200) is ordinary enough throughout the year. But come October, and king-fishers, pond herons, green pigeons, etc, swarm over the village in hundreds to commit suicide.

I was a witness to the strange ritual on the evening of 3 October. A small petromax had been set up in front of a grey screen. Suddenly, my guide, Rishindra Langthasa, nudged me. A bird attracted by the light flew in, hovered hesitantly for a few seconds and began its descent. Two tribals standing near the petromax whipped out their sticks and beat the bird to death. After a two-minute interval more birds came to die. In half an hour there were 27 dead. At the two other killing sites in the village the same thing was happening. How many birds die on an October evening? Radhesyam Ghose, a railway station tea vendor who has been a witness to the strange phenomenon for many years, said that about 200 birds die daily during this brief suicidal season. Other local residents say it is more.

The phenomenon has baffled many ornithologists and biologists. The villagers, however, maintain that the deathwish of the birds is a result of atmospheric conditions. The birds are attracted to the bright lights when there is no moon and when the wind blows from south to north. But the wind blows from south to north elsewhere too, and the moon wanes, but such a thing does not happen anywhere else? Jaintias have tried to capture the birds with petromaxes in other places too, but have not been successful. The suicidal birds come only after sundown, never in daylight. Another strange aspect is that even those which remain alive after their plunge do not fly away, but wait to be clubbed to death.

Dr R. George Michael, a zoology professor at NEHU, Shillong, is investigating the strange behaviour of the birds. He thinks that the birds are frightened by the bridge mistake them to be in Mirk light of dawn. This disorientation can occur when the birds lose their sense in distinguishing the day/night cycle in the 24-hour day. Dr Sudhin Sengupta of the animal behaviour division of the Zoological Survey of India also conducting investigations, feels that dark, rainy and windy nights along with a cloudy sky produces a change in the magnetic properties of the underground water in the region. This change disturbs the physiological rhythm of birds and they respond mechanically by leaping into the lights.

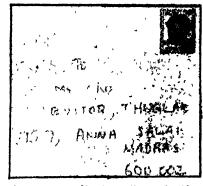
The killing continues although it has been officially banned by the North Cachar district council. But the district administration is not really keen to rob the Jaintias and Kacharis of their gastronomic delights.

Santanu Ghosh

Stamp of protest

Madras: Over a hundred stamps of Captain Subhas Saxena (who died in the aircrash with Sanjay Gandhi on 23 June) have been cancelled by the postal department all over the country, and letters bearing the stamp have been delivered to Cho Ramaswamy, editor of the satirical Madras fortnightly, Thuglak. Mr Cho Ramaswamy had printed a photograph of Captain Saxena in the form of a stamp in his magazine when he heard that the union government was thinking of bringing out a stamp to honour Sanjay Gandhi. "If a stamp can be issued for Sanjay Gandhi who had done nothing for the nation, there should be a stamp in honour of the co-victim of the aircrash Captain Saxena," wrote Cho. Since the government would not take such a step he was prepared to set right the injustice. He warned his readers that the stamp would have no legality. "Good things have no currency in Mrs Gandhi's government," he wrote.

When the magazine hit the stands, more than a hundred Thuglak readers more than a hundred Thuglak readers (circulation: one lakh) decided to have fun at the expense of the Post and Telegraph department. However, only a dogan nucceeded in having their letting delivered to the editor with the Spicing stamp cancelled. Cho told Sunday that he had raised the Saxons stamp issue not to create Saxena stamp issue not to create another controversy but to protest against the notions of mindless and



obsequious politicians. He said: "If at all a stamp has to be issued, it should have been issued to honour the men and women who suffered at the hands of Sanjay Gandhi. The Indian gov-ernement has decided to nationalise Sanjay Gandhi's liabilities (Maruti)
...why shouldn't Captain Saxena's
liabilities be nationalised?"

This is not the first time that Cho has indulged in a practical joke. When the time capsule was buried in New Delhi, Cho had his own capsule buried in Madras in the presence of hundreds of his readers. And when Mrs Gandhi, during the Janata regime, declared that there was no freedom of speech in the country, Cho advised his readers to send two paise to her as payment for the cheap loke.

Arthur Pais



Hope lies in a new leadership

By SURENDRA MOHAN

Y 1974, the game of defections in the Gujarat Assembly, the licensing scandal associated with L. N. Misra, and the exposures relating to the abuse of power for Maruti, had shaken popular confidence in the government. Then, the railwaymen's strike was brutally suppressed. Prices touched a new high. The credibility of the government, on the one hand, and of the system, on the other, was getting eroded. Within a year, the government had imposed the Emergency in an effort to shore up its fast dwindling influence and credibility. It was a direct attack by the legitimate upholders of the system on its legitimacy and viability. But the response of the system to these developments was, interestingly, to strengthen its credibility. The Emergency produced a broadbased democratic movement for the consolidation of the democratic opposition, and a viable alternative to the

then ruling party, was created.

The Emergency proved shortlived.
So did the consolidation of the democratic opposition. And now the trends of 1974-75 have started to reassert themselves even more rudely. The disillusionment of the people in the past eight months is even greater than what it was between 1972 and 1976.

Today, the price rise is steeper. Communal disturbances, strikes, incidents of atrocities on the weaker sections and women are widespread. Scandals about those in authority are more frequent and more repetitive. The infighting in the ruling party is even more intense. The attempts to curtail civil liberties have snowballed. The P. D. Acts and the National Secur ity Ordinance have strengthened the apprehension that the Emergency will be reimposed. And, now ruling party MPs and bigwigs like Jambuvant Rao Dhote have even begun canvassing for another Emergency.

However, the response of the system appears to be much slower now, even as the challenges have grown rapidly. In any case, there has been no people's movement like the Nav Nirman Samiti andolan, or the JP led agitation, or any consolidation of opposition forces. One explanation

could be that, earlier, the opposition had been cooperating with one another since 1966, and had formed coalition governments in several states. They had entered into a grand alliance for the 1971 elections and set up coordination committees for joint working inside legislatures and outside. In 1980, they could look back only to the bitter quarrels and splits of 1979 and 1980, which resulted in the formation of four Janatas by April. (And that process is not over as yet. In fact, the Communists have recently experienced their fourth split with the setting up of the Dange-led AICP.)

The mutual distrust among the politicians, and the mistrust of the people in them are the two factors inhibiting any form of consolidation. That is why the mass action launched to protest against criminal assaults on women petered out. Although a coordination committee of six opposition parties has been set up, it is yet to prove its effectiveness. Two of these parties are confined to certain districts, while the Congress (U) has no intention of staying in the group. But the total irrelevance of any exercise for political consolidation could be easily judged by the non-result of the meeting which Raj Narain wangled from Morarji Desai.

Is it to be concluded then that the system has lost its elasticity, and is in real danger of being submerged in an authoritarian avalanche? Or should we look at its responses in fields other

than purely political?

When, in early April, over a hundred intellectuals met in New Delhi to discuss an "Agenda for the 80's," the public and the press took no notice of that conclave at all. In contrast, a convention in Bombay on 21-22 April attended by 100 political leaders attracted large press coverage and wide public interest. The latter's impact, however, was so little that within a fortnight all those who had issued a strident call for unity had fallen out over seat adjustments in the Assembly elections. On the other hand the Agenda for India' meeting, in which a cautious hope was expressed that the issues raised there would be discussed in the rest of the country, did not trigger any such process either. This is being reconstructed and activated on a different footing. Again, the Coordination Committee for Strengthening Democracy, which consists of the Citizens for Democracy, Sarva Seva Sangh, Voluntary Action Cell, Voters Civil and Association of Voluntary

Agencies for Rural Development, is also trying to get active. But, all these initiatives, as also the numerous locally active people's committees inspired in 1977 by JP, have so far proved to be ineffectual (though it would be too early to pronounce a final judgment). The Assam agitation which had, like the Nav Nirman agitation in Gujarat in 1973-74, appeared to be a precursor of a would-be-national mass upsurge, is gradually steering to its end, having made its basic impact and achieved some concrete and positive results. But it has not been duplicated anywhere else. Nor has the anti-price-rise movement in Gujarat struck responsive chords elsewhere, though successsful bundhs have taken place in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra.

However, several local expressions of protest and dissent have proved that the people will not allow injustice to remain unchallenged. The popular mood is vigilant, even if not volatile. The potato struggle in Poona, the intense agitation in Nalgunda and Navalgunda in Karnataka, satyagrahas in Baghpat and Mandi Dabwali against criminal assaults on women, mass protests by the tribals in Singhbhum district aggravated by a totally unwarranted police firing in Gua, the 16-week-long strike of 15,000 employees in Modi Nagar; the ghastly develop-ments that shocked the CPI (M) government in Tripura; the little known but the most sustained revolt of the landless in Bodh Gaya for the liberation of vast lands owned by the mahant: all these unequivocally demonstrate that the people are very much in ferment.

But will this ferment throw up a new leadership? Or will it motivate leaders of various hues and disparate personalities to expediently close their ranks and even bring back those who have renounced party politics for good? To what extent would any of these scenarios lead to a viable national alternative? What will guarantee that the same fiasco as the Janata experiment will not be repeated?

It must not be forgotten that the above two alternative projections are also related to a generational gap. In the first case, it is the re-emergence of a "Leaders' Club" which brings the old guard back on to the stage. But the second projection belongs to the next generation, one which will have acquired new, more recent and more relevant experience. This group, generally, will not be encumbered with the prejudices of the past nor will it carry the spectre of a lost credibility. Some of the present leaders, like Mr Chandra Shekhar, will certainly remain relevant.

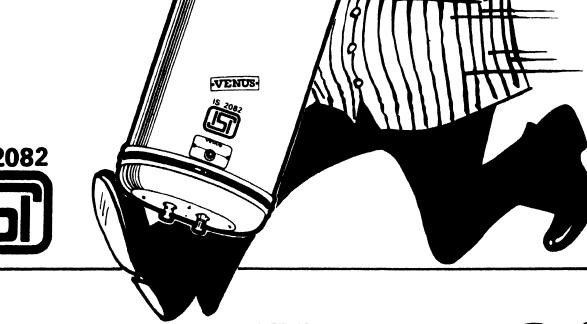
A coordination of these non-party efforts at local levels might not only provide a national movement, but also a political alternative. Such an alternative will be far removed from the bitter and angry politics of 1978-79 and the resulting frustrations which left thousands of political workers demoralised.

The author is general secretary of the

Jenute Party

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Politics is changing in the USA



OMETHING very important has happened in America in recent years people have changed their minds. Something

else may happen in the course of the next few years: people may change their politics. And so we hear talk once again of the fabled virus that periodically infects the political community: "realignment," a thought which more common folks say more simply: "It's the end of an era"

It is our view that because people have changed their minds, a political era characterised by a distinct political philosophy has indeed come to an end. We further believe that the philosophy in question—American liberalism—has rendered healthy, vigorious, and constructive service to the Republic; that its impact will continue to be felt, and that there will be no going back to yesteryear—but still, it is over. The centre of the political spectrum is moving; politicians will gain or keep power only insofar as they can appeal to that moving centre.

Moreover, this case holds almost regardless of who wins what in the next few years. The changed political climate, mind you, gives Republicans a chance for gains all over the political map; but what is most important for the nation is the change in direction, not the change in party Thus, the Democratic party can (and may well) change its direction and scrub its image clean in conformity with the vo-ters' current views and plausibly remain the dominant party; or it can not scrub and become the minority view in America: but it can't do both. For new conditions seek new solutions and new images. And politics in a democracy is the ultimate Darwinian activity: adapt or die.

There have been several political realignments in modern American history. McKinley beat Bryan in 1896 that election firmly established in the public mind that the Democrats were a somewhat radical party and that the Republicans were the party of stability and "the full dinner pail." For the next third of a century that partisan idea—Republican stability versus Democratic radicalism—hung on, lead-

RICHARD M. SCAMMON and BEN J. WATTENBERG describe what is happening

ing to Republican dominance in the Congress, the Presidency and the state houses.

In 1932, a new partisan perception began to take shape. Under the lash of the depression, Democrats took power under the leadership of Franklin Delano Roosevelt FDR worked one rich political vein. The Democratic party, he intimated, was the party of "the people," "the little guy" and "the common man." By contrast, the Republicans were the party of "economic royalists"—or, in later parlance, "fat cats," who felt at home in "corporate board rooms" and "country clubs"

Under the rubric of such imagery, Democrats have become powerful, wealthy and prominent for almost half a century. They have been electorally successful most of the time. More important, their ideology—liberalism—became the regnant received wisdom of the time. Liberalism both reflected changed opinions in America and helped to change opinions in America.

So, three criteria seem to be involved in a major political realignment. Partisan perceptions change; politics change; and opinions change.

Are these criteria satisfied in the present instance? The trend may or may not be confirmable later, but for now we believe that for the first time in recent years it is proper to consider the possibility: one can look at substantial evidence and say, "This has all the earmarks; it may turn out to be an ear."

Consider first the evidence of changing opinions. As always, there is some countervailing evidence, but one is nevertheless struck by the powerful themes of change that emerge. Like it or not, almost all of the changes are in general concert with recent perceived Republican doctrine—not perceived Democratic doctrine.

What is the current Republican doctrine? In shorthand, try this: Eco-

nomic stagnation and inflation are the real problems. Their major cause is big taxation which feeds big government, in any vent, is not doing well what it is supposed to do and is, moreover, making it difficult for private enterprise to do well what it is supposed to do. Furthermore, the government has been taken over by highminded elitists who have lost touch with everyday concerns of everyday citizens. Meanwhile, America has grown militarily weak and is being pushed around all over the world. The Democrats, say the Republicans, have betrayed their "little guy" constituency. Those are important political thoughts, and have not been mainstream liberal Democratic views (at least until recently).

Against that backdrop, consider a few selected poll results: Between 1959 and 1978, the percentage of Americans who thought that "big government" was the major cause of inflation went from 14% to 51%. (By 1978, 76% of Americans thought that "Washington had become too powerful.") Or consider the changing views about defense spending: In 1971, 11% said they were favourable towards increased defense spending; 49% were unfavorable. By 1979 (before Iran), 60% were favourable, while 9% were unfavourable

There are few analysts these days who would deny what the general run of numbers tends to point up. inflation has become the nation's number one concern, the bloom is off the rose for the idea of further governmental activism, the public is substantially more hawkish than it was a few years ago.

These changes in opinion can be detected among the public, the Congress, and the "experts" We've changed our minds, and in the process have established themes that may be enough to kick off a new political era.

Beyond attitude, opinion and ideology, there is at least some evidence to suggest that attitudinal changes have already begun to yield election results. In 1978, five liberal Democratic senators lost their seats. Now, for the second straight election, it is mostly liberals in the senate who are said to be "in trouble" And the not-soliberals among the Democrats are not-

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generation ahead

so-in-trouble.

But the richest vein of speculation, of course, revolves around the Prest idential race of 1980: Carter vs. Reagan vs. Anderson. Of course, we do not know who will win, but one overwhelming fact is apparent, at least for now: Ronald Reagan, seen earlier this year as "the weakest possible Republican nominee," is at least even with the incumbent president of the majority

Two of the big reasons for this situation tend to shed some light on the idea of political realignment. First, Reagan is not Goldwater-because we've already had a Goldwater. In the years since Goldwater, a large part of the Republican conservative establishment has moved toward the centre. And that, it must be noted, is a leftward move. Reagan, and other conservative Republicans, have seen the swamp of right-wing politics. They followed Barry Goldwater there. The bleached bones of losers still decay there. They are not going back. That means they can win.

Second: It is said that Carter is in serious political trouble because he is seen as inept, incompetent, indecisive. But. Why? In part, because he presides over a split party. There is wing A-new politics liberal. And there is wing B- old fashioned liberal. And there is wing C-conservative. As a party it does not know its own mind. It was thought, until recently, that the contemporary split in the Democratic party was caused by Vietnam and re-mained focused on foreign and defense policy. Not so That is only part of the split The other part concerns domestic affairs. Today, the domestic split may be as important as the foreign, with wings B and C rejecting many of the wing A nostrums.

For an old and simple political truth is becoming more apparent with every passing day: a humane welfare state cannot be funded without a vigorous private sector. If the private sector is leached, it may take some vears to refertilize it. During that time, the public welfare sector must perforce go on somewhat shorter rations. That is harsh truth—but a truth nonetheless. It is not, however, a truth that is easily accepted by wing A of the Democratic party. After all, a goodly portion of wing A has come to earn its livelihood by providing government services, receiving government services or promoting government services that can make it difficult for the private sector to operate.

Who are the constituent groups that make up wing A? Try for starters: pro-solar, antinuclear environmental-15ts, government workers on Federal, state and local levels, the disadvantaged, minorities, grantsmen, consultants, feminists, consumerists. But wing B of the Democratic party is leery of the environmentalist's rape of energy production; they support moderate use of nuclear power. They support substantial increases in military spending. They are prepared to amend the tax code to provide further incen-CODVIDIN 1980 Disherd M. Scemmon and Ren. I. Wettenham. Reprinted by nermission

tives for business. They are prepared to cut the rise in domestic welfare spending albeit humanely. (Entitlement programmes are still popular-at least to those entitled.) Wing C is the same, only more so.

Among rank-and-file Democrats and Democrats in Congress the wing B and wing C views are more popular than wing A. So now Carter, originally captured by wing A shock troops, desperately seeks to slip away from their minoritarian death grip. Like Reagan, he is moving to the centre. As he does, wing A folks say, with some merit, that he is a "Reagan clone."

Given the split personality of his party, it is small wonder people would get the impression that Carter can't make up his mind, and that he is mept, as he is tugged this way and that by the feelings of the electorate on the one hand, and by such wing A pressures as the Democratic convention on the other

Meanwhile, some of the wing A left flakes off toward Anderson. Some of the wing B centrists go to Reagan, and even more of the wing C folks do likewise. Such a split Democratic party is a weakened party, adding to the possibility of realigning activity—just as a centre-trending Republican right is also a positive factor toward realignment.

But a political realignment, should it come, and should it be a big, bouncing, healthy realignment, needs more than the "evidence" of opinion and of politics that it may happen, as laid out above A political realignment of Rooseveltian magnitude also seems to need a big bouncing change in partisan perception.

The big idea of FDR's New Deal was clear enough: "We are the party of the people." Simple idea, not entirely accurate, but fecund with political potential. Is there such a new, big idea on the Republican side this time around?

There is indeed. It is this: "We are the party of the people!" Like its predecessor, it is a big, bouncing, rich idea fecund with potential—and not entirely accurate

See how it works: Economics, like politics, is at least partly symbolic. The proponents of Republican supply-side economics know that. Get America moving again, they say, reminiscent of earlier Democratic party rhetoric. Tax cuts are offered, say Kemp-Rothniks, not to help fat-cats but because high taxes are strangling middle-class people and because America needs to provide incentives to make capital work again so that all those blue-collar workers can get jobs. Hyperregulation, too, strangles productivity, say the supply-siders. To square the circle, supply-siders say that only if we get America moving again can the welfare state be funded without continuing inflation.

These supply-side economics are, if you will, growth economics. As such they are far removed from one strand of wing A Democratic economics that at times seemed to influence some

aspects of the early Carter presidency. Conservation without production in-centives in the energy field, a smattering of ideological no-growth, slow-growth and era-of-limits, a dose of acti-nuclear environmental purity and an early shot of hyper-regulation.

Having allowed growth economics to be stolen by the Republicans, the Democrats are now in the ironic position of saying "me too" to an economic philosophy (growth) that was once their own meal ticket. The Carter plan for "reindustrialization" represents supply-side catchup ball, an effort to prevent Reagan from capturing the idea of the "party of the little guy." The Democrats have by no means surrendered that phrase. They are, in fact, working hard to re-establish their parenthood of it. That's what this election is about.

All this should not be construed to suggest that Ronald Reagan, or the Republicans, or a new era of politics, have a clear unfettered path ahead. There are problems. For one thing, if the Democrats had temporarily lost touch with America on one or two important sets of ideas and attitudes (defense and economics), let it not be forgotten that Republicans these days tread on thin ice on another constellation of issues. Some years ago we grouped these issues together under the phrase "the social issue." If Democrats have become identified with too much cultural permissiveness, Republicans, in their defense of "traditional values" may be in danger of going overboard in enforcing such values. Most Americans seem to be willing to live and let live.

A Republican platform that takes no position on era is not a big loser. But a platform that endorses a Constitutional amendment prohibiting someone else from having an abortion may be another matter. Americans are promorality, but millions of moderate voters can be put off if the Reagan campaign is seen to be overly identified with self-proclaimed moralists who can be seen to be, perhaps unfairly, seeking to impose their morality on others. The Republican party, having brought its traditional conservatives to the moderate mainstream of economics and politics, can risk the whole catch of heading off into the shallow, rocky eddies of rightwing social issues. Just as the McGovern majority of a few years ago was nothing like a political majority. Neither is it the moral majority of today. There is some reason to believe the Republicans understand this.

Will it all happen? Will political dominance shift? It is possible. But more important, both parties agreein the broadest of strokes—on what has to be done for America Under either party, we will be a militarily stronger nation, and we will provide more incentives for economic growth. A new parade has formed. It is already marching down Main Street. Which party will seize the moment, capture the image, and lead the parade?

That is what we will find out soon.

ide

(If arrested under the National Security Ordinance)

By A. G. NOORANI

HE National Security Ordinance (NASO), promulgated on 23 September, is an assault on the liberties of the citizen. It gives the State undefensible powers of imprisonment without trial, which is bad enough on principle. Worse, the powers have been acquired by a government whose authoritarian traits are well known. This attack must be met unitedly by the people, regardless of political differences and in the spirit of Solon's famous advice: "Those who are uninjured by an arbitrary act must be taught to feel as much indignation at it as those who are injured." The Bar, in particular, must regard it a duty to pool its labours and talent to fight for the detenu's rights

The following is a modest guide for a detenu; of course,

it can be vastly improved

The Detention Order Insist immediately on a copy. The order must first be served on the detenu. S 4 requires it to be "executed... in the manner provided for the execution of warrants of arrest under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973." S.75 of the Code makes it obligatory for the serving officer to notify the substance of the warrant and "If so

required, shall show him the warrant?

Note carefully under which of the heads listed in S.3 has the order been made: "Acting in a manner prejudicial" to—(1) the defence of India (11) the relations of India with foreign powers (iii) security of India (iv) security of the state (v) maintenance of public order (vi) maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community These expressions have received precise meanings in decided cases For example, on 11 September the Gujarat High Court said that participating in legitimate political activities, including launching an anti-price rise agitation in a peaceful manner, cannot be the basis for detention.

 Ratification An order under the first three heads in S.3 can be made only by the central or state governments, an order under the other three can be made even by a district magistrate or commissioner of police if they received the requisite authority from the state government. Since this will be the more common mode of detention, two things must be noted: (a) The state government must confirm the order within 12 days after receiving the officer's report containing the grounds on which the order has been made. If the officer has communicated the grounds to the detenu, the government must confirm the order within 15 days. (b) The central government must receive a report from the state government within seven days of the order.

• Grounds of Detention: Within not later than five, and in

exceptional circumstances ten, days of the detention the detaining authority must (a) communicate to the detenu "the grounds on which the order has been made" and (b) afford him the earliest opportunity of making a representation against the order to the Government (S.8(1)). The government is bound to consider the representation before referring it to the Advisory Board. Defects in the grounds

are fairly common and have helped to secure the liberty (many a detenu. Three decades of preventive detention have created a whole jurisprudence of relief again: repression.

(a) First and foremost, the grounds must contain "all th basic facts and materials" before the detaining authorit;

Nothing material must be excluded.

(b) The grounds must not be vague but specific enoug to enable the detenu to make a representation.

(c) If a single ground is defective, the order is bad. Th same applies if material not disclosed but on which th authority acted turns out to be irrelevant or extraneou

under the law.

Allied to this aspect are the grounds on which detentio can be challenged by a writ petition before the High Cour or Supreme Court. The Supreme Court's summary is quote in extenso: "The basic postulate on which the courts hav proceeded is that the subjective satisfacion being a cond tion precedent for the exercise of the power conferred o the executive, the court can always examine whether th requisite satisfaction is arrived at by the authority, if it i not, the condition precedent to the exercise of the power would not be fulfilled and the exercise of the power woul be bad. There are several grounds evolved by judicis decisions for saying that no subjective satisfaction i arrived at by the authority as required under the statute The simplest case is where the authority had not applied it mind at all. In such a case the authority could not possibl be satisfied as regards the fact in respect of which it i required to be satisfied. Then there may be a case wher the power is exercised dishonestly or for an imprope purpose, such a case would also negative the existence of satisfaction on the part of the authority. The existence c 'improper purpose', that is, a purpose not contemplated b the statute, has been recognised as an independent grounof control in several decided cases. The satisfaction moreover, must be a satisfaction of the authority itself, and therefore, if, in exercising the power the authority ha acted under the dictation of another body...the exercise o the power would be bad and so also would the exercise of the power be vitiated where the authority had disable itself from applying its mind to the facts of each individua case by self-created rules of policy or in any other manner. The satisfaction said to have been arrived at by the authority would also be bad where it is based on the application of a wrong test or the misconstruction of statute. Where this happens, the satisfaction of the author ity would not be in respect of the thing in regard to which i is required to be satisfied. Then again the satisfaction mus be grounded 'on materials which are of rationally probative value.' The grounds on which the satisfaction is based mus be such as a rational human being can consider connectes with the fact in respect of which the satisfaction is to be reached. They must be relevant to the subject matter of the



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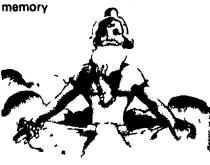


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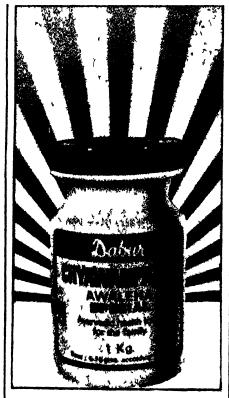
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inquiry and must not be extraneous to the scope and purpose of the statute. If the authority has taken into account, it may even be with the best of intention, as a relevant factor something which it could not properly take into account in deciding whether or not to exercise the power or the manner or extent to which it should be exercised, the exercise of the power would be bad."

The past record of the detenu cited in the grounds for detention cannot belong to the remote past. The order will be set aside if the government has been so unreasonable that no reasonable authority could ever have done such a thing.

The power of the court to interfere in such a case is not as an appellate authority to override a decision taken by the statutory authority, but as a judicial authority, which is concerned, and concerned only, to see whether the statutory authority has contravened the law by acting in excess of the power which the legislature has confided in it. In one case a single solitary act of wagon breaking was relied upon by the district magistrate to detain him. The Supreme Court pointed out that, subject to certain reservations, it was difficult to see how "one solitary isolated act of wagon breaking committed by the petitioner could possibly persuade any reasonable person to reach the satisfaction that unless the petitioner was detained he would in all probability indulge in further acts of wagon breaking."

ity indulge in further acts of wagon breaking."

The Bombay High Court has pointed out that "once a prima facie case is made out by the petitioner then respondent (the State) is obliged to place the relevant material before the court. If a prima facie case is made out indicating that the said satisfaction is not founded on any material or order issued is not in conformity with the mandatory provisions of the Act then burden cannot be discharged by the detaining authority by merely filing an affidavit denying everything. The detaining authority owes a duty to the detenu as well as to the court." As the Supreme Court puts it, "there is nothing like unfettered discretion immune from judicial reviewability."

• The Advisory Board: Within three weeks of the detention the appropriate government must place before an Advisory Board constituted under S.9 the grounds of detention, the detenu's representation and the officer's report if the detention was ordered by him (S 10). The Advisory Board must hear the detenu in person if he so desires. Its report must be submitted within seven weeks of the detention. Legal representation before the Board is not allowed. (S.11).

The detenu can file a habeas corpus petition theoretically immediately on detention and advisedly after he gets the grounds. He need not want till the Board takes a decision. Moreover, he can file it even after the Board's adverse decision. Many a petition has exposed the farcical character of a Board's proceedings.

• Under S.5 the detaining government is entitled to appoint "such place (of detention) and under such conditions, including conditions as to maintenance, discipline" etc as it pleases.

(a) The detenu must challenge his being lodged in a jail at all. Imprisonment is listed as one of forms of punishment under S.53 of the Penal Code. Imprisonment without trial is unconstitutional (Art.21).

(b) The conditions of discipline must not be punitive. The Supreme Court has ruled, "It must be emphasized that a detenu is not a convict... the power to detain is not a power to punish for offences which an executive authority in his subjective satisfaction believes a citizen to have committed. Power to detain is primarily intended to be exercised in those rare cases when the larger interests of the state demand that restrictions shall be placed upon the liberty of a citizen curbing his future activities. The restrictions so placed must, consistently with the effectiveness of detention, be minimal."

The Supreme Court has ruled that a detenu can send the manuscript of a book on a subject of scientific interest out of jail for publication. Mr Justice Tarkunde ruled, when he was judge of Bombay High Court, that a detenu can obtain at his own cost a newspaper, magazine or book which is available to the public. The Kerala High Court upheld the detenu's right to have a transistor radio in jail.

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THE WORLD

Prisoners revolt in Bangladesh



President Ziaur Rahman

I wo angry prison protests, one resulting in the death of 34 prisoners, have shaken Bangladesh's President Ziaur Rahman and set off a wave of public indignation in the country The government attempted to explain away the incidents as simply 'clashes" but the ten party opposition alliance was able to call a bandhin protest, and on 28 October it sent an "ulti matum to the government to accept the demands of prison ers in various jails. On 9 Octo ber inmates of the Mymens ingh district jail had gone on 'strike" before surrender ing unconditionally after nine days On 12 October, prison ers of the Khulna district jail seized control of the jail, hold ing hostage 24 jail wardens and officials, including a de puty jailor Their demandsall of which were dismissed by authorities as "absurd"— included transfer of all prison officials, improved living conditions, speeding up trial pro cedures, and permission to live with their spouses once a month Ten days of talks and promises later (the deputy home minister, Prof Abdus Salam, promised to look into their problems), an armed police squad broke in, leaving 34 prisoners dead and 114 policemen injured These figures, of course, are official. Not surprisingly, a govern-ment press note ascribed the casualties to a clash between rival groups of prisoners.

Price of democracy

The Americans still re main the world's biggest spenders—be it defence, tourism or elections Witness the milions of dollars that have already been spent on conducting the democratic process in the current election year Experts have estimated the amount spent at \$800 million, in itself a record A lot of

this money has gone to television. President Carter and challenger Ronald Reagan have depended heavily on TV advertising, and the cost for 30 seconds at prime viewing time is \$ 4,000 By the time the elections take place, the two will have spent \$ 31 million just for putting up "the best guy image" on TV

Traitor or patriot?

Heads turned, and cheers rent the air at the UNESCO conference in Belgrade when an Afghan delegate told the Commission on Culture and Communication on 25 Octo ber that the Soviet Union was "violating human rights and carrying on suppression and persecution" by its "occupation and domination" of his country The Afghan government promptly annulled the powers of Mr Akhtar Moham med Paktiawal (45) because he had "betrayed his mother

land, renouriced Afghan citizenship and asked for political asylum in a foreign state," though Mr Paktiawal himself denied this later In a message to the UNESCO director general and chair man of the conference, Mr Ivo Morgan, the Afghan government demanded that Mr Paktiawal's embartassing words be deleted from the minutes of the meeting Mr Morgan refused Mr Paktiawal has announced his intention to keep fighting



Longest journey in smallest boat

An adventurous American who made a valuant, and suc cessful, attempt to circum navigate the world alone, sur prised customs officials on 27 October at Cairns, about two kms from Sydney, when he got off his 5.4 metre-long boat and came ashore to report that he had just arrived from America and wanted harbour clearance. Mr Webb Chiles (38), in fact, had completed an odyssey—a² two-year

13,685 km long Pacific cros sing in the smallest boat ever to make the voyage Mr Chiles set sail from California on 12 November 1978 He broke his voyage several times in the Pacific to avoid cyclones, was wrecked on the way to an island in Vanatu, and half submerged at another place near Papua New Guinea His boat is so small, he had to sit on the floor and steer by hand.

Israeli Phantoms in Iran-Iraq war?

Something interesting in the early days of the latest Gulf war On 30 September, two Phantom jets, on their way back after bombing a Baghdad power station, struck at an Iraqi nuclear in stallation at Osirak, narrowly missing the reactor This is where Iraq is suspected of trying to build a nuclear arms capability Built by the French, who are Iraq's second largest oil customers, this installation was estimated to have the capacity to provide Iraq with some rudimentary had of nuclear arsenal by 1985 What was most in teresting about the failed attack on Osirak was that Iran denied having sent its Phantoms to raid the installation So where did the Phantoms come from? The obvious suspect Israel It is possible that Israel could have used the excellent camouflage of the Iran Iraq conflict to try and destroy the reactor which is its major source of worry It is now almost certain that Israel has been helping Iran with the ammunition and spare parts which have kept the Iranian air force flying during the war despite the lack of US

Israeli PM Begin predictably denied the charge that his nation's Phantoms had surreptitiously entered the war, though Iraq is convinced about Israel's role. The annexe of the complex did suffer damage in the air raid, and sources in Paris say that this raid could have put back progress substantially.

Briefly

Save India, South Korea

A survey by a team of American globe watchers predicts that Asia will see better days—at least as far as economic progress is concerned. One forecast for the eighties says that most Asian countries will witness a growth rate of 6% to 10%, a rate which most western industrialised countries will not match. The catch India and South Korea are two Asian countries not expected to keep with their Asian sisters.



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LIVING

A flight of dragons

Bruce Lee's successor, Bruce Li (Sunday, 15 June), flew into Bombay recently with a few exotic characters straight out of the land of the mythical Dragon. There was a Miss Cherry Chung—a Miss Hong Kong; Joe Nazario—the cur-rent Mr America; and two mysterious characters—Ka Sa Fa and Johnny Shene. The troupe had been hired by producer Hingorani for a few sequences of his Kaatilon ka Katil (a Dharmendra-Zeenat starrer). The highlight of the troupe's visit, reports Ashish Rajadhyaksha, was the theft of Mr America's bags and baggage on the British Airways flight from Hong Kong to Bombay.



Crime in its prime

Perhaps for the first time in criminology, a detenu was subjected to third degree in order to "unconfess" his guilt. This followed the murder of four women, two at a time, in the quiet Goan village of Tivim. The police promptly nabbed a man called Madhu, who has quite a criminal record as a thief. Madhu promptly confessed; he even gave the police copious details of the modus operandi. But soon the police realised that Madhu, in fact, was innocent. And so he was beaten black and blue to "unconfess" the heinous crime of having told a he.

Old Vic, new love



Victor Banerjee's foremost love was theatre. Then Victor (whose real name is Partha Sarathi) graduated to Ray's Shatranj. Now he has turned his attention to his second love: art. On February this year, he opened his Calcutta Art Gallery with an exhibition of contemporary paintings. The gallery, which is located in the annexe of his residence, has been launched by him with the aim of encouraging lesser known contemporary artists. According to Snigdha Goswami, the paintings so far shown at the gallery have been chosen by Baneriee personally. The number has varied, their price-tags have astronomical figures. But Baneriee insists that his gallery is not a commercial racket, he has plans to provide scholarships to young and effithusiastic artists from Bangal.

Desmond da Costa ko gussa kyoon ata hai

Student activists in Goa, led by Desmond da Costa, a postgraduate student of commerce, and Dr Sar Desai, an ex-UNESCO expert in entomology, have adopted a novel method of protest against the "Marks scandal." It is alleged that a certain Miss M. C. Sardinha, the niece of Goa's scandal-prone education minister, Caetano Sardinha, had scored 49 out of 100 in physics and 57 out of 100 in chemistry in the Higher Secondary examinations. But the Board allegedly raised her marks to 77 and 75 respectively, enabling her to gain admission to the much-sought-after MBBS course. The story found its way into the local press and hell broke loose. Now Desmond da Costa is putting up "road plays" in which the whole scandal is

enacted by amateur actors. The story of Miss Sardinha and "Uncle Francisco" has been drawing huge crowds. Desmond da Costa's troupertravels by bus and often, foots it to distant towns and villages. The effect of this, reports Mario Cabral e Sa, has, been much more incisive than all the harangue by opposition politicians and crusading journalists.

Prosperity

Punjab is a prosperous state. But 1784 primary, 70 middle and 41 high schools in Punjab have no chairs for teachers. As many as 7119 primary, 629 middle and 434 high schools have no blackboards. Drinking water is not available in 2653 primary, 82 middle and 21 high schools. Urinals do not exist in 8746 primary, 570 middle and 190 high schools. 1784 primary and 74 middle schools have no classrooms.

A stage of betrothal

不能可以此一个不可以 你 你是一个我们有 我们在这样的感

Pal Chand Sharma is the director of a Ram Lila company in Chandigarh And for the last five years he has faithfully played the part of Lakshman in his plays. But recently, Pal switched roles with the actor who had been playing the part of Ram. Reason? He wanted to marry Sita. And it was to be a reallife marriage on the stage. The actress who had been playing Sita was replaced by

Pal's bride, Sunita Sharma. And this is how Pal and Sunita got married: the bride, playing Sita, sat on the stage and many suitors tried, in vain, to lift Parasuram's dhanush. Eventually, it was the groom, playing Ram, who not only lifted the dhanush but, also broke it in two. Having thus staked his claim on Sita, Ram married her, much to the delight of the spectators who were also the baratis.

(Dis)order of the bath

On 2 October this year, when the country was paying homage to Mahatma Gandhi on his 111th birth anniversary, about 300 men and women attempted a daru-snan (liquor-bath) of the Mahatma's statue in Lucknow. It was a strange mode of protest from the Desh Bhakta Morcha against the lifting of prohibition in the state. According to Olilip K. Awasthi, the demonstrators closed in on the



Mahatma's statue in the GPO park, armed with country liquor. The police intervened and the demonstrators were dispersed. But one desperate agitator managed to give the cops the slip. He was, however, spotled soon—very near the statue, ready to let fly a bottle of country liquor. The cops went for him; he swung the bottle at the statue. The missile fell inches short of the Mahatma



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AAA BAAA

MOST of the predictions about her have to be withdrawn. The girl simply manages to prove that she is the true exception to every (subsequently broken) rule. I am talking of Parveen Babi, who has now managed to successfully re-enter films for the third time. For all the indignation of the producers who had vowed never to take her back into their films after she ditched them, back she is. at work and in conferences with earnest filmmakers offering her the choicest setups. Some of the offers costar her with Bachchan. Actually, Parveen Babi has





Parveen Babi: Lucky produgal



always proved lucky to the people she has associated with. Her door, which was mysteriously closed to callers, is now admitting a continuous flow of producers waiting to sign her up. After all the men in the trade will take anything that has the adjective 'lucky' attached to

FILMI divorces are getting to be comical affairs, like the funny anti-climactic endings in films. Look what it did for Dimple. Rajesh is falling over himself, and bending over backwards, to please his would-have-been ex-wife. She has just to snap her fingers and hubby-ji runs to humour her. Does it mean he'll let her do another film, since that has been her greatest wish since she married him? He might even say yes now, con-sidering how desperate he is to retain his wife.

UESS who was raving ab-Jout the absolutely flawless, stunning figure of newcomer model Arti Gupta? None other than Rekha, who has always been a true admirer of beautiful women. As she had once revealed, she has had this beauty complex ever since she was born-with a dark complexion and podgy figure. Rekha is not naturally beautiful, she herself keeps. on insisting, and she has slogged over the years with a mirror and make-up. So if Rekha says so, then Arti Gupta must be the greatest beauty to hit the screen in recent times. Of all the features, the fact that Arti's eyelashes are so naturally long and curly that she has to keep trimming them to get them out of her

evesight, has tickled Rekha because she herself has hardly any eyelashes at all, and that is her chief moan: she has to enlarge her tiny eyes and put on false eyelashes.

O CYCLONE, earthquake Nor tornado was reported from the sets of Zamana, the Rajesh Khanna-Rishi Kapoor film, though everyone is expecting some stormy weather to disturb proceedings any moment. It's almost like watching two hungry tigers in a cage about to tear up each other Here, instead of snarls and growls, there is a lot of official smiling and bowing but the venom cannot be hidden. Discount the fact that each one tries to come later than the other, so as to avoid being made to wait and thus made to look inferior to the other.

OOTMAAR has finally L been released. It also held a ritual premiere party. The suave, charming Lootmaarmaker Dev Anand was present at the lacklustre event But Dev's personal charm and magnetism was enough to raise a couple of cheers from the crowd.

Hits of the week ending 1 November

- 1. Qurbani
- Apne Paraye
- Pyaara Dushman Karz
- Thodisi Bewafaar
- Sau din saas ke
- Neeyat
- 8. Jyoti bane jwala 9. Dostana



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KHAAS BAAT

NAMBITIOUS An Ambi 11003 Malayalam filmmaker is going around with a script called Romeo and Juliet. If his film materialises, and cen sors pass it, one wouldn't be surprised if it's invited to a dirty film festival in Copenhagen. The film is supposed to star Deepa and Premila. If one goes through the scenes of rape and fornication in the script, one cannot help wondering if the female artists have really agreed to act. One can only pity Deepa and Premila: the latter was hard up for roles, but Deepa?... One of the highlights of the script is a rape scene: soon after the rape is over, the heroine will remove her bra, and as the camera closes on her thighs, she'll wipe some blood off her thighs and stare at the camera defiantly Many more "hot" scenes, some of them requiring the heromes to be totally nude, follow

FYOU want to hear the Kannappan Salai in Madras is the place. Prema, the presiding deity and mother of actress Shoba keeps her listeners busy for hours: journalists, policemen, filmfolks are heartily welcome to her gos-sip den. That Balu Mahendra wasn't a paragon of virtue isn't doubted, but is he the kind of villain Prema makes him out to be? Ironically, Prema doesn't realise that much of the gossip she circulates about Balu reflects on her Did Prema spread the story that Balu had got Shoba to act in a blue film? This blue film (if it existed at all) seems to have performed a vanishing trick. Does she know that there's a rumour that it was Prema who acted in a blue film? This too is probably a baseless rumour, but then Preme ought to know that people living in glass houses should think twice before throwing stones. Prema's innumerable alleged flings are

Hits of the week ending 1 November: 1. Oru Telai Raagam

- 2. Sujethe
- 3. Matravai Neril
- 4 Vandichekram
- 5, Johany

being openly discussed, specially her relationship with a 26-year-old youth who's also a failed film producer.

Tr'S a lean season for Rajnikant. His latest film Ellam unn kairasi has turned out to be a damp squib at the box office. His fourth flop in a row, the film may be the last Tamil venture starring Seema who could never make it big in Tamil Cinema. Rajni's then there's a quickie to be directed by B.R. Chopra.

FOLLOWING the success of Chamaram, Zarina Wahab's fourth film in Malayalam, she has been signed for three more films: one of them stars Prem Nazir as her hero. Soon she may do a film in Sri Lanka with Pratap Pothen cast opposite has lucky that Chamaram was released around the, same time as Swath. The lat-

ter, directed by Nair, turned out to be an all time flop.

MADHAVI, the popular star from Andhra has been signed to play a role opposite Vinod Mehra in Ekthi ladki. In the original, Sridevi was the heroine, but producers dare not repeat her in a Hindi film after the dismal failure of her Solwa Sawan.

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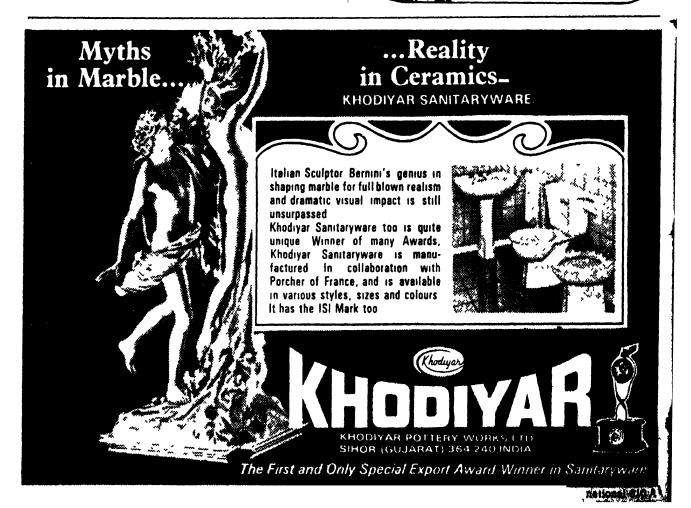
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ARIES/DPC 172



Beginning 9 November

This week the Sun and Mercury are in Libra, Mars, Uranus and Neptune are in Scorpio Ketu alone is in Capricorn, Rahu alone is in Cancer, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn are conjoined in Virgo. The Moon will be moving through Sagritarius. Capricorn and Scorpio



ARIES (21 March—20 April) Most of your financial problems will be solved this week Your home front will be lively

and pleasant despite illness of an elderly family member. You will get the opportunity to meet old friends towards the end of the week. Do not be careless in matters related to your business or profession. You are further advised to meet delays in your work with patience. Look after your health food dates. 11. 13. and 15. Lucky numbers: 1. 9 and 10. Favourable direction: North.



TAURUS (21 April—22 May) This is a tension charged week for you Be prepared to face adverse conditions. Notice the conditions of the condi

conditions Neither your professional nor your domestic front will be calm and peaceful Your ser vants or subordinates might betray you Your old deeds and debts will cause anxiety to you You are advised to stay clear of love and matrimonial matters. Do not stand guarantor to others. Watch your finances. A short journey may be the answer to your problems. Good dates. 10, 12 and 13 Lucky numbers. 5 9 and 10 Favourable direction: South



GEMINI (23 May—21 June) You will not gain much this week However, the prospects for the future are bright, thanks to your

current endeavours Letters will bring good news Romance is well signified. You will benefit through friends and relatives A sudden change of place or profession is also signified. You are advised not to go in for new debts and legal suits. Rely on your intuitions and do not delay decisions. Good dates: 12, 14 and 15. Lucky numbers: 1, 3 and 9. Favourable directions: South and West.



CANCER (22 June—22 July) Most of your domestic problems will be solved this week Parties and entertainment are in

store for you This is a good time for speculative ventures, gambling and sport. But you will be under a to of physical strain. Keep an eye on your purse. Avoid questionable friendship and romance. Do not be dismayed if results are not commensurate with your efforts Good dates: 11, 12 and 14. Lucky numbers: 3, 4 and 8. Fatography direction: South.



LEO (23 July—22 August)
This week is good for planning new ventures You will be blessed with a congenial atmosphere at

home A distant relative will send you good news Your financial condition will make steady progress Debts will be cleared Businessmen are likely to reap good profits You are advised not to neglect your responsibilities You can afford to take bold decisions regarding professional matters Good dates 11 13 and 15 Lucky numbers 1 9 and 10 Favourable directions: East and North



VIRGO (23 August—22 September) You will be faced with quite a few problems in the beginning of this week House

of this week However the last three days of the week are well signified. Your home front will be calm and a source of happiness to you. If in a spot of trouble your old friends will come to your rescue. The time is good for love and matrimonial affairs. Professional people are likely to get transferred. You are advised to guard against deceit. Good dates. 9. 11 and 12. Lucky numbers: 1. 7 and 9. Favourable direction: East.



LIBRA (23 September—22 October) This is not a good week for speculation, sports and gambling An unexpected journey

may be to the benefit of businessmen and professionals Virgin girls are likely to find suitable partners. Relatives and friends will prove exceptionally helpful to you. You are advised to be circumspect and exercise caution in matters related to your finances. Do not be hasty in taking decisions especially in matrimonial matters. Good dates: 10, 11 and 13 Lucky numbers. 2. 4 and 7. Favourable direction.



SCORPIO (23 October—21 November) You will be very restless this week Work may be heavy and cause both physical and

mental strain. But those in business or trade will find a slackness in their work. The time is good for servicemen who might win promotions. You are advised to guard against overoptimism. Take advantage of all the opportunities that come your way. Good dates: 11, 14 and 15 Lucky numbers: 5, 7 and 10 Favourable direction: North-itest.



SAGITTARIUS (22 November—22 December) Despite being cautious, swift and serious in your actions, you will suffer from

an acute shortage of funds this week Some might have to go in for new loans. The weekend, however, may bring some financial relief. Study the letters you have received in the last two weeks very closely. Some of them might provide you with a solution to your financial problems. Elders, particularly relatives, prove helpful to you food dates: 10 12 and 15 Lucky numbers: 4 6 and 8 Favourable direction: West



CAPRICORN (23 December—20 January) Errors of judgement will lead to critical circumstances this week At the same time

you may get into a dispute with a person who otherwise would have been of great help to you You are advised to keep your cool and be rational while taking decisions. Also, be very cautious in your dealings with people and avoid getting into controversies Good dates. 11, 12 and 14. Lucky numbers: 2, 4 and 6 Favourable direction. North-west



AQUARIUS (21 January— 19 February) This is a good week for businessmen For others mixed influences will operate

Womenfolk will go in for purchases. There is a likelihood of deception. Be careful of those who pretend to be your friends. You are advised to check your emotions and not let your heart override prudence and common sense. Look after your health. Good dates: 10. 11 and 13. Lucky numbers: 4, 7 and 9. Favourable direction: South



PISCES (20 February—20 March) This week promises increased finances Your affairs progress well with a few beneficial

changes Your health will improve Inheritance is also signified Courtship, marriage and investments are best deferred Children and intellectuals will prove helpful to you You are advised not to get into disputes with elders or those in authority Push your affairs to the utmost Good dates: 10 12 and 14 Lucky numbers 2 6 and 9 Favourable direction. South-east

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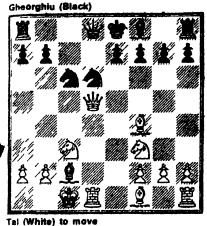


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chess



Game of the month

When genius of attack Mikhail Tal is playing at his best there is little one can say His moves speak for themselves. Sometimes of course they may be rather difficult to under stand, so for today I shall simply try to play the role of translator and give slightly deeper notes than usual

White M Tal Black F Gheorghiu Riga 1979 Sicilian Defence 1 P.K4, P.—QB4, 2. N.—KB3, P.—Q3, 3 P Q4 N—KB3 An interesting moment Almost universally played here is 3 PxP 4 NxP N—KB3 5 N—QB3 when Black can choose from a variety of systems in all of which Gheorghiu is an acknow N-KB37 ledged expert so why 3 Clearly Gheorghiu was afraid of 3

4 QxP followed by P-QB4 and the aim of 4 QxP followed by P—QB4 and the aim of 3 N—KB3 is to reach the main line positions after 4 N—QB3 PxP 5 NxP without allowing White the alternative set-ip Sensing Gheorphius insecurity or inknown ground Tal immediately varies 300d psychology
4 PxP, NxP, 5. PxP, NxP, After just five

noves we already have a position almost unknown to theory one in which Talls creative powers can flourish

ous Black naturally enough wants to develop the bishop before playing P—K3 but this piece is needed for the

defence of his queenside

8 P—KR3, B—R4; 9 Q—Q5! A surprising sortie breaking as it does the most elementary rule of chess don't expose your queen

in the opening

9 , B-N3, 10 O-O-O Tal must have
seen very far shead at this stage as the
move played is a pawn sacrifice

10 , BxP! For if 11 KxB N-N5+

(DIAGRAM)

11 N—Q4!! Typical Tal, blasting open the vulnerable white diagonal QR4—K8 regardless of casualties

, B x R; 12. N x N The first and most obvious point is that 12 PxN loses simply to 13 QxP+ Q-Q2 14 QxR+ followed by taking the bishop The second but much deeper point is that 12 P-K3 is refuted by the speciacular 13 NxQ PxQ 14 NxNPII PxM-15 B-N5+ followed by RxB with a murderous attack 12 Q-B1; 13. NxKPI Another riveting blow

13 "BxN; 14.8xN The new point is that after 14 SxB 15 QxB, the game is over Black a king is trapped and on 15 P—QR3 comes anyway 16 B—N5+ PxB, 17 R—K1+, 30 Black must shed a whole bishop to a suppose bishop to auryre | 16. 8 x 8, 4-K1; 16. 8-84,

B-R4, 17 B-R4 The dust has settled leaving White with bishop and knight for rook – a technical win The remainder is less spectacular so I quote without comment 17 , B—N3; 18. B—N5, R—K5; 19 B—N3, P—QR3, 20 B—Q7, Q—B5, 21 Q x Q, R x Q; 22 R—K1, P—QN4, 23. P—QR3, P—KR4, 24 B—K5, R—Q1, 25 R—Q1, K—R1, 26 P—KN4, P—B3; 27 B—N3, B—K1, 28 B x B, R x B, 29 P x P, K—R2, 30 R—Q5, R(1)—K5, 31 K—Q2, R(K)—Q5+ 32 R x R, R x R+ 33 K—K3, R—B5, 34 K—Q3, R—B4, 35 K—Q4, R—B5+ 36 K—Q3, R—B4, 37 P—N4, R x P, 38 P—KR4, K—N3, 39 K—Q4, R—KB4, 40 K—K4, R—R4, 41 N—Q5 Here the game was adjourned The king and knight will combine to mop up Blacks rook - a technical win The remainder is less knight will combine to mop up Blacks pawns meanwhile the rook has nothing to counter-attack

, K—B2, 42 N—B7, R—R3, 43 -Q5, P—N4 44 P×P, P×P, 45 K—B5, -K2, 46 N—Q5+, K—Q2, 47 N—B7, -B3+, 48 K—Q5, P—N5, 49 K—K4, -B1, 50 K—B5, K- N2, 51 K×P, R—B6, -B1, 50 K-B5, K-N2, 51 KP, H-B0, N-K6, RxP, S3 B-B7, K-B3, 54 -R5, R-R7, 55 P-B4, K-Q4, 56 -N5, R-N7+, 57 K-B5, R-QR7, 58 -N6, RxB, 59 PxR, P-N5, 60 P-B5, -N6; 61 N-B3, P-N7, 62 N-Q2, -Q5, 63. P-B6, K-Q6, 64 N-N Resigns

MICHAEL STEAN

bridae

Players who possess an Autobridge set and who have made progress since first using this device will be glad to learn that an Advanced Course edited by Alfred Sheinwold is now in circulation. The booklet which can be studied independently is obtainable for £1 75 only from Bibliagora 1A Whitton Waye Hounslow TW3 2LT The new course is concerned with dupli-

cate play. The manoeuvre described on this deal would deceive most players.

Dealer West Neither side vulnerable & K Q 7 4 ♥ Q J 6 2 ♦ 10 5 4 452 ↓ J 10 8 5
 ↓ A 10 9 8 3
 ↓ J 8 2 **4** 9 2 N ♥ K51 • AQ976 • AJ73 S **↑** A 6 3 **♥** 7 4

♦ K 3 **▲ KO 10984** South West North 1 ¢ dble No No 1 🛡 24 .

Sheinwold describes South's overcall as borderline since he holds only five tricks in his own hand and may sustain a penalty of 500 But that is not the only way of looking at it and most tournament players would surely make this bid

The defence begins with two rounds of hearts and three of diamonds Suppose that South ruffs and leads & K West holds off and the position is

4 KQ74 ♥ Q.1 Ă 5 **492** 4 J 10 8 5 9 8 3 • 96 • AJ7 . 8 A 6 3 1 0 10 9 8

South has lost the tempo now Whether he continues trumps or turns to spades he will lose three more trump tricks and go 300 down - a calamity on a part-score deal

down - a calamity on a part-score deal.

The correct play, after ruffing the third diamond, is to cross to dummy and lead a trump to the 8 letting West win the first round with the Jack Now dummy s 5 of clubs is protection against further diamond. leads and South can escape for one down, a good result as compared with 110 for the opposition in hearts or diamonds

TERENCE REESE



The stamps assued by the Portuguese administration in Mozambique after 1876 were utilitarian in design. When the territory became a Portuguese overseas province in 1951 stamps became more enterprising Since June 1975 when the People's Republic was proclaimed, there have been many attractive issues in large format One recent series features dogs among them the basenji the bark-less breed popular in Central Africa as a hunting dog but little known in Britain

C W. HILL

quiz

1 Samuel Beckett the author of Waiting for Godot, among a host of other plays, stories and verses, won the Nobel prize for literature in 1969. To which country did he belong?

2 In 1964 Robert Day directed a movie based on Rider Haggard's novel She Who played the lead role?

3 What is obstructive sacrifice in chess? What is the currency of Venezuela? Jean Sibelius, the composer famous for Kavelia among others lived between 1865 and 1957. To which country did he belong?

5 Finland 4 29 bolivar ing the opponents development 3 A sacrifice for the purpose of obstruct-S Ursula Andress **JOURNIE**

ent yd delign3 ofni befalanant nerit bra most of his works were written in French 1 Beckett is an Irlsh by birth, although ANSWERS







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The Control of the Co



.LEM. The judicial second class gistrate, Salem on Saturday (27 ntember) convicted and sentenced persons to pay fines in the sensa-"anti-blouse" case. The case reo a clash in January 1979 betwo groups of persons of the ainaickenpalayam village, 16 km here, over women of the village ring blouse, violating a caste cusin Women of a few families of Thotlya Naickers caste performed puja in "illage temple on Pongal day revoltgainst the caste custom of not ig blouse. A group of persons d to this and in the ensuing clash of two women were torn and ir cut. The magistrate sentenced ersons to pay a fine of Rs 350 each d the fifth to pay Rs 50-The Inan Express (J.B.William, Coimbatore)

OHIMA. Security officials and personstaff had a tough time for about 30 inutes on Saturday morning (20 eptember) when a young girl, said to mentally deranged somehow manded to enter the chief minister's office, cupied his chair and started ordering bout the personal staff claiming heriff to be the chief minister of Nagand—The Statesman (Neena Sinha, mshedpur)

EW DELHI: It was a grotesque exame of passing the buck. A man was when the tempo in which travelling overturned in trying id a scooter at the Ferozeshah asturba Gandhi Marg roundable hours the body lay in the sun as id onlookers wondered why the did not remove the body. On it was found that the police in ving to decide in which police jurisdiction the accident had for the control of the contro

THAN: A new class of politicians pped up in Rajasthan. Without in eyelid they describe themplow in parajit vidhayak (defeated at of the vidhan sabha) and hara ove "tyashi Congress(I) (defeated of Congress(I)). Some of them the letterheads printed with the training Their business? They, it is

said, undertake to get transfers ordered, land allotted by the government, raw materials sanctioned for industries, jobs obtained for unemployed. All for a price, of course — Times of India (V. P. Joshi, Varanasi)

BAHRAICH: A man here paid Rs 2,000 for a bride from a nearby village and got the shock of his life. The "wife" turned out to be a boy in disguise. The police took them to court "on the apprehensions of a breach of the peace" when the distraught "couple" came to blows yesterday (24 September)—Times of India (V. R. Rohini, Bombay)

PATNA: The Bihar chief minister, Dr. Jagannath Mishra, was refused entry to the secretariat for about half an hour on Wednesday (1 October) last by the police. When a motorcade carrying the chief minister reached the main gate of the secretariat after 10-30 am- the gate was found locked. The police on duty refused to unlock the gate as the chief minister was late. Ultimately the chief secretary, Mr P. P. Nayyar, was informed about the incident. He immediately rushed there and escorted the chief minister to his chamber. An arrear clearnace week is being observed since October 1 and all the gates of the secretariat are closed sharply at 10-30 am and opened at 1 pm for lunch break. Again the gates are closed at 2 pm and opened at 5 pm-The Tribune (R. N. Sullhan, Chandigarh)

KASARAGOD: Only the foundation was laid and the office has yet to start functioning but still the government routine is such that the non-existent office has received notice of audit inspection. All this must perhaps be traced to the decision to open a subtreasury at Manjeshwar. The subtreasury officer, none knows who, has been addressed by the accountantgeneral of Kerala that a test audit would be conducted at his office from May 21. The A.G.'s letter has asked the subtreasury officer to be present at his office on all the days of inspection with a direction to keep ready all documents and registers-The Hindu (P. Ramamurti, Cochin)

SHAHABAD: A gambling addict staked his wife at Naikode village and lost. The habitual gambler had lost his ten acres of land and four bullocks. On Monday (29 September) night he lost Rs 2,000 and in a bid to regain lost money he staked his wife, who chanced to be his third. After hearing the news of her husband's misadventure she went to her winner and walked away, it is stated. The winner of the beauty has taken an oath, that he would abjure gambling—The Indian Express (R.S. Suman, Bangalore)

I can't understand how the government can be blamed for the (communal) riots—Vasantdada Patil

With all the world publicity that it has got, Moradabad is just one hundred miles from New Delhi but the Prime Minister could manage to visit it only after two months—Mainstream

So far as I am concerned, I am not standing for election. But if the country as a whole asks me to lead it, I would have to take the leadership—Morarji Desai

The CIA has been neglecting India in recent years, injuring the self-esteem of the country's leaders—S. Nihal Singh in India Today

It is your responsibility to create stories, and it is not my responsibility to supply news—Kamlapati Tripathi to pressmen

I am not Gundu Rao .I have great respect for the press but sometimes the press misreports—Yogendra Makwana, minister of state for home affairs interviewed in Weekend Review

Journalistic ethics are very important. If you don't have journalistic ethics then what is the difference betwen a man and an animal?— President Zia-ul Huq of Pakistan to BBC Urdu service

Whenever I am homesick for the backstreets of Gujranwala, I go to our embassy. Even the smells are right—Anonymous Pakistani living in London quoted in Viewpoint

If you don't write your book, someone who has never been within a hundred miles of you will do it from old newspaper clips—Actress Gloria Swanson quoted in *Time*

Car rallies mean extravagance and show of pomp by a few rich. A car rally is not a sport activity. If it was in my hands, I would not have allowed the Himalayan rally—V. C. Shukla

Next time, we will see that not a single stone is thrown at you We will try to make it roses all through—Indira Gandhi to Himalayan rally participants

Sex is engaging in the first rounds. What sustains interest in the long run is power—Jiang Qing, Mao Zedong's widow to American sinologist Roxane Witke in Time

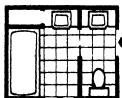
Life is not a Hindi movie .. In a real life situation when a woman says "no", she usually malins "no"—Actress Nutan in Mid-Day



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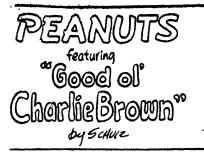
Plan I

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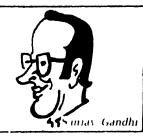
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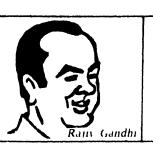
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AUTHOR, PLEASE

ONF highlight of the first press conference held by Mrs Gandhi in New Delhi on 21 October was a question about who actually wrote the text of I ternal India (the book from which we carry extracts in this issue) There have been allegations that the text was ghost written for her by her excellent press adviser Sharada Prasad The surprise was that this question was asked by a journalist cum MP I K Jain whose loyalties are strictly with Mrs Gandhi and her party. So how come he asked such a potentially embarias sing question? Did he do this on his own? All the journalists present saw Mi R K Dhawan beckoning Jain to come to him before the conference began and handing over a slip of paper. Did that slip contain a request that the question be asked?

This is how it went in the press conference

Question A magazine published from Bombay has said that the whole thing has been written by Mr Sharada Prasad

Prime Minister Which whole

Question Your book And it said that you are going to get more

rovalty than even Pandith got for

Prime Minister I only wish it were tive Now I may make it clear I am glad that you asked this question because I also ment to men tion it in the beginning, but I forgot You know that the book Eternal India has appeared under my name I wrote the text of the book in 1978 I did not have anybody to help me In fact there was not even a typist when I did it because I wrote it in Coorg and I took a few days off to go and do it there. But it was not supposed to be my book but the book of the photographer. He had the photographs and he said. You will have more time on hand Would you like to do this as a relaxation? I just saw a few of the pictures and I liked them very much and I said I would The only difference was that his book was going to be called A Hindu India I said I would not like to do it for A Hindu India because I saw India with its composite culture" with many races and religions and so on and it I am allowed to add some of them then I will do it This is how it was done. I might as well give out the figure that when I sent the script I got Rs 5 000 and that is that and I have no rights on it at all in any language, in any country

test for the lob But the central leadership cannot make up its mind about who it should choose among the nominees of the major power brokers of the state The main con tender for the post from the V C Shukla camp is Manohai Bairagi, P Sethi wants Manak Agarwal. while the Arjun Singh faction is not vet quite sure about who it wants there Madhavrao Scindia, who joined the Congress(I) on the eve of the January elections also would like to see one of his followers given the president's job. One section of the thakui lobby in the state is lobbying for Pushpa Singh, the voungest lady MP in the Lok Sabha, who belongs to the princely family of the tribal area of Narsinghgarh, but her drawback is that she has never been in the Youth Cong(1)

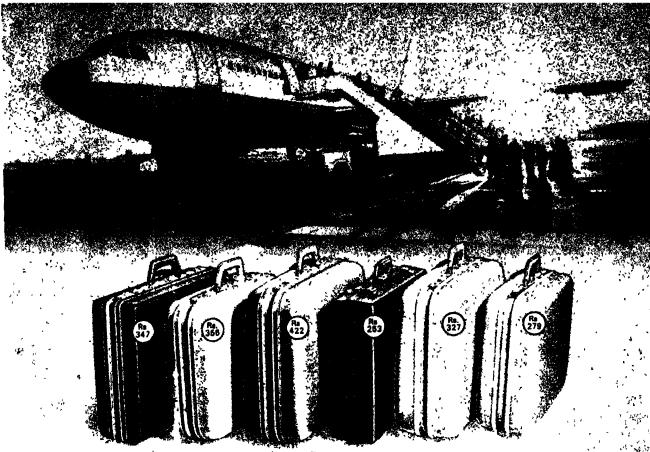
POOR RELATIONS OFFICER

THERE was a most unusual contestant in the elections to the welfare association of New Delhi's journal ists' colony Gulmohai Park The candidate's name was S. R. Kohli Mr Kohli is a former aide of Mr H N Bahuguna who has now fallen out with his mentor, so much so that he is persona non grata in the Bahuguna residence (Incidentally, after Mr Bahuguna had quietly left his ministerial bungalow after he resigned from Parliament moved in with a protege and Rajva Sabha MP G C Bhattacharva, these are, of course, much smaller quarters) Mr Kohli was on the personal staff of Mr Bahuguna when the latter was the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh But what were the creden tials of Mr Kohli for contesting the elections? In a pamphlet which he distributed, Kohli described him self as the "PRO of the All India Congress(I) Committee" and the chairman of the All India Press Forum for Youth (whatever that means) He also said he was the editor of a Hindi fortnightly called Jan Jage The pamphlet added that "from 1962 to 1977 Kohli worked in various capacities such as PRO private secretary special assistant officer on special duty to many distinguished VIPs including a chief minister and a union cabinet minister" The chief minister and the cabinet minister were both Mr Bahuguna, but Kohli, the self styled "political adviser" to the Congres s(I), apparently feels shy of the name in current circumstances. The saddest thing is that while people misuse the name of the AICC(I) right in the capital city, the rulii party looks on helplessly,

TAILPIECE Giani Zail singh r cently told Madras newsmen the the prescription for the country ills was four 'Ps' party, programe, policy and personality The wags are saying that Gianiji is oblyvious of another 'P': performance. D. E. NIZAMUDDIN

ARE THE RULERS RULING?

HOW efficient is the party machin erv of the Congress(I) in the central office? Let us take an example the situation in the Youth Congress(I) in Madhva Pradesh The Youth Congress(1) members of the state have at last, begun doubting the worth of their central party leaders Since September 1979 the post of the president of the Youth Congres s(I) in the state has been vacant and nobody seems interested in filling the gap after the last presi dent of the state unit, Bhanwar Singh Porte was removed Porte is now the minister of state for tribal weltare in the Arjun Singh govern ment and therefore out of the con-



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